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THE CONGRESS COMES OF AGE

THE TASK BEFORE US

MEN can expound ideas but it is only institutions that can create a nation. It is an institution that forces itself upon our attention, when we look back over a span of fifty years in the history of our own country.

The Congress is the biggest and the most powerful institution in India to-day. It has a solid membership of millions, while its influence ranges far beyond the members that are actually on its registers. The Congress symbolizes the unity of nationalist India. It evokes unbounded enthusiasm in all parts of the country and it embraces all classes of the people. The name of this organization is the centre towards which are drawn millions of hearts in this down-trodden country bound by the chain of sentiment and affection. Now for fifty years the Congress has been at work, creating traditions and arousing the imagination of a people who by degrees have come to look upon this organization as synonymous with salvation.

For many decades now we have been in the grips of the most dynamic forces leading us towards regeneration. These forces have been at work harder than the ingenuity of man to shake us out of our lethargy and sloth at which we had stuck through centuries of inertia. It is more difficult to make up for arrested development and stunted growth than to remedy casual ailments. We had so much lost our sense of national self-respect that even the Congress itself took a long time in recognizing freedom as the ultimate objective of its activities. A reading of the voluminous Congress presidential addresses fully repays one's patience. While reading through the addresses we see the thread of evolution which runs right through the growth of the Congress policy. One is astounded to read that as late as 1911 the Congress President Pandit Bishen Narain Dar could declare from the presidential platform in Calcutta, "I thank God that I am a

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British subject and feel no hesitation in saying that the government of India by England is still the greatest gift of providence to my race." In less than 20 years from the same platform and with the same authority Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his presidential address to the Lahore Congress (1929) asserted, "We stand to-day for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal but we do appeal to the parliament and the conscience of the world and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination."

And can we imagine to-day Babu Rajendra Prasad sharing the voice of Pandit Bishen Narain Dar which echoes from 1911?

From resolutions of profound loyalty, we come to a challenge to the very basis of authority. Between these two utterances lies one of the most significant periods of our history.

The Dynamic Force

If the result of fifty years of Congress effort to-day is not any social betterment or very remarkable political advance, the greatest contribution of the Congress lies in giving the vast masses of India the consciousness of their misery; arousing in them the desire to change the present state of things for the better and to a great extent in giving the people a belief in themselves, a belief in their own powers to make things better. The Congress has infused among the people the most effective will to change and the realization that they themselves can do it.

The political fortunes of this Congress have seen too many turns of the wheel. They have created storms and experienced lulls. They have scored victories and swallowed defeats. They have led the assaults and beaten retreats. But with the flow of time one thing has gone forward and ever forward into wider and wider masses and sunk deeper and deeper into their souls. That it is they themselves who can change the things for the better and that *they can do it*. The belief in their own power to achieve freedom is the greatest moral force which the Congress has

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invoked in the people. It is this spirit which is the net asset of the nationalist movement to-day.

Tragedy of Errors

The position at the present is quite simple. We have just come to the end of a cycle and we are waiting for the beginning of a new. We are passing through a period that corresponds to the calm that follows a cyclone. Probably it cuts both ways. It might as well be the lull that precedes a storm.

In this period of comparative stagnation we are faced with stark unpleasant realities. We find the bitterest of communal differences vitiating the atmosphere of healthy relationship, undermining those very foundations upon which the edifice of inter-communal regard had rested for long years.

Politically we find ourselves in the midst of a bewildering state of indecision. The new constitution with its deadening and dividing hands is about to take the nationalist India by the throat. Never before did we feel a more urgent necessity of mustering our forces together and putting our own house in order.

The present position can be summarized by recognizing the hard facts that on the one hand we are to-day in the midst of a most bewildering social chaos and on the other hand we have also reached the border line of political stagnation.

At present we are down at the feet of that hill on the top of which lies the objective of our assault—the fortress of Imperialism.

The New Beginning

It is only fair to accept with good grace that we are in a thorough mess at the present moment. In the true realization of our present state lies buried the potentialities of our success in the future. Let us throw the pessimist overboard and go ahead. The men and the women who are needed in the India of to-day are not the men and the women who moan over failures, hang their heads low and want to die because the heaven of freedom has not been stormed at the first assault. The men and the women who are needed to-day are those who can come to the assault and be

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beaten back, and come back to it again and again armed with the unshakable belief that if right is worsted wrong too will never triumph.

It is in that spirit of grim determination and unflagging tenacity that we have got to get down once again to work for the sacred cause of India's freedom.

A New Programme

The Congress has so far gathered momentum on the wings of middle class enthusiasm. So far it has been its strongest point. In future this very thing will turn out to be its biggest limitation. The time has definitely come when the Congress programme should be re-cast and based on a much broader basis so that it makes a much more powerful appeal to the millions of peasants who have so far remained indifferent towards the Congress aims. The Congress must turn more attentively to voicing more vigorously the grievances of labour people whose living conditions are a crying scandal and the ignoring of whose state by the Congress is a still greater scandal.

This can only be done if the Congress is made to realize that so far as its expansion in the towns is concerned, the limitation line has been almost touched. Unemployment has helped where sentiment fell short to turn the town-dwellers to Congressites. Therefore the only way to further expansion is through making the Congress programme broad enough to cover those interests which directly affect the daily life of rural India and the everyday life of the industrial population. The sooner it is done the better we start.

Ethics of Organization

When we have a new programme all enthusiasm and energy would be a sheer waste and give results which would be in no proportion to the effort made, if we continue to be as lax in our organization as we have been in the past. The time has come for us to realize that however lofty the ideals for which we fight, unless we put rigid organization and iron discipline to the execution of those ideals, all efforts would prove futile. The history of the nationalist movements abroad-- in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Italy and Germany points in one and only one direction—that

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of organization and discipline as the secret of success. This time we have got to be more systematic, more strategic and more disciplined. If you are going to call your efforts by the glorious name of a national fight then you will have to yoke the technique of war in the service of your ideal and create an iron organization with order and discipline as its watch-word. We can no longer afford to use the methods of a business deal and the shop phraseology of the counter.

Towards that end the Congress must pull the strings of organization tightly and emerge a highly centralized party fully and efficiently represented in the various provinces.

The Two-fold Task

The task of a nationalist party must be divided into two main groups. Firstly, field work and secondly, in the legislature. The field work will naturally range from instilling the love of the country in the heart of the youngest born to the adoption of ways and means to carry further the programme for which the Congress stands—through its activities ranging from study circles to mass meetings.

Regarding the work inside the Legislature the object of the Congress should be to gain a powerful voice in all representative bodies from the Legislative Assembly to the Village Panchayat, District Boards, Municipalities, University Senates, etc., none should miss the Congress influence. If there is any place which is open to the choice of the people, let it be the Congress representative and none else who is put in. The moment the Congress comes to command that wide-spread influence its voice will carry weight and its representatives will not be denied even an interview with high authority. The tables will be effectively turned.

This Communalism !

Once the nationalists merge as a highly organized party with a well-considered programme, that will in itself be the strongest antidote to the virus of communalism. Communalism has even now held sway, not because it is a potential force in itself—it is

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only a negative tendency—but because the whole problem has been very wrongly handled. The Congress tried to scotch the dragon of communalism with the wrong end of the stick. It was a very wrong policy to have made efforts to effect a compromise between the so-called communal leaders. They could never have agreed upon the dissolution of communal differences because it was on the existence of those very differences that their own leadership rested. Expecting these people to agree to anything which may bring to an end communal differences would be comic, if it were not so tragic in its consequences. It is something worse than expecting the armament manufacturers to sit round a table in Geneva, sip a delicious cup of coffee and resolve upon disarmament—thus voting their own undoing!

That being so no communal formula for reservation of seats, etc., could have been found and never will be found.

The one and the only course for the Congress would have been to have ignored the communal leaders and taking nationalists of all communities into consultation to have evolved a formula of its own and then, disregarding the views of the communal leaders, the Congress should have fought for its own formula in the country.

That opportunity is gone. Even now there is nothing to worry about the communal problem. If we solve it as a communal problem it will never be solved. But as soon as the Congress adds an economic dimension to its programme the communal differences will dissolve. The communal problem is first and last only a clash of economic interests and the moment the Congress goes ahead and stands forth with an integrated programme for the redress of economic evils with sound economic methods, it will receive the ungrudging loyalty of all communities, and all sections of the Indian people regardless of their different religions will stand united under the Congress tri-colour for the common achievement of their common ideal, the freedom of India.

The Foreign Policy

At this moment it seems of the greatest importance to stress one more point.

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It is of as great an importance to have a clear-cut foreign policy for a rising nationalist party as it is to have an integrated domestic plan.

Our fellow nationals go abroad, establish connections and express views. In India, even if a dog barks in the outer world we start showing partisan interest, take sides, hold meetings of protest, etc., as if the whole world is being held together by the thread of Indian opinion. Even our responsible leaders make appalling statements. All this is possible so long as we are a slave country, and what we say ill or well does not affect the world very much. But those who are to be trained to think in terms of free India must think of the outer world more responsibly.

Every nationalist party in other countries has its clear-cut and well-considered foreign policy.

The Test

The case of the Polish patriots is of very great interest. They looked upon the whole world through the medium of the relationship of Poland and Russia--their oppressor. They had marked the map of the world as friendly powers and unfriendly powers. Those who were friendly with Russia they considered the enemies of Poland and those who were inimical to Russia they counted as the friends of Poland. This rigid law governed their likes and dislikes. They had no personal likes and dislikes. Sentiment never governed their foreign alliances. England was the traditional enemy of Russia and the case in point was as to what should be the attitude of Poland towards England who was oppressing Ireland as badly as Russia was oppressing Poland. The Polish patriots swept sentiment away, saying Ireland or no Ireland, England was Russia's enemy, therefore Poland must be friendly to England. Here was an instance of frigid realism as opposed to the nebulous sentimentalism which our public men start shouting at the top of their voices at anybody and everybody without realizing its wider implications for national India. Linked with this question of foreign policy is the allied problem of foreign opinion.

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World Opinion

It can never be emphasized enough that no country in the world is an isolated unit and England above all is most susceptible to world opinion. The latest Abyssinian scandal which resulted in Sir Samuel Hoare's resignation is a first class proof of the weight of public opinion in deciding the issues of peace and war.

It is imperative for us to keep the world informed of the situation in India and present our country in true light. We must recognize that a strong and efficiently run machinery is at work to vilify the name of our people through press, platform, cinema, etc., and if in our helplessness we cannot retaliate we can at least do our duty as Indians—leave alone the wider advantages of a favourable world opinion and present our country in a light in which we should like the world to see it.

This issue deserves the immediate attention of any party, present or future, which may reckon itself to be the custodian of India's honour and conscience.

On to the Goal

Fifty years of existence hardly but qualifies an institution to leave its 'teens behind. The mistakes of its childhood were well worth the experiment. With the celebration of its Jubilee the Congress comes of age.

Let this psychological moment be not lost with the melodies of Parbhat Pheris or a few ephemeral meetings. Let this be the beginnings of a new life and a new era.

With a glorious record of achievement to look back upon and with a future full of vigorous and virile existence the Congress will go down in history as the heaviest hammer that ever smashed the chains of slavery!

B.L. Bhat.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE BEFORE US

By A. YUSUF ALI

IT will not be disputed that Politics is a social science, except by two classes of people. One class consists of those who say that Politics is not a science at all. They may be willing to concede that it is an art, but they would call it the art of log-rolling. The other class is less severe. They would not dignify it with the name of science, but they may admit that it is a useful study in these days of unemployment among the educated classes.

In this Paper I am not going to take upon myself the role of a political prophet. I want rather to fix my gaze on some factors in our past and present in order that we may face the future, if not with confidence, at least without the illusions which are the delight of the un instructed mind.

Mrs. Sidney Webb participated in a series of broadcast talks arranged in London on 'The Changing World'. These have since been embodied in a volume called 'The Modern State'. She takes Parliament as the most prominent of British social institutions. In two striking passages she discusses the nature of social institutions. —

'What is a social institution?' she asks. "Can we define it? It is clearly not a living organism in the sense that a plant, a dog, or a man is an organism. No one has ever seen or touched or smelt a social institution. No one has ever heard it speak or has spoken to it. Its existence cannot, in fact, be directly perceived, it can only be inferred by observing and reasoning about a lot of other things.

She proceeds: —

'Can we say that a social institution exists and exists only in the minds of men? This would be going too far. Relationships between men are as much part of the external world as the men themselves, as individual events they can be observed and recorded, described and measured. If observation and reasoning be correct, the way in which these relationships will work in the future can be foreseen. It is only in

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its entirety or wholeness that a social institution eludes direct apprehension and finds its embodiment in an idea."

The British Parliament is not just the pseudo-Gothic stone building at Westminster, nor the men and women who are members of the House of Commons, nor the Peers who form the House of Lords, nor the King who is said, in legal language, to enact statutes by and with the consent of Parliament. In the same way our new Constitution is not just the India Act recently passed by Parliament, even though it holds the record for length among Acts ever passed by Parliament. Nor will the Constitution be complete with the Orders in Council that will be issued under it, and the Instruments of Accession, Instrument of Instructions, and all the Rules and Orders, and other paraphernalia connected with legislation. What we have to realize is that although the State is an organic body with a life of its own, it is not independent of the social background in which it takes shape. As Aristotle observed, every State is a social group (*koinonia*). The background of that group is as important as its mechanical construction. We cannot truly understand its functioning until we have understood its background. The background is not a material background. It is dependent upon ideas, experiences, inherited traditions, the subtle mental and spiritual influences of varying environments, and the still more subtle bundles of feelings, sentiments and instincts, which sway mankind, in some cases even without manifesting themselves to men's outer consciousness.

From that point of view our future India will not be merely the India of the India Act. To understand it aright we shall have to take into account a number of factors in our immediate past and in our present. It will be most convenient to indicate some of these factors in categories as follows:—

<i>Positive Factors.</i>	<i>Negative Factors.</i>
(a) The extent to which our population has by past history and present education learnt cohesion and co-operation.	As against that there will be the Hindu-Muslim question, the Harijan question, the separate electorates question, the non-Brahmin question, etc.

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Positive Factors.

(b) The instinctive attraction of various sections of the people for each other, leading to a sense of common nationality and common interests.

(c) A certain uniformity in the general level of education or of collective experience, so that the organs of administration or political power, which are set up, and the generality of the people, are in complete harmony and sympathy.

(d) A free flow, in the economic sphere, of labour, capital, aptitudes, and talents, which would ensure each individual finding his level without any artificial preps or barriers, in the political world. This would correspond to a fluid body, in which any part is able to displace and replace any other part in case of disturbance thus maintaining a uniform level and a fairly uniform density in given conditions.

(e) A machinery of organization, having definite aims, looking to the good of the whole rather than the good of any particular part or to the good of any body outside the State.

Negative Factors.

A sense of mutual repulsion which will make it necessary to provide safeguards and various devices by which harmony can be maintained in the social structure.

Such striking disparities in education or social surroundings or way of looking at things, as divide sex from sex, class from class, profession from profession, and most of all, rulers from the ruled.

A rigid system in which talent of intellect or character has no free play. Various artificial restrictions heavily handicap individuals either on account of economic slavery or on account of other fetters. This would correspond in the physical world to a rigid body, in which there is no free movement and interpenetration of its parts. A blow to such a body is enough to cut it clean asunder.

Against this would be a discrepancy between avowed aims (good of the whole) and real aims, which may look to some selfish interests of narrow cliques or sections, or to some considerations entirely outside the scope of the State concerned.

I have above set out as in a diagram some of the numerous conditions which make for or against the effective organization of a State. Are we able to say that in the India of the immediate future we shall be able to consolidate the positive factors and eliminate the negative factors? Have we got the leaders who can work for definite aims? Are our aims defined merely in terms of past or present catchwords, or do they look to the true

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progress and advancement of the people ?

We may classify leaders under three heads. In a progressive society the leaders are men of enterprise and initiative, not only able to carry out great schemes of reform but understood and appreciated for their enterprise and initiative. In a stagnant society we have leaders wedded to old traditions, men who live in the past, men who are impervious to new experiences. In a make-believe society only those leaders will come to the top who are past masters in the art of intrigue and deception. In no actual society are these different classes sharply divided. There is an inter-mixture of them all. But at least we can say that the predominating character of the leaders is determined by the character of the society in which they live. The question that we have to ask ourselves is: To what class of leaders is our new Indian State going to give most scope? On the answer to that question will very much depend whether our politics are stagnant or progressive or merely a fabric of make-beliefs and deceptions.

It is essential for any organized society that there should be confidence both as between members of that society generally and as between members and their leaders. It is not implied that there should be no differences of opinion. In all progressive societies differences of opinion are the very foundation of the evolution of an ordered policy. But merely personal rivalries and jealousies do not make for such evolution. On the contrary they prevent the growth of confidence in steady work and in the value of merging individual interests in the larger interests of society. Where there is confidence, even ignorance or inexperience matter little. The experience of some is placed at the disposal of the whole body, and thus vicariously every individual profits by the experience of its most experienced leaders. Where there is confidence generally, even ignorance does not matter. Knowledge is gained by experience, and the faculty of collective action is able to neutralize the defects in knowledge by organized method of collecting and utilizing knowledge. It so happens that in Indian politics we have been rushed from one pattern or organization to another without any of that ordered evolution whose stages would have stood as beacon-lights in the path of our people.

The Political Future Before Us

Hitherto I have spoken of generalities. Before leaving generalities I wish to lay emphasis on the human aspects of politics. In human affairs there is always an inter-mixture of motives, interests, methods, and machinery. As to politics in their technical aspects, there will always be experts available to prepare schemes and put forward elaborate proposals. The test comes when the man in the street proceeds to work them. If the people who have to work them have common-sense and mutual confidence and respect, they can ignore the machinery if it does not suit them. Without confidence and common-sense, they will only undo each other in the intricacies of the soulless machinery. If we remember this, we shall not be impatient to take short cuts towards vaguely defined objectives, but shall be content, at every stage, to devise and cultivate that mentality which will best make for our progress.

If Self-Government is going to be a success, not in the technical sense but in the human sense of the word, the three objects which will claim our first attention are: Health, Education, and Economic Well-being and Security. The first will make our people strong and viable. The second will improve their mental capacity and power for effective work and the prevention of waste. The third will ensure an equitable distribution of economic resources, and abolish poverty, dirt, and squalor as far as they are capable of being abolished by material means. High above all is the moral and spiritual good, which in a simple stage of society goes naturally with politics but in our own complex days is best kept separate from politics.

Under Health will come a number of subjects which properly come under administration and legislation, and which are often kept apart from the sphere of technical Department of Health. For example the laying out of cities and villages and the abolition of slums are important activities that react on the health of the community in the mass. The prevention of the dust nuisance and the smoke nuisance is also a very important public health question and can only be dealt with collectively. Even architecture and the internal economy of houses, especially the way in which light and air are admitted in our houses, is a factor in conserving or ruining the eye-sight and health of our people. Every one

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concerned with the life of students knows how much mischief is done by study in bad light. Both excessively glaring light and defective light contribute to the numerous diseases of the eye, from which our students suffer. Sensible clothing is another matter that greatly affects health. It is not for me to go into details of fashion for men and women. But it must be the aim of every public worker to encourage correct ideas of dress, beauty and simplicity in dress, and its adaptation to seasonal variations and variations in temperature as well as to the different occupations and pursuits in which the human body is occupied. In the same way the subject of diet is intimately connected with the health of the people. A diet may be too rigorous or too stimulating, or it may consist positively of articles unfit or unsuitable for human consumption. Even if we have a stringent Food and Drugs Act there will still remain the question of the proper balancing of the various constituents of a mixed diet for people following different pursuits under different conditions. The question of hours of work, hours of pleasure, hours of rest and sleep, are also intimately connected with health. The provision of open spaces and facilities for open-air recreation in or near all congested areas is also bound up with the health of the people.

I have mentioned some of the matters that claim public attention but have not received adequate attention in public discussions in India. The questions which ordinarily form the subject-matter of the activities of Health Departments are, of course basic, and must continue to engage the attention of our publicists. These include the provision of medical relief in various forms, but especially in the form of trained maternity work, the development of facilities for preventive medical work, the provision of a pure and abundant water-supply, efficient drainage systems, and effective organization for the disposal of sewage and drainage, as well as vital and other statistics tabulated by the existing Health Departments. It is a good thing that Health Departments are being given more and more importance in our public life every day. But a far larger body of non-official instructed public opinion will be necessary before any real impression is made on the health of the people. Our mortality statistics give but too sad evidence of the very low standard of life of most of our people as compared with that which prevails elsewhere.

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There is more work to be done and more mischief to be undone in education than in almost any other department of our public activities. Education has been a prominent plank in our public life for many generations, but I doubt whether the quality of education and its efficacy in improving the tone and morale of our people has not deteriorated progressively. I do not necessarily subscribe to the out-and-out attacks made on our education by people who have not the patience to examine its details, or who judge of it from a merely political point of view. Nor do I agree with the people who think that all is for the best in our educational world. In every growing system there must always be blanks to be filled up, re-adjustments to be made on account of changing conditions, and new ideas to be introduced as the result of growing experience and developing standards of life. Of these I do not wish to speak at present, because to do so would lead me into an unlimited field. What I wish to do is to draw attention to a few fundamental facts which will be the basis of educational reform.

Both the industrial and the political and social life of the country have been so much revolutionized within this generation that the lines on which our education was planned require to be completely revised. In the first place India is no longer the simple agricultural country which it was even half a century ago, nor is its government now possible with the simple administrative machinery that met those early conditions. Everything has grown more complex and difficult, and we ourselves are similarly more complex and difficult than we were before. The enormous extension of the area of elementary education has brought within its fold many classes and strata of society which were content to work outside the sphere of literacy. At first sight this appears to be a welcome improvement. But it has two drawbacks. With the area of extension there is not a corresponding improvement or development in the methods or the content of elementary education. Further, there is such a large proportion of pupils brought within the orbit of elementary education, who relapse into illiteracy afterwards, that the figures for elementary education are a very untrustworthy guide to the actual facts of the extension of literacy. The swollen numbers merely swamp the actual progress of those who belong to the real

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literate classes and who go on subsequently to higher-grade education.

In secondary education we have not yet succeeded in evolving sufficient variety to suit different classes of mind, nor have we achieved the ideal of making it self-contained, so that at the end of a school career a man might be considered a well-educated man, fairly well-informed, and prepared to take an intelligent part in the economic development of the nation. This is being realized in many directions piecemeal, and efforts are being made to survey the situation and apply remedial measures. I am personally in intimate touch with these efforts in the United Provinces and in the Punjab. But I feel that these efforts are still at the discussion stage, and that they will not bear fruit until the deficiencies in primary education are removed.

With secondary education in such a backward if not chaotic condition, higher education gets no chance. In fact the greater part of our higher or University education is really secondary education of a very inferior order, leading nowhere and not filling a definite niche in our educational structure.

The question of age and the question of linking up education, especially secondary education, with the arts and industries of the country are both of prime importance. If boys begin their primary education at 7 or 8 years and are in the primary section for 3 or 4 years, that means that they do not complete their primary education till they are 10 or 12 years of age, and many of them relapse into illiteracy after that, so that a great part of their early boy life is wasted. We should have nursery or kindergarten schools at quite an early age, which would enable the later primary education to shorten its period. If the aim of primary education is to teach only reading, writing, and arithmetic, 2 years is ample time in which to accomplish that elementary task, especially if kindergarten or nursery schools have prepared the ground previously. If we could get a boy of the agricultural or industrial classes to be ready at the age of 7 or so to proceed beyond the three R's and to develop his mind or his hands in manual work or in the arts, this will enable him at a plastic age to begin to prepare for a definite trade or calling in

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skilled labour or in the lower ranks of middle class occupations. Those who do not pursue secondary education will be available to follow the traditional occupations of their families and begin their apprenticeship (in a non-technical sense) at 7 or 8, which is the right age.

Between the ages of 7 or 8 and the ages of 13 or 14, that is a period of 6 years, is a suitable period for the boy's intellectual and moral growth. He should be able to get real but elementary knowledge and ideas, and information about history, geography and simple elementary facts of science as well as civics. At the end of his first step in the secondary education his school should be linked up with an agricultural farm or a factory or a workshop according to the conditions in his neighbourhood, his own choice or taste, or the choice or taste of his parents and guardians. A part-time liaison with practical work of that kind would enable him to step into a full-time apprenticeship in some trade at 13 or 14 before his hands become unfit for manual work and his mind becomes divorced from the main callings of his line and class.

Then would begin the higher grade of secondary education. The entrance to it would be by selection. The selection will be made as the result of three factors: (1) choice by the boy or his guardian; (2) the school record showing whether he is intellectually fit for higher-grade education; (3) an examination strictly and impartially conducted, which will test the boy's ability to take higher secondary education. As I see the Indian conditions at present, a large number of boys who now take university education will be diverted through higher secondary education into the life of the people at that stage. They will really be a select number, and not drift into it haphazard. They will go into three alternative courses. Some will be taking literary courses, leading actually up to Universities. Some will be taking courses in the practical sciences, which will feed the class of people who will be leaders in practical or technical work in the higher industries, or in improved agriculture. Some will be preparing commercial subjects either for commercial or clerical life. Those taking the practical sciences will do industrial

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chemistry or agricultural chemistry or practical botany or entomology dealing with insect pests, and so on.

There would be a real, planned sorting out of people both at the beginning and at the end of this stage. This higher grade of secondary education might last perhaps for 4 or 5 years. At the end of this course there will be parallel examinations which will close the school career and send out educated men at about 17 or 18 to enter the ordinary middle class trades and professions.

Now will come the time for the University. As most of the people with capital will already have sought middle-grade employment there will be no great rush to the University. Those who will enter will be those who want to follow the higher professions, such as law, medicine, teaching, engineering, or pure science of learning for their own sake. The real secondary educational work which is a part of University work at present will have been done in higher-grade secondary schools. The Universities will be able to enforce higher standards for entrance and give a higher class of teaching. *The competitive examinations for the higher services need not necessarily be connected with the Universities, although their standard will probably level themselves to those of the Universities.*

The economic well-being and security of a nation are not to be differentiated sharply from the economic condition of the individuals composing it. A large depressed class is a weakness even for a wealthy nation. Averages are often defective, and those who hanker after figures for an average income per head are pursuing a mirage. Such a figure is not easy to arrive at in India, considering the large proportion of people who are below the income-tax limit. Nor are the figures for production, either agricultural or industrial, as accurate as they are in countries more highly organized. What we have got to ask ourselves in this connection is such questions as the following :—

- (1. Are we getting the best out of our land, or are we, on account of traditional and primitive methods of agriculture, wasting a great part of our land as well as a great part of the labour and resources of our people ?

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- (2) Are we going the right way in the direction of fostering our industries? Is our education so framed as to help in the process? Is the inherited skill of our artisans sufficiently brought into touch with modern needs to give us the means for meeting the actual demand for goods? Or are, we, by a serious maladjustment of our economic system, starving our own and enriching other people?
- (3) Is our taxation system conducive to the fostering of our industries and the right economic distribution of their products as well as of foreign goods imported, so that a balanced economy leads to the general benefit of all our people?
- (4) Is our transport system up-to-date? In this connection we have to consider not only our roads and our country and village traffic but also our railways, tramways, motor traffic, river shipping, coastal shipping, and shipping for foreign trade. Are the routes for through traffic properly aligned so as to help in the equitable distribution of the goods produced in our country and in the proper regulation of our internal and our foreign trade?
- (5) Is our system of banking and credit sufficiently in touch with the intimate life of the people? Have we got sufficiently mobile capital to use for productive industries? Is it accessible for our agriculturists so that they can make profitable improvements and raise the standard of our agriculture? If there is not enough mobile capital in the country, have we got facilities for attracting capital from abroad on fair terms and using it in such a way that gradually out of our profits and savings we can build up our own reserves of capital? Are our foreign loans arranged on terms favourable to our own interests, and is provision made for their liquidation on equitable terms?

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- (6) Is our public finance placed on a basis favourable to our public and private needs, and to the needs of our agricultural and manufacturing industries? Is our finance sufficiently centred in our own country to enable us to use it as an instrument of our own administrative and political policy?

With regard to public finance it may be as well to review a few salient features of our budget. I think that we may take our normal budget now to balance at the figure of 87 to 90 crores of rupees. The Military and Defence expenditure has varied a good deal in recent years, but we may take it as stabilized at a figure roughly approximating to 46 to 50 crores of rupees. The question arises whether India can afford to spend 53 or 56 per cent. of its budget on the Defence Services. The League of Nations some years ago examined the figures of various nations and considered that any nation which was spending more than 25 or 30 per cent. of its budget in Defence expenditure, was spending a sum out of all proportion to reasonable requirements. I am quoting the figures from memory. But in any case our Indian Defence figures would not stand any reasonable scrutiny by such standards. I am aware that the Indian figures are compiled differently from the figures of some other countries, and include some items which might possibly be classed under other heads in other budgets.

Even making all due allowance for Indian peculiarities, it is agreed amongst Indian publicists that the Defence figures are much too high. It is a question whether ultimately we shall have to raise a national militia in some form to take over part of the duties of the regular Army maintained in India. If the frontiers of India are also considered as frontiers of the Empire generally it may also be possible in future to debit a much greater proportion of our Defence expenditure to the Imperial Budget rather than to the budget of India. Whether the creation of a Federation for all India will enable India to use some of the resources of Indian States for general Defence purposes is a question on which no dogmatic assertion can be made at this stage. But it will have to be examined if and when the Indian Federation gets fairly on its legs and is proved to be a working proposition.

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Then there is the question of our tariff. It is agreed that the convention is established that if the Indian Legislature and the Government of India are agreed on any particular tariff policy that policy must prevail, irrespective of the views or requirements of the Imperial Government of Great Britain. But as the Government of India even under the reformed Constitution will not be completely autonomous, that convention does not mean complete fiscal autonomy for India. Even if India obtained complete fiscal autonomy we shall still have to examine whether the proportion of our customs revenue to the general revenue is at all reasonable and should be maintained. Another matter which will require careful examination is the question of excises leviable on goods produced in the country to counter-balance certain kinds of customs duties. This question came prominently to the fore in connection with the duty on sugar and the duty on matches and is sure to be reviewed under the new Constitution.

The currency policy of this country has for some generations been subordinated to considerations other than those of purely Indian requirements. Apparently, owing to the creation of the Statutory Reserve Bank, this policy will still be mainly outside the purview of the Indian Legislature, even under the new Constitution. It must be confessed that there is very little expert knowledge on the subject in our Legislatures generally. The experts who can speak with authority are generally men who have particular interests that may not be in entire agreement with the interests of the country as a whole. For this reason Indian opinion has made less impression on Indian commercial or fiscal policy than is desirable. But the deeper study of Indian economics in the Universities will, it is to be hoped, help in evolving a sufficiently large army of Indian publicists to offer constructive criticism on the policy which is in vogue at present and on future policies that may be put forward under the new Constitution.

The question of Local Self-Government in India will also assume a new phase under the new Constitution. It is one of the weakest links in the Indian chain of administrative reform. We could have marched with greater confidence to a semi-autonomous and ultimately autonomous Indian Government if our experience of the Municipalities and District Boards had been more encouraging.

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Our big cities like Lahore and Calcutta as well as our small Municipalities have all come under the fire of severe criticism. More than that. The average citizen has to confess that the services which we expect of local bodies are not performed as efficiently as could be desired. On this subject public opinion will have to mobilize itself. Rate-payers associations will have to watch vigilantly the actual execution of the various measures connected with municipal duties. The appointment of Executive Officers in many of the Municipalities has not entirely removed the complaints, because in many cases the Executive Officers are not in direct sympathy and touch with the elected members or with the electoral body. It is to be seen how far the training to be imparted to municipal employees by means of Local Self-Government Institutes like that established in Bombay and quite recently in Lahore, will affect the general efficiency of municipal services.

"Provincial autonomy" is said to be the key-note of the new Constitution. If carefully examined, it will be found that the reservations and safeguards are so important that it can be called autonomy only in a very limited sense. But there is no doubt that if public opinion bestirs itself and exercises effective control on its elected members, the work of Provincial administration will respond more and more to the demands of organized public opinion. It is impossible in the future to think of any Provincial Governments acting in defiance of a fairly clear mandate given by the electorate to its representatives in the Provincial Assemblies. It remains for us to organize this public opinion, and to eliminate all the barriers that at present stand in the way of formulating it on a reasonable basis free from sectionalism. In that direction lies the work of our rising generation who wish to serve their country.

If financial well-being and financial security are to be attained for each individual in the nation, we shall have to do much more than reform our Constitution or our public administration. Our social divisions will require drastic changes. Our family system is almost being disintegrated by the impact of new forces, and if our social divisions take a new alignment, our family customs will need further adjustments. This will need an

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almost complete revision in the position of our women, and in the upbringing of our children. Such far-reaching reforms require the sustained attention of our women: without their assistance the reforms will be unreal. "Homely youths have ever homely wits." Homely women may be charming in the household, and may save a great deal of awkwardness and inconvenience to their men-folk, but their wits will remain homely, and unsuited to the larger work required in the nation.

May I close with a thought which I have no time to develop further on this occasion? We have not been able to adjust the relations between centralized economics and individual economics. The tremendous impetus given by the Industrial Revolution to the centralization of economics - sometimes stigmatized as the Capitalist System - has engulfed the upper strata of our collective or national life in the waves of international finance. As you descend lower among the lives of the people, you find placid pools or troughs or "Pockets" of localized economics. These are subject to violent fluctuations on account of forces of suction or disturbing currents which are not locally intelligible and for which no local remedies can possibly suffice. There is therefore no economic stability of any kind, - either for the individual, the family, or the groups that are closest to our every-day experience. We are puzzled, and we attribute our misfortunes to all sorts of wrong causes. We are attracted to all sorts of foolish theories and quack schemes which are offered to us. Our first need is economic well-being and security. Without it we shall continue to grovel in a mass of chronic poverty, unemployment, misery and despair, which is preventible and which in any efficient State should be prevented.

The subject of economics as it is being taught in our colleges does not really bring us to close grips with burning questions relating to India. The abstract principles will have to be applied closely to our own conditions. Our institutions will have to be examined with reference to those conditions. Few problems of our immediate future are of such vital importance as our economic problems. It is the duty of educated India to give a lead and produce the proper atmosphere for the study and solution of these problems.



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ECONOMIC PLANNING AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

[By T. SATYANARAYANA RAO.]

THE demand for a planned economy has become very widespread in all countries as a result of the experience of the present world economic crisis. Except the orthodox section of economists who argue that a reversal to unrestricted capitalism is the only way of bringing in enduring recovery, all others of all shades of thought are agreed that something must be done to get the world out of the present morass and place it permanently on a more sound footing. Some of the proposals extend only to a change in the methods of monetary management, some to greater state control and intervention in the national economic sphere, some to schemes of public works, some to international agreements and collaboration, and some to the replacement of the present social system by a different one.

In popular terminology, not much distinction is made between all these programmes and proposals, so far as the application of the term "economic planning" to them is concerned. If the State establishes a machinery to adjust industrial disputes; if it passes some laws or gets up some codes about hours of labour and wages; if it controls the foreign exchanges or meddles with the banking system; if it enters into agreements or establishes quotas and tariffs in foreign trade; or even if it launches upon a scheme of public works, it is acclaimed as "planning". At this rate, we must be having "planning" for quite a long time, and the contention that this "planning" has not a little to do with the muddle in which we are landed, appears to be largely valid.

There is no use of confusing the issue by calling things by wrong names. "Planning" is much more comprehensive and drastic in its nature. In the real sense of the term it involves the coordination of the whole economic life of a community into one centralized scheme, embracing all its aspects—production, exchange, and distribution.

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At present, all the economic activities of society are coordinated by their complex mutual relations adjusted by the forces of the so-called "Free-market". This, it is claimed, brings about the best distribution of productive resources among the multitudinous branches and activities of production, and the best division of labour nationally and internationally. It is also claimed that it distributes the final products among the factors of production according to their productivities or real worths, and ensures that the whole productive system is tuned to the consumers' demands as indicated by the prices they are willing to pay. In other words, here is a perfect mechanism, ensuring harmony and equilibrium in the economic sphere and guaranteeing increasing prosperity and well-being to the man in the street. The whole thing, say the orthodox economists, broke down because stupid states intervened and restricted capitalism from working out its functions; and all these restrictions and this intervention were due to "Socialistic" ideas.*

This is rather curious, for States hitherto seem to have been anxious to ward off Socialism. This argument is even misleading because it does not admit that the imperfections and limitations of the so-called "Free Market" are so large that they brought about its own annihilation; and that capitalist influences are the most prominent in bringing about these restrictions and interventions into economic life. This line of argument does not furnish an answer to the question, "with all the states in its hands, why did Capitalism blunder as it did?" It does not take into account the fact that the "free market" and "economic equilibrium" are at present mere figments of imagination. It does not take into account the phenomena of monopolies, cartels and trusts; control of industries by banks and financial institutions; economic imperialism followed by political imperialism; and imperialistic wars as a result of the ambitions of vested interests being converted into national ambitions. Their proposals for the restoration of economic freedom do not extend to the relinquishment of the political and economic domination over unfortunate countries like India. Nor do they admit that the much maligned and mystic entity the "state" under modern

* Lionel Robbins *The Great Depression*, pp. 199, 200

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conditions is nothing but a tool of vested interests, and its blunders are mainly due to the influence of those interests.

It is to replace this anarchy of production, exchange and distribution, and this distorted "Free Market" by a conscious central control and direction that planning is demanded. It is no good pointing out that unrestricted capitalism or individualism would bring about adjustments and solve the problem, for such a thing has ceased to exist and cannot be revived. "If, however," says Sir Arthur Salter, "we consider the factors which, as compared with the last century, are novel in degree and in kind, and which tend to restrict and disturb the normal free adjustments, we shall, I think, realize that the automatic system can never again be relied upon to function as easily and frictionlessly as it did in the past.*"

The question is whether planning can be successfully done without destroying the essentials of the present social system; private ownership of the means of production, guidance of economic activity by the interplay of the forces of the market, and the preservation of the motive of private profit as the incentive to industry and investment. Those who want to plan without destroying the essentials of the present social structure, as pointed out by Prof. Lionel Robbins do not clearly understand the implications of planning, or they do not mean planning in the real sense of the term.†

Let us take one problem of a planned economy—the distribution of productive resources among the various branches of production. If the profit motive and individual disposal of resources are to be allowed these may come into conflict with the purpose of the plan. If the central authority intervenes and directs the employment of productive resources, then the individual's freedom to dispose of his resources and his judgment according to profit are gone. Again, when people are allowed to make profits as they can and have properties as they like they may decide to withhold a part of their savings and not to invest

* Sir Arthur Salter *The Framework of an Ordered Society*, page 6.

† Lionel Robbins *The Great Depression*, page 146.

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them at all. In such a case society will have to face a situation like the present one—when capital lies idle and people are unemployed. As the state does not command all the available resources it cannot compel people to invest as it likes. Again, it cannot eliminate the difficulties due to fluctuations in the prices of securities, operated upon by interested speculators, thereby diverting the resources from one industry to another. Unless the state extends its intervention from one branch to another and ends up in a complete control, planning within a capitalist structure cannot succeed.

The failure of attempts of this type can be seen from recent American experience of the Recovery programme. The codes aim on the one hand to raise prices by inflatory steps and on the other to raise wages by limiting hours of work. This cannot cure either the depression or unemployment, because the rise in wages is absorbed by the rise in prices and the rise in costs prevents a profit margin adequate to revive industrial investment. So the tendency is for unemployment to increase (not taking into account the absorption of some men by the public works programme). Again while organizing industries into monopolistic associations and trying to adjust matters within industries, the relations between industries are left unadjusted. This makes the structure more rigid than what it was and it cannot interfere further without completely taking away the rights of businessmen to deal with industry. An attempt to group producers into monopolistic combinations with the state's power behind them will simply result in an all-round attempt at restriction of production with a view to raising prices and preserving the values of capital invested, which will result in general poverty. It prevents improvements in production resulting in cheapening products and thereby satisfying consumers' demand to a fuller extent. It enhances and maximizes the restrictive influences which stand against the free adjustment of economic factors to the price mechanism, but it does not make provision for an alternative adjustment in the interests of society at large.

Some people argue that the Fascist "Corporate State" offers an example of successful economic planning without destroying private property or individual enterprise. But an examination of the economic aspects of Fascism shows that

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Fascist planning suffers from the same impediments as capitalist planning.

Before we can come to any conclusion regarding the Fascist attempt at planning we have to note that Fascism is not in any sense a complete theory, and its economic aspect is much more vague than its political aspect. It seems to be more a set of negations than a set of positive purposes, and its content has changed from country to country.

The most fundamental economic characteristics of Fascism appear to be (a) preservation of the essentials of the capitalist structure—private property, individual initiative in production, and subordination of the process of production to the price mechanism not of an entirely free market, but a market largely controlled by the "State". (b) Establishment of corporations consisting of equal numbers of representatives of capital, labour and the state, presided over by a nominee of the state to decide all the problems of the industry particularly those of industrial disputes. (c) Economic autarchy or the pursuing of the aggressive national ideal of self-sufficiency and Imperialism in the economic sphere. (d) Functional representation (through the Fascist party) as the method of election of the Government. Of these, the only characteristics actually prevalent are the preservation of the essentials of capitalism and serious attempts at autarchy and Imperialism. There is, of course, frequent interference by the state in industry and economic activities, but the incidence of coercion is more on labour than on the capitalists. The practical effect has been to cut down the wages and the standard of living of labourers considerably and the banning of any concerted action on their part to improve their position. Unemployment and the depression have been as severe in Italy as elsewhere.

The "Corporative State" did not exist till recently; nor does it inspire us with any hope of harmony and progress in the economic sphere. The corporations, as they are constituted, are bound to proceed on lines profitable to the employers and the voice of labour is bound to be one in the wilderness. The State or the Fascist Dictatorship, with its iron hand, can indeed dictate terms to the employers, but as the Dictatorship itself depends for its power on the power of capital, and on the ability to finance armed forces, what is mystically called the "state" and idolized

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as that before which everybody should bow boils down to the agency of the capitalists. Under such circumstances the "State" cannot interfere to raise the standard of living of the masses within the country, and has to launch on expansionist expeditions and to keep the labour force employed in making armaments, and enthusiastic in the feverish excitement of a war.

Even if the Corporative State were to function in a better fashion, the preservation of individual enterprise, economic inequality, and the profit motive, is bound to bring about a restrictionist race between the corporation which will try to make better profits by restricting their production. The defects of a state-guaranteed system of monopolies working for profits make their appearance in full.

The above considerations seem to lead to the conclusion that economic planning is possible only under a socialist system where all the means of production are socially owned and centrally controlled, and where the central authority will be in a position to distribute the resources according to a central plan. This important point is realized both by socialists and the orthodox economists. Either planning should mean thorough planning of all aspects of economic activity or it should fail to achieve its purpose.

But will a socialist-planned economy achieve its purpose? Can it provide for the progressing prosperity of humanity, and can it introduce peace, order and freedom in the world? These are questions which are being increasingly discussed, especially because the only organized attempt at Socialist planning that of the U. S. S. R.—has attracted the world's attention in a remarkable manner.

A number of great economists from the various centres of learning of the world have attacked the socialist idea of planning and pronounced that it will be both a danger and a failure.

Assuming that the purpose of a socialist plan is to "distribute the factors of production in such a way that it will be impossible to withdraw them from any one line and put them to any other

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without the products sacrificed being of greater value than the products gained"; "and if wants change, or if the means of satisfying them alter it will seek to rearrange production so as once more to attain the end", Professor Lionel Robbins says that a socialist society does not possess any index or basis of accounting by which this aim can be attained.* Under the capitalist system, this is achieved by the mechanism of the market price; but this mechanism is eliminated under socialism. This is the main point of criticism offered by the orthodox economists. It is said that a socialist state cannot solve the problem of value, either in internal affairs or in international trade, and therefore, according to Mises, "No rational economic activity is possible in a socialist commonwealth" and according to Brutzkus "the Capitalistic anarchy of production can be altered only by a super-anarchy under socialism."† From this fundamental point of criticism follow others: that is socialist economy cannot make adequate provision for future needs and for capital equipment; that it will require a regimentation of labour and authoritarian dictations from the centre to guide the distribution of resources; that the consumers of a socialist state will have no choice but to consume what is produced; that the plan cannot provide for changes, and so on. It is further pointed out that in the international sphere the anarchy will be greater, high-protectionism will be the rule and a sort of geographical syndicalism follows, a chaos of bilateral bargains between state monopolies results and disorder and indeterminateness become general. World-planning is said to be impossible and a world of nationally planned states will add economic friction to political friction and it will not offer hopes of political stability or economic progress.

This is really formidable criticism of socialism; but much of it is quite old and is stated again with new vigour and by modern economists. This line of criticism is based upon the assumption that in the present social system there is a rational index for

* Lionel Robbins, *The Great Depression*, p. 146.

† *Journal of Political Economy*, edited by Prof. F. von Hayek and *Economic Planning in Social Systems*, by Prof. R. Brutzkus. An appreciative summary of these works and views has been made by Sir J. C. Cowie in an article entitled "The New Critique of Socialism," in the *Atheneum* of August 1935. See also *The Great Depression*, by Robbins (pages 145 to 159) and "An Economist looks at Planning" by T. L. Gregory in his *Trade, Unemployment, and Capitalism*.

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economic activity the market price ; that productive resources are largely mobile and that the "free market" brings about the necessary adjustments and ultimately the whole productive mechanism is subordinated to consumers' demand, which has a "free choice" and which guides the whole system. These are all assumptions which have largely lost their validity ; nor can this free "capitalism" be made to function again for the simple reason that conditions are totally different from what they were. As Mrs. Barbara Wootton puts it, "Have we any really reliable measure of economic calculations in *any* kind of Society ?" * The market price is not found to be a satisfactory index in experience because the assumption that effective demand and needs are the same is not true. Experience tells us that a number of urgent needs of millions of men are not satisfied, whereas the less urgent demands of a few people are satisfied, and we are asked to believe that this is an index which ensures the supremacy of consumers' demand over production. Demand does not always determine production, it can be said as well that production determines demand. Besides, market prices are not stable indices either, because any mismanagement of the monetary mechanism or a simultaneous miscalculation of demand by producers upsets the whole system. We have found during recent years to our cost that these "rational indices" did not work out in any rational fashion. It is possible to say that this is all due to "interference", but interference, unfortunately, seems to be the general rule.

Besides, if the market price be the only rational index to economic activity and if private enterprise can be relied upon to perform it in the most satisfactory fashion, why should the state undertake any economic functions at all ? What are the limits to the application of this principle ? As Mrs. Wootton pertinently points out "There is nothing in their agreement which would not apparently justify the conclusion that the provision of medical services, defence and education ought to be left to the initiative of private producers acting on strictly commercial principles in a free market." As it is we do not rely on the market price as the sole index for all activities. In the realm of public finance we

* Review of "The Economist Economic Planning" etc. by Mrs. Barbara Wootton in the *Economist* August 1935 p. 348.

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adopt social good as the object, and "ability to pay" as the index of distribution of the tax burden. According to the above agreement, we will have to leave all the Government departments free to enter the market and perform services and get what prices they can; that, probably, would be the most efficient system.

Nor is it quite clear that a socialist state will be entirely devoid of rational indices. Prof. Robbins himself admits that a price system coupled with rationing, can be utilized to distribute the consumer's goods according to demand in a Socialist State. The difficulty arises with regard to the factors of production for which no market exists. But as the prices of factors of production will depend ultimately on the prices of consumer's goods, if a price system can exist for consumer's goods, it should be possible to calculate factor prices on the basis of the prices of consumer's goods, and utilize these calculations in the planning process. It may not be possible to use purely "economic" indices and it may be necessary to use a combination of "technical" and "economic" indices, and the best indices to be employed will have to be the result of practical administrative experience rather than abstract theory. It is clearly to be admitted that the fundamental problem of finding satisfactory indices for the distribution of productive resources between alternative uses in the manner most conducive to social welfare has still to be solved. But it does not follow that capitalism has satisfactory indices to employ while Socialism has to proceed absolutely in the dark.

The experience of the Soviet Union in planning does not warrant the conclusion that it is either a danger or a failure. That experience does not indicate that the consumer will have no choice or freedom, on the other hand it points to an increasing freedom and variety of choice. Mr. Louis Fischer, writing in the *New Statesman and the Nation** (20th July 1935) points to the fact that in the Soviet Union "People are differently dressed, they carry different books. Some walk into restaurants. Others prefer to buy their food in a store and prepare it in the home kitchen. Theatres, concerts, and cinemas offer a wide variety of style, content and performers. The realist, the romantic, the lovers of classics, the eager reader

* Louis Fischer, *The Russian Consumer* in the *New Statesman and the Nation*, 20th July 1935.

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of adventure, and avid devourer of poetry will find plenty to please their diverse palates in the bookshop..." He adds "When goods are manufactured for use rather than for profit, and when every producer is a consumer and every consumer a producer it is only natural that the producer should be interested in creating the best commodities for himself—the consumer. The reason why planned economy, far from diminishing choice, emphasizes choice, is that in the U. S. S. R. there is no divorce between production and consumption."

Nor does Soviet experience indicate that planning there is rigid, changeless, authoritarian, or chaotic. The technique of planning, its statistical base, its general outline, the bringing together of plans from the centre and the circumference, the participation by all concerned parties in its discussion, formation and execution and the checking up of the plan and the results with the aid of financial and technical indices are all said to be developing with experience. The plan provides for change as well as for other achievements. As V. V. Oblensky Ossensky puts it "Plans may be—for one reason or another—overfulfilled in one section and underfulfilled in another. This may result from a development of the potentialities to an undreamed-of degree, or from special difficulties encountered in a particular field. The deciding measure of a plan's success is the general balance of fulfilment and whether or not it has realized its fundamental ideas. A plan is no dead fetish. It is a living programme, and hence may be partially changed while it is underway."*

Before one can come to a conclusion about the nature and success of planning in a Socialist state, one has to note that the plan is not merely economic but also social. The plan forms the basis for socialism and for progress under socialism. So we have to take into account the fundamentally changed nature of society, the forces it curbs and the forces it releases. Ossensky says "Speculation, waste and parasitic consumption are eliminated. On the other hand since socialized economy is based upon the

* V. V. Oblensky Ossensky, "Social Economic Planning in the U. S. S. R.", in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1935, Vol. XIII, No. 3.

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conscious cooperation of the working masses, one of the pre-requisites of socialist economy is a steady rise, not only in their culture and standard of living but in their social perception and social activity. This calls for an immense development of education, of cultural work, of scientific research, and its technical applications. This is the essential background of social-economic planning as it is in operation in the U. S. S. R." He adds, "In short, planning is an essential of socialist economy ; but socialist economy is not planned economy only."

The Socialist, therefore, seeks to change the social conditions under which economic activity takes place, including the very human nature. He hopes to build up new incentives, and to base the productive system not merely on "economic motives" as understood at present but on the love of social good to an increasing extent. Under such a plan, labour need not be "regimented", because it is for the prosperity and freedom of the labour that the whole plan is undertaken ; nor can it be said that his freedom will be less under such a system than when his only alternatives are a job at a price or starvation.

The success of a Socialist planned economy depends upon the will for Socialism ; the men who are selected to be at the helm of affairs ; the extent to which the selfishness of men, which is said to be their fundamental trait, can be eliminated. It comes to a question of faith in human nature and the possibility to alter it.

If it were possible to create that will for Socialism, where maximum profit or wealth ceases to be the ideal of life and when the ideal of social good takes its place, adjustment between various peoples, areas, units, regions and even countries may become easier. A world of truly socialist states may find it easier to achieve world planning on a basis of mutual advantage than a world like the present to adjust its conflicting interest. True socialism is nothing if not international in outlook, and probably the problems of economic nationalism can only be solved by international socialism.

But can the will for socialism come into being? Can the

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love of social good really replace the love of personal gain? And can the right men to manage such a movement and system be found? Can human nature be altered in the desired direction?

History alone can answer these questions. And on the answer to these questions depends the answer to the question whether Socialist economic planning can be a success.

THE PATH OF GOODNESS

(From the Standpoint of Hinduism)

[BY DR. S. P. Y. SURENDRANATH VOEGELI-ARYA]

1

MANY are the interpretations of the Path of Shivam.

I have no quarrel with those who do not accept my interpretation of it

But, I have chosen this interpretation as the result of my long years
of meditation on its meaning because it helps me to grow in my Shiva.

I shall be satisfied if I realize my Parama Shivam through this interpretation,
by living it in my everyday life

2

WHAT are the characteristics of this Path? So they ask me.

Why, it is to seek Shiva and to find Him while I am here

It is to find Him and to realize Him here, and now, through this world which
is His gift to us.

It is to own Him in the lives of the lowliest and the least, here, and now.

The last but not the least is to render my worship unto Him, here and now
by serving all His children, irrespective of their caste, creed or colour

3

SHIVA, this approach to Thee is not an easy one

Many a saint hath perished here before he reached Thy feet here

But His consolation was that he honestly struggled to reach Thee, while he
was here

Though his struggles were many he was never afraid of facing them.

The more he slipped from the slippery mountain-side of life, here, the greater
was his enthusiasm to reach Thy padambhuvan, while he lived here.

He was never idle and he never allowed himself to be defeated by the many falls
he had to sustain here

He pulled himself up and constantly attempted to climb the high ascent of life
in Thee, while he lived here

4

MY interpretation of the Path of Shivam is my daily life here.

It is my daily conduct in this world here.

It is my character which I manifest in my everyday relation with my fellow-
beings, here.

It is my daily life in Thee here.

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This is my interpretation of the Path of Shivam.

As the result of such a life in Thee, pleasures come to me.

I am not a pessimist.

I am not against pleasure, I enjoy it when it comes to me as Thy gift.

But, the Path of Pleasure is not mine.

My path is the Path of Nitya Nitrantra Nishkama Manava Seva.

St. Tayarammal of Tirisripuram.

GOODNESS is the rich, active, energetic life that constrains us to live and work for the uplift and emancipation, for the growth and development, for the enhancement of the richness and expansion of our own creative self and the creative selves of others, individually as well as collectively. It is the divine desire of all earnest and sincere workers to pour out the wealth of their physical and intellectual, moral and spiritual powers and potentialities on the altar of public duty. It is the untiring and unending devotion of the devotees of God to their daily duties without undue or unnecessary attachment to the poor or rich returns, and the just or unjust rewards of their actions.

But the Path of Goodness is not a smooth one. It is a rough and thorny one. Nevertheless, one must not be afraid of walking on it. Those who are afraid of walking on it are not entitled to wear the Crown of Goodness which is worn only by the heroic children of God, who always and under all circumstances remain as the most uncompromising devotees of goodness. For the apostles of active goodness must fight formidable battles against the six fierce enemies of mankind Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Madha, Matsarya, before they think of decorating themselves with the Crown of Goodness. Besides, the Crown of Goodness is not given to any one as a gift. It is won on the battle-field of life by the undaunted adherents of goodness. The devotees of goodness must make themselves free and fearless representatives of truth and justice. They must courageously expose the evils of an exploiter and openly oppose the tyranny of an oppressor. Those who have determined to walk on the Path of Goodness, steadily and steadfastly, must learn to despise and discard lust and cupidity. They must consider it as sacred as a religious duty to impress on the mind of the young and the old,

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on the mind of men and women, that a devitalized man is not only a loss and liability to himself and his family but such a one is a great burden to his nation as well. They must firmly establish the fact, that health is the wealth of an individual as well as of a nation by they themselves living a healthy, strong, sturdy, industrious life, in their land. They must have the boldness to denounce the despotism of those who force their dogmas on others and attack the tyranny of those who thrust their harmful traditions on others. Such sadhakas of Shivam must consider it a privilege to get themselves engaged, of their own free-will, in relieving the sorrows and sufferings of the poor and distressed. They must clothe the ill-clad, feed the famished, shelter the homeless, educate the unenlightened, free the bond, remove the invidious distinctions between men and men. They must drive out ugliness from their country and instal the goddess of beauty in its stead. They must ardently endeavour to chase away the blinding darkness of superstition and ignorance from their land and let the radiant light of sweet reasonableness pervade and permeate in the heaven of every human heart. They must proclaim it to the world with great courage and conviction that the seat of authority in every vital matter pertaining to life is not external to them, in a book, in an institution or even in a tradition but it is installed by God in the golden shrine of their own conscience. They must make their country a land of fruits and flowers, a land of celestial music and divine dance, a land of great art and architecture. They must make their Matrubhumi a Punyabhumi, a Shivapuri.

The earth's earthy will place ever so many obstacles on the path of the devotees of goodness. They will say many ugly things about them. They will clap their hands and laugh at them. They will try to mislead the ardent apostles of Shivam into the wayless wilderness of their subtle sophistry. They will talk to them in the high and ostensible language of theorizers. They will not define goodness in the every-day language of a man in the street. The professional pedagogues who preach the Science of moral Economy and the Custodians of Traditional Theology who uphold the doctrine of predetermination will not deign it proper to descend from their University Heaven to the level of a man of experience. To these University Professors,

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who believe in the immutability of Moral Laws, and Believers in Books and their finality and infallibility, the pressing and positive problems of everyday experience, the practical and concrete issues of life, which stand before them every moment of their life, in this most real world of all real worlds, are of no importance. According to them, to descend to a level of a practical man, a man of everyday experience is to play the part of a proletarian or a plebeian.

But the patient and persistent pilgrims who continue their journey on the Path of Life from the standpoint of its practical needs do not care to lend their ears to the vicious council of these one-sided preachers of goodness. These devotees of goodness assert that Life is Goodness, and Goodness is Life. According to them, their goodness must extend to every aspect of Life, it must extend to the fields and factories, streets and markets, lecture halls and legislative councils, homes and temples. There is no verbal jugglery about them. There are no two Dharmas about them one Paramarthika and the other Vyavaharika or Laukika.

They do not divide the life into compartments and say 'This one is for Religion and that one is for Social Matters, this one is for Men and that one is for Women, this one is for the Rulers and that one is for the Ruled, this one is for the Agrajati and that one is for the Antyajati'. They do not believe in such inconceivably stupid, irrational and arbitrary distinctions and divisions. In all fundamental and essential matters of life mankind is the same. Their ambition is not to produce a clever and polite essay on Goodness or Theory of Goodness. Their passion is to place before their people a rich and real Moral Life. When no one encourages them, they do not lose their heart. They march into the battle-field of Life with courage for their shield, with wisdom for their sword, with sincerity of purpose for their helmet, with preserverance for their armour. They do not care to identify themselves with those who having lost their way in life indulge in manufacturing mere deceptive catch phrases. They are not empty theorizers. They are doers of great deeds. They are practical idealists. They believe in applied Ethics. They believe in Life. They believe in the Life of Samanvayam.

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They believe in the Life of Samata. It is only they that can think of continuing their pilgrimage to the Shrine of Nitya Nirantara Nishkama Manava Seva. According to our ancestors, those who live such a Life of Goodness are ideal men and women. It is because such ideal men and women lived in ancient India, and it is because they made others also live such unselfish and useful lives that the illustrious king Ashwapati Kaikeya could say —

Within my realm there is no thief,
No miser, nor a drinking man,
None altirless, no ignorant,
No man unchaste, no wife unchaste.

Chandogya Upanishad.

Such was the verdict of a great Hindu king about his subjects. He bore such a glorious testimony to the greatness and goodness of his people because he himself lived a good and great life, he himself lived an active, industrious, purposeful and productive life. A Hindu Prince, a Hindu King, or a Hindu Emperor of our glorious yesterday was not an idle drone who lived on others' labour, who usurped his people's rights, who shamelessly exploited his people's resources, without contributing anything in return. Our ancient Rulers did not relegate their rights and prerogatives of imparting right and proper kind of education to their people, to the paid and professional priests and lived blameworthy and bankrupt lives as most of our princes and kings do to-day. They were great Brahmayettas. They considered it their religious duty to impart Brahamagranam and Atmagranam to their people irrespective of their positions or possessions, irrespective of their sex or profession. They never countenanced the evils of castes and creeds. They said :

To him who seeth wisely and well,
To him who seeth with an unprejudiced eye and with an
unbiased mind,
The Brahmin with his scrolls and sanctities,
The cow, the elephant, the unclean dog,
He who cooks the unclean dog and gorges its meat, are
all one.
—Geeta.

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It is because our Princes and Philosophers believed in unity of mankind, it is because they believed in goodness and practised it, our country, in the past, believed in one God, one Country, and one Nation. In more cases than one, our ancient Hindu Rulers were the devoted and disinterested servants of their subjects. Sometimes, they were too much of their subjects' servants. Sometimes, they sacrificed too much of their peace and happiness in order to please and pacify their people. *Yata raja tata praja*. Such was the sage saying. People were the prototypes of their princes.

What is our fate to-day? Most of our Hindu Princes care very little for Unity, care much less for goodness. They are interested in their own pleasures. Sometimes, very objectionable pleasures! Waste themselves and waste their money in a wreckless manner. Some of our princes are not even properly educated. How they get themselves involved in any number of unnecessary troubles! How can we expect their subjects to be better? What sad and sorry sort of lives do not our princes live in our own country and in foreign countries to-day? What barbaric splendour do they not exhibit in their dress, jewels, and living before their starving subjects in their own land and before the ridiculing critics in foreign lands? What poor and impoverished lives have become theirs? Simplicity of life has left them! High thinking has left them!

Is it a wonder then that we have become so absolutely foreign to the ideal of active and applied Disinterested Goodness which our Princes and People preached and practised in our land once? Is it a wonder then that our country has fallen a ruinous victim to fissiparous evils of castes and creeds to-day? Is it a wonder that we are nowhere in this world to-day? Is it in any way strange that the smallest people of the smallest countries in this world, look down upon us? It is not in vain that our ancients asserted, *Yata raja tata praja*. It is too true. We dare not deny it. As is the King so are his Subjects.

We must go back to the Ideals of Nishkaniakarma, Samata and Sananvayam. We must learn to discharge our Private and Public Duties without expecting returns and rewards. We must

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become Atmajitas. We must become Atmagnanis. We must become Brahmagnanis. We must become Niruddaviryavans. Once again, we must pause a while in this world of purposeless and mechanical hustle and jostle and ponder over the meaning of the memorable verses of Shri Krishna, the wise teacher of mankind : —

The higher-self of him who is self-governed,
He who maintaineth peace in his own self,
Treateth alike cold and heat, pain and pleasure, glory and
shame,
He is the Yogi, he is Yukta.
He is satisfied with wisdom and knowledge,
His senses are subdued. To him a little of earth, a piece
of stone, and a lump of gold make no difference,
He is impartial to comrades, friends and foes,
He is impartial to chance-comers and neutrals, aliens and
kinsmen.
He treateth them all equally.
He is the Friend of his own Higher-self, he is the Friend
of mankind.
— *Geeta*.

It is only then we can dispel the darkness of ignorance from our country. It is only then we can successfully drive out the demons of caste and creeds, and their paid hirelings. It is only then we can increase the peace and prosperity of our people. It is only then we can say that we are neither Hindus nor Musalmans, Christians nor Parsees, but the children of One God, and Valiant Sons and Daughters of the Great Mother, India. I shall once again let Shri Krishna himself speak to us :—

O Arjuna listen,—

Those who wish to live in this world and live well,
Those who wish to cure this world of its aches and evils,
Those who wish to make their people good and great,
Those who wish to make their people glad and rich,

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They must neither faste too much nor must they feast too much.

They must not waste their strength in vigils nor must they lose their appetite for their daily duties by sleeping too long.

They must be neither slothful in mind nor must they indulge in unfruitful speculations.

They must be moderate in eating, resting and sport.

They must be well-poised in thought, well-measured in speech, well-discharged in deed.

—*Gesta.*

I must express a word of caution here. I do not like to be understood for a person who insists that all people practised such an ideal of Goodness in Ancient India, and always. Indeed, there were certain fundamentally different conceptions of Goodness in Ancient India. I do not deny it. It is nothing strange in so big a country, peopled by so many different races and creeds, varying theories of life and notions of goodness survived in the past. But, the idea that all Hindus are a set of emaciated and worn-out ascetics, wasting themselves, without any zest for life, in dark and deserted caves on high hills and in deep dales, because of their defective Philosophy of Moral Life, is so ignorant and imbecile an accusation that I feel ashamed to take notice of it. Our jaundiced critics must study the History and Literature of the Hindu People to get themselves convinced of their valiant deeds and of their great personal sacrifices, their passion for sport and their taste for art, their love for the world and their mastery over it, their competence and capacity to make themselves daring conquerors and trusted saviours of mankind. What good and great things have they not contributed for the enrichment and elevation of this world? What enduring contributions have they not made to the sum-total of human happiness? Let them go to Burma and Ceylon, Anam and Corea, Java and Bali, Siam and Cambodia, China and Japan, to see with their own eyes the unsurpassed splendour of the Hindu Art which the Hindu citizens of this Devabhumi contributed in the past. Is it not true that the invulnerable might of their shoulders, the powerful wielding of their swords, the surprising skillfulness of their archery, the superb strength of their soul which made them lay down their rich lives

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on the sacred altar of their patriotism, which our warriors demonstrated so divinely that staggered the imagination of Alexander and his Greek soldiers who were considered to be the fiercest fighters in those days? What piercing and penetrative brains they possessed? What potent and powerful physique they possessed?

I ask, is it possible for a nation that had lost its enthusiasm for life to have contributed so much of art and so much of goodness to this world? Is it possible to conceive that the votaries of a nation which sent so many of its men and women emissaries of Satyam, Shivan and Sundaram to different parts of this wide world did not believe in the Reality of this Rich world? Is it possible to believe that they were do-nothings and know-nothings?

I have no doubt whatever that our people, in the past, had a very great belief in the unending riches of this real world, and enjoyed the fullness of their enriched life in it. I am also convinced that they knew the art of living their life well and the art of enjoying it well, in all its aspects, here, in this mundane world. They were not weaklings. Our ancients were great because we find in their well-balanced lives brain and brawn enjoyed equal share of activity. When the mad waves of life's rough sea tossed them up and down they did not run away to a lonely cell in a deep dark forest. They encountered the pains and pleasures of life boldly and cheerfully. Only, they did not like to be enslaved by the mere momentary sensible impressions and external stimulants which have the tendency to degrade human beings and transform them as devoted slaves, sipping the sweets of idle life, irresponsible and indifferent to their daily duties, as individuals and citizens of their country, on the lascivious lap of their vain and flippant Goddess, Pleasure. They did not like to be hurled down from their high pedestal as Pratibimbās of their Parama Shiva by the vanishing vanities of this world, which appear like things which have but an alluring surface without any substratum.

I said that there were in our country some radically different conceptions of goodness. It is not possible for me to run the whole catalogue of them here. I shall restrict myself only to

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three of them. The first was the Path of Preya. The second was that of Pessimism. And the third was the Path of Nitya Nirantara Nishkama Manava Seva.

Those who accepted the Path of Pleasure averred that which helped their life to grow and develop itself was not the idea of self-sacrifice, other-mindedness, duty, or goodness but its due and legitimate reward. This due and legitimate reward of their actions, they said, must be and ought to be Pleasure. The saner and sounder minds of Ancient India strongly protested against Pleasure as the Supreme Good. Why they did this, we shall see.

Our ancients were not sad and sullen people. They never advocated a sour and ascetic life. They knew both the advantages and disadvantages of the Path of Preya. They refused to accept Pleasure as the end and aim of life not because they believed that Pleasure was something inherently evil or sinful in itself, but because it does not encourage men and women to court dangers and difficulties in the cause of Alter-egoism. It tends to make men and women egotists. Its nature is to make people believe in the Philosophy of Least Resistance. Those who accept Pleasure as the Supreme Reality of their Life, rarely become enterprising and adventurous pilgrims on the path that leads them to the Kingdom of Satyam, Shivam and Sundaram. They bend their knees too readily and slavishly before Conservatism and Superficial Conventionalities of Life.

Our wise ancestors believed in flowers and perfumes, music and dance, gold and other good things of life. But, they never made them their end and aim. They believed in world but they never allowed it to become their master. When the sweet things of this world came to them and embraced them they were not elated, when they left them and courted others' company they did not feel depressed. They never used anything selfishly. They knew when they desired to possess them egotistically, at the cost of their own higher self, and at the cost of others, their sorrows and sufferings became many and they were multiplied. They got themselves entangled in the tangled web of more greed, more restlessness and more misery. They also knew that when

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they gave away the good and pleasant things of this world freely and generously to their fellow beings they made themselves friends of their fellow human beings and their joys of life became manifold. The mad desire to possess things and own them just for the sake of possessing and owning them selfishly derived no comfort in their company. O how sagaciously Nachiketa refused to accept the boon which Yama desired to confer on him !

Death said ;

Choose sons and grandsons, who shall live for hundred years,
Many cattle, elephants, gold and horses.

Cover a big portion of land in this earth,

Live in this world as many autumns as thou desirest.

Any other boon equal to this thou mayest think,

Choose long-life and wealth,

Be thou a great prince in this wide world.

I make thee enjoyer of all desires.

Whatever desires mortals find not easy to obtain here,

Freely choose all such desires,

These handsome maidens which their chariots, musical
instruments,—

Such as are not to be obtained by men.

I give them to thee. Be thou wanted on by them.

Nachiketa said :

These things last but till to-morrow. O Death !

They wear out even the vigour of all the senses.

Even the whole of life is short.

Thine be the horses, thine be the dance and song.

—*Katopanishad.*

Pleasures are pleasures. It does not matter what kind of pleasures they are : they may be coarse kind of pleasures, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, etc., or refined pleasures like going to theatre, wasting one's precious time idly in the company of lovely maidens, dancing, singing, etc. They all have same influence on

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human mind. The life that is merely or chiefly bent on seeking and enjoying pleasures never reach the Successful End of Life, but court sadness and disaster. The life of Pleasure is, on the whole, neither a very satisfactory nor an edifying one. The life of pleasure leads to perdition not peace and prosperity.

How many rich and spectacular balls and banquets have I not witnessed? What lively excited drinking parties strutting about the banquet halls have I not witnessed? What fragrant flowers, what intoxicating perfumes, what exquisitely wrought decanters filled with sparkling spirits have I not witnessed? What passionate love songs have I not heard? What sprightly dances have I not seen? All in the name of Pleasure? Ah, believe me when I say that behind all these gay things of life which accepted mere pleasure as the Supreme Reality of Life, I found many coffins wherein many misguided and misled, bright and promising young men and women, were forced to take their untimely rest, many dilapidated houses which were, once, most beautiful and happy homes. To-day, as I am writing this article, four beautiful young souls, on whom their parents spent all their fortune for their education in foreign countries, stand before me absolutely crippled and rendered worthless because of their Philosophy of Pleasure. I ask, how else can it be? Those who shamelessly allow themselves to be seduced by pleasure, refined or gross, those who willingly allow themselves to be taken away from their colleges and universities, from their studies and their other duties, from their homes and their people by pleasure to idle away their time and waste away their life in all sorts of vain and flippant joys, will be dreadfully whipped by nature. These light-hearted truants will be punished by their own misdeeds.

This fact was never properly understood both by the Psychological as well as the Ethical Hedonists. The Professional Priests of Psychological Hedonism say that those, who denounce the sweets of sensible life, wander in this rich and beautiful world as impoverished beggars with sackcloth and ashes on their body which is given to them not to be tortured but to be enjoyed. The Professional Priests of Ethical Hedonism tell us that those, who refuse to enter into the golden temple where Dame Pleasure is the presiding deity, sink on their knees, and seek her favour, are

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doomed to perdition, and they have a place neither in heaven nor in earth.

When I seriously ponder over these one-sided and extravagant assertions of the ardent advocates of pleasure, I am compelled to bow my head humbly and reverently, and accept the sane and sound verdict of Yama :—

The good is one thing, the pleasant quite another,
Both these, having different objects, chain a person.
Of these two, it is well for him who clings to the good,
He misses his aim who chooses the pleasant,
Both the good and the pleasant approach a man,
The wise goes around them and differentiates.
Indeed, the wise prefers the good to the pleasant,
The fool chooses the pleasant out of desire to obtain it
and possess it.

—*Katopanishad.*

The pessimists maintained that the Will-to-Live was the taproot of all woes and miseries in this world. According to them, the abandonment of all works was the only panacea for all ills and evils on this earth which is a vale of tears and valley of death. These morbid thinkers proclaimed in a mournful language that their freedom did not consist in their self-expression and self-expansion but it consisted in self-repression and self-annihilation. I shall not prolong this painful discussion any longer. I shall close this portion of my article merely by quoting a well-administered rebuke from the mouth of Shri Krishna :—

No man winneth freedom from action by shunning action,
No man raiseth to perfection by mere renouncements.
No man can, even for a wink of time, really remain
actionless.

Everyone is helplessly driven to action by his own nature's
law.

Who sitteth idly repressing all the organs of action while
intently brooding in his heart on the objects of his
senses,

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He playeth the inept, and he is guilty of hypocrisy.

The third class of people are they who rejected both the Path of Pleasure and the Path of Pessimism as harmful and defective ideals of life and accepted the Path of Nitya Nirantara Nishkama Manava Seva as their One Supreme Ideal of Life, as we have already interpreted it in a sketchy manner. Those, who advocated Goodness as a resultful and purposeful, as a continuous and creative life of an individual endowed with the independent initiative and power to perform his work satisfactorily, with a disinterested devotion to it, asserted that in order to realize the full meaning and value of their conception of goodness one must, at least, believe in (1) Self-knowledge and Swaraj of Self, (2) Reality of the World, (3) Activity of Self, (4) Renouncement of the Fruit of all Actions, (5) Practice and Perseverance as powerful instruments to attain Mastery over One's Self, (6) This Disinterested Service must be extended to all, (7) Ego, World, and Activity are three interdependent Realities which have their roots in the Beyond the Ultimate, the Parama Shivan. Owing to want of space, I shall say in a short and succinct manner, but a few words on the above seven points from their own standpoint

(1) Self-knowledge and the Autonomy of Self In their opinion, the first and the fundamental fact necessary for a solid and sound ethical system was the earnest and enthusiastic belief in Self, an Autonomous Self, a Self, which is competent and capable as to will, as to will-to-live, as to guide its own affairs in this world, in its own way, to react upon nature and to retreat to its own interior in an intelligent and rational manner. Without our belief in the reality of self as an independent and separate entity and its swaraj, they declared all our attempts to build up a useful Moral Philosophy of Life will end in mere smoke. Therefore it is, that our saints, so early as in the days of Upanishads, insisted, that we must believe in the reality of self whose Swaraj is responsible for destruction of self-distrust, for the dignity of Life, for the Positive World-work, for the Inness and Totality of self, for the repression of Lower-self and the expression of Higher-self. Without Swaraj of Self, the effort of an individual to make himself an Ethical Being will be as futile as the effort of a musician to produce music with a veena which has no strings on it

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He must be a follower of Swadharma. Swadharma does not mean the acceptance of caste rules and tribal rules, it does not mean the yielding of one's neck to the yoke of dogmas and doctrines of his church or creed, it does not mean seeking shelter, in an irrational manner, under the roof of one's own ancestral faith or the faith that comes to him with the pompous display of modern culture and civilization from foreign lands. Swadharma means duties and obligations which are the result of one's own hard thinking. It means obedience to the just and rational dictates of one's own well-tutored and highly-developed conscience. Really, it is Swadharma nushtatha that is a true Swarajist. I shall let St. Tayarammal herself pronounce her verdict on Swadharma.

1

Is it the dharma of Jati ?
Is it the dharma of Varna ?
Is it the dharma of Ashrama ?
No, no. It is none of these.

2

One is not born with a dharma
One gradually grows into (a dharma) it
One's dharma is determined by one's self.
One's dharma is determined by one's own thoughts,
words, deeds and the kind of life one lives in this
world.

3

Shri Krishna was born in a warrior's family.
He was brought up by a herd's woman
He was hailed as a great Acharya because of his vast
and profound learning
He was spoken of as an Avatar because of his unique
philosophy of Samadharma
To-day, he is being worshipped as a god by all the
pandits and pamaras because of his selfless life of
disinterested love which he lived in his day.

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4

Swadharma cannot be inherited from one's parents.
It cannot be imparted through books.
It cannot be purchased from the priests by giving them
gold and silver.
It cannot be dictated to anyone by external institutions.

5

It is the result of one's own meditation.
It is the result of one's own experience.
It is one's own unselfish life dedicated to the service of
man.
It is one's devoted life in God.

He must not be followers of Paradharmā. Paradharmā is what comes in the name of caste rules, in the name of a country's tradition, in the name of church dogmas, in the name of institutional ethics, etc. He must think for himself. *In the name of caste or creed, in the name of a country or tradition, he must not sacrifice his freedom.*

A man without freedom is no human being. It does not matter what high, lofty and noble ideals of life he has before him, if they are not his, if they have no roots in his own brain, if they have not the sympathy and support of his own heart and will, they are of no earthly use to him in this world or any other world. They must be the result of his own struggle and experience, they must be of his own choice. Man is not a mere machine, he is not a mere tooth of a wheel.

Man is a thinking being. He ponders over things. He discriminates. He reflects on the reality of his experience. He weighs the contents of his experience in his mind. He feels his obligations. He feels that he is responsible for his doings and dealings. He is a Kingly-self endowed with Swaraj.

(2) Reality of the world. In the second place, they asserted that the experience of this world was not mitya, and when the

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anubhava of this world was not false, the world that caused such an experience was also not false. We must believe in the reality of this world affording opportunities to self to carry on its useful, fruitful and disinterested creative commerce with it. He, who desires to gain the full meaning of goodness, he, who desires to gain the full value of life, he who wishes to enjoy the richness of his regenerate life, must endeavour to do so while he is in this world, and must firmly believe in the reality of this real world. He who begins his career in this world with a disbelief in it, ends his career with a disbelief in his own self. He who carries his intellectual, moral and spiritual intercourse and continues his practical relation with this world, in a proper and legitimate manner, in a right and rational spirit, is the man who gets his mind well stored and stocked with the varied and rich information about life, in all its aspects. He who comes in contact with the world and its inmates, irrespective of their stem or stock, is the man who knows something of the width, depth and immensity of life. We find in such a man's contemplative and practical performances or daily duties, a Cosmopolitan Mind, a miniature Universal Spirit. We can trust such a man's experiences. We are justified in seeking the comradeship of such a believer in this world which is the many-coloured garb of Satya Shiva Sundara Moorthy.

(3) Activity of Self. From their standpoint, activity was a metaphysical necessity. It provides self means to express itself fully and freely from within and realize its elevating mission nobly and well. Without activity, it is difficult to posit anything of self. Self means not mere being. It means Life. Life means throb, stir, motion, growth, progress and development. All this implies Action. And action is the activity of a self-asserting agent in a world of Purpose and Value.

(4) Abandonment of the Fruit of all actions. There were two schools of philosophers who viewed action from two radically different standpoints. The one school taught, since action was an evil, all action must be abandoned, the other school protested and said, action was not an evil but the desire to covet the fruit of action was evil. Therefore, they advocated, with all the vehemence and enthusiasm of their heart, the performance of

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all obligatory duties. One school chose the Path of Pessimism and courted sorrow and suffering unnecessarily. The other school chose the Path of Perpetual Disinterested Devotion to Mankind, and believed in self-expression and self-expansion. Besides, as it was already pointed out they maintained that it was not possible for anyone to say that he abandoned action because he kept his body inactive.

Shri Krishna says, again and again, that that man is a coward who abandons a duty because it is unpleasant or painful to perform. Isopanishad declares :

Only by doing his daily duties here,
He must desire to live a hundred years.

(5) Practice and Perseverance as powerful instruments to attain Mastery over One's Self and to help him to reach the Goal of His Life. They knew the Path of Nitya Nirantara Nishkama Manava Seva was not an easy one. They declared that it was as difficult as to walk on the sharp edge of a razor. But they were not afraid to walk on it. As often as they fell, they struggled hard to get up and continue their pilgrimage to the Supreme End of their life. Constant exertion and constant endeavour were the royal weapons they wielded against repeated defects and failures in life. They refused to walk in this world with the badge of depressed and downcast pessimistic philosophers on their forehead. They were brave men and women. They fought their fierce battles on the battle-field of Life with patience and fortitude. They were Atmajitas.

(6) This Supreme Goodness, this Disinterested Service to mankind must be extended to all people irrespective of their Race or Religion. With the courage of their conviction they said that, he who talked big and did little or nothing in his daily life to establish Shivapuri, the Kingdom of Life, Light and Love, the Kingdom of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, where all men and women can taste the Madhu of Shiva's Unlimited Love, was a deceptive person and he who knew Goodness, practised it silently and quietly, he who knew love and lived it in his everyday life fully and freely, was the praiseworthy friend of humanity. Openly

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and boldly, without any hesitation whatever, they proclaimed that that man was their pattern, that man was a Samadarshin.

(7) Ego, World, and Activity are three interdependent Realities which have their roots in the Ultimate, the Supreme Reality. According to them, it is this deep and intimate relation of the Ego, World and Activity with the All-pervading and All-permeating Power that makes our life here so rich, colourful and creative. It is this Perpetual and Perennial Fellowship with the Eternally In-dwelling Shiva that gives us a broad and wide Vision, a Vision which helps us to enlarge and expand ourselves as high as God and as wide as Man. Shiva, the Maker and Sustainer of all the worlds above and the worlds below, this God of Unlimited Love, this Nataraja, the great Cosmic-dancer Who is eternally engaged in His creative dance of Satyam, Shivam, and Sundaram, must be permitted to pour out the immense richness of His passionate poem of Samata and Samanvayam into our lives. Without His presence in us, our lives will look like beautiful castles but absolutely empty and barren. Without His presence in us, our lives will become as sour, morbid, poor, untasteful, rude, inelegant, careless, indifferent to the artistic moral and spiritual needs of life as the life of a husband in the heaven of whose heart, his ever-beloved wife no more sheds the lustrous light of her soul. There will be no more sweetness in the life of a man, in the citadel of whose heart the Supreme Shiva no more reigns. It is only by enshrining the Great God of Life, Light, and Love in the purified temple of our heart that even our Ego, World, and Activity will become Real to us, and not otherwise.

It is thus that our ancestors defined their Path of Goodness in its varied aspects. But, some kind friend may ask me if such a conception was ever realized by our ancestors. Yes, I believe that there is enough of evidence in our past history to prove that it was not merely an ideal, an unrealizable dream but it was a greatly realized life. We had men and women, in the past, who were living patterns of that ideal of Goodness. And, to-day, we have one in our midst whose active and disinterested, faultless and perfect life fills me with the necessary courage and confidence to announce to the world, we are not merely impotent

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believers in high themes of life but doers of great deeds, our virtues are strong not only in negations but they are strong in potent and powerful, productive and progressive affirmations of life. To-day, we have one in our midst whose pureness does not dwell in freezing coldness of mere passivity, of mere being, but resides in all its resplendent glory, in glow and warmth of fighting life, in free exercise of joyful powers of mind and heart. To-day, we have one in our midst who is so assiduously engaged in his great task of freeing us from the corruptions of our little self with the freedom and strength of a Jitendriya, who wishes to make us good by baptizing us with the Anrit of the life of a Swar-tatyagi. He does not go about in this world with a frigid attitude toward life and with the glacial dignity of a dead marble statue. His everyday life is so strikingly simple and yet so sublimely divine, so devoid of outward show and yet full of inward richness, so poor in physique and yet so undaunted a soldier of truth and justice that it inspires me not to forsake my faith in the ideal of Goodness and fight my battle of life nobly and well.

A certain great American Theologian and an Exponent of American Idealism once, very courageously and justly pronounced that this Indian is a Living Christ, to-day. The name Christ is a mere label. It is of no great value to me. I am interested in man himself. He belongs to the race of Progressive Prophets who preach and practise the positive virtues of life with great zeal and earnestness. It is enough to assert that he belongs to the family of Shri Krishna, Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, Kabir, Nanak, St. Tayumanavar, St. Ramalinga, St. Tarayammal, Valluvar, Lal Didi, etc. He is the one True and Trusted Friend of Harijans. He is the Emancipator of our Women. He is the Rejuvenator of our Nation. His life is a passionate poem of Atma-shakti. He loves those who persecute him, who spread scandals against him. His pronouncements pierce and penetrate into our sad lives with all their fire-force. He is a practical example of Fullness of Life. His whole life is a potent and practical demonstration of Nitya Nirantara Nishkama Manava Seva. He is a Kritatma. He is a Siddha. He is the weaver of Sabharmati. He is our well-beloved Bapu.

May Shiva, the Author of All Goodness inspire us that we

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too may live such a Useful and Fruitful Life of Goodness and help our Country and Humanity?

Now, I am done. I close this article, by citing a poem from "Rosary":

I

Shiva ever inviteth us by the Vani within us which we call
Manasakshi.

In sooth, he speaks to us every moment of our life here,
such lessons of wisdom as are needful for us to listen
to and to make ourselves faithful friends of humanity.

In sooth, he is ever industrious in keeping up the Pragnana
Pradipam in our Atma burning with all its brightness
that we may not miss the path of our daily life because
of the darkness of Avidya which encompasseth us all
around.

It is such of us who willingly and lovingly strive to be the
living and active receptives of His teachings in our
conscience that will be used by Him to unfold His
manifold goodness to mankind through our rich lives.

He openeth His many hands and filleth the lives of those
who are eager to lay down their unselfish lives on
the Balipeetam of Nishkama Manava Seva, with
plenteousness.

II

It is only such devoted servants of God and man as are
thought to have realized the meaning of the Path of
Shivam.

It is only in them Shiva lives His immortal life, which
makes his servants amaras though they live in the very
shadow of death.

It is only in them His Love, shed abroad in their hearts,
transforms their earthliness into heavenliness.

It is only such servants of Shiva that are known as Kritatmas.

III

A Kritatma is a perfected soul.

A Kritatma is a liberated soul.

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A Kritatma is an enlarged and expanded soul.
He is permitted to share Shiva's Aishwaryam.
He is permitted to taste His Anantatwam.
He is permitted to enjoy Shiva's Amritatwam in Him.
A Kritatma is a Siddha.

Glossary.

Agrajati	High caste.
Aishwarayam	. . Riches.
Amritam	Metar.
Amritatwam	. Deathlessness. Immortality.
Anantatwam	Infinity.
Atmashakti	Soul force.
Bhalipeetam	... Altar.
Brahamagnani	He who possessed the knowledge of God.
Brahamavetta	... The knower of God.
Antyajati	.. Low caste.
Devabhumi	... The land of gods and goddesses.
Dharma	... Duty. Religion. Goodness. Tradition. Custom, etc.
Jitendriya	... He who has conquered his senses.
Laukika	... Worldly, Earthly, Secular.
Madhu	... Honey.
Manasakshi	Conscience.
Mataroja	The Cosmic Dancer, Shiva, The Creator, God
Matrubhumi	Mother Country.
Kritatma	Perfected Soul
Nishkama Karma	Disinterested action.
Niruddaviryavan	He who hath subdued his passion.
Nitya Nirantara.	
Nishkama Manava Seva.	Perpetual disinterested service to mankind.
Padambhujam	Lotus feet.
Parama Shiva	The Supreme Lord of Love.
Paramarthika	Heavenly. Spiritual. Other-worldly.
Pragnanapradipam	The lamp of Knowledge
Pratibimbha	Reflection. Image, etc.
Samata	. Equality.

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Preya	... Pleasant. Pleasure.
Samanvayam	... Harmony.
Satyam	... Truth.
Shiva	... The Lord of Love.
Shivam	... Goodness. Love.
Siddha	... One who hath realized the meaning of life.
Swaraj	.. The Kingdom of One's Self. Autonomy.
Swartalyagi	... One who renounced the interests of his self.
Vyavaharika	... Practical. Worldly. Secular.
Yata Raja Tata Prajā.	As is the King so are his Subjects.

THE RAILWAYS OF INDIA

[BY DR. A. C. CARR]

OUT of a total of 42,953 route miles, 21,132 miles of the railways of India are of 5 ft. 6 in. gauge, 17,644 miles are of 3 ft. 3½ in. gauge, and 4,177 miles are of 2 ft. 6 in. and 2 ft. gauge, whilst only 3,684 miles, or 8½ per cent., are double lines or more, the bulk of the traffic being worked over single lines of railway. Various reasons incidental to Indian conditions militate against any general adoption of high speeds such as are common on the railways of Great Britain to-day, whilst the arrival and departure times of long-distance passenger trains are, to a large extent, governed by times convenient to the travelling public. As to the distance apart of the larger cities of India, it is not without interest to note that the rail distance between Bombay and Calcutta, *via* the Bengal Nagpur Railway, is 1,223 miles, whilst *via* the East Indian Railway it is 1,349 miles, other examples being: Bombay to Madras, 794 miles; Calcutta to Madras, 1,032 miles; Bombay to Delhi, 957 miles; Calcutta to Delhi, 902 miles; and Madras to Delhi, 1,351 miles.

Of 32,279 track miles of Indian broad gauge lines, 7,474 miles, or about 23 per cent., are sidings, these being chiefly used for wagons. During recent years the length over buffers of open wagons has been increased from 22 ft. 3 in. to 23 ft. 8 in., in which connection a problem arises which is not perhaps generally considered when the length of a wagon for a given load is under discussion. Thus, assuming that the 7,474 miles of wagon sidings are actually filled with wagons having a length over buffers of 22 ft. 3 in., it will require an additional 475 miles of sidings to accommodate a similar number of wagons having a length over buffers of 23 ft. 8 in., the carrying capacity of each type of wagon being the same. Actually, the Indian railways are operated with 9,248 steam locomotives, 75 electric locomotives, 40 rail motor cars, 31 steam coaches, 4 internal combustion engined coaches, 117 electric motor coaches, 20,753 coaching vehicles and 223,830 goods vehicles, the total staff employed numbering 701,362, of

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whom 3,906 are Europeans. For the year ended 1933-34 the total consumption of coal for locomotive purposes was 5,904,585 tons, which, with the exception of 2,333 tons, was all produced in India. The cost of the coal, including freight, varies on different railways from 4.73 rupees per ton, or 7s., to 19.7 rupees, or 29s. 6d., freight charges from pit to running shed accounting for the major part of the difference in cost. There are, of course, differences in the quality of the coal supplied and used, and it will be appreciated that these varying qualities make the standardization of the grates, air spacing, brick arches and blast-pipe orifices of locomotives impossible, if the best results are to be obtained in service.

Prospects for Diesel Locomotives

With illimitable supplies of indigenous Indian coal available at comparatively cheap rates for those railways which are adjacent to the coal-fields—for example, fuel costs on the East Indian Railway for the year 1933-4 were Rs. 0.48, or about 9d. per 1,000 gross ton miles—any general use of diesel locomotives seems remote. Perhaps a likely field for their use is on those sections of railways where water troubles are acute and coal is expensive, for shunting purposes, where railway administrations are prepared to face the troubles inseparable from a new form of motive power, and where for main line work flexibility and interchangeability are not of great importance. On Indian broad gauge railways the cost of coal varies from 23 per cent. to 46 per cent. of the total charge for the supply and maintenance of locomotive power, whilst the figures quoted by a British firm show the fuel oil costs of their diesel engines fitted to a railcar as 29 per cent. of the total operating costs. As regards the comparative operating costs of diesel locomotives and steam locomotives, it is, perhaps, too early to obtain definite authoritative costs for diesel locomotives over a period of years, but I suggest that, over such a period, in the case of diesel locomotives savings might be expected on water charges, running shed expenses, engine staff wages and fuel charges, whilst increased charges may be expected in lubricating oil charges, maintenance charges and interest and depreciation charges. Perhaps it might be a fair conclusion that the major portion of the economy to be expected from the use of diesel locomotives is to be looked for in fuel charges.

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Any assumption that fuel charges form a major item in the total cost of the supply and maintenance of locomotive power leads to the question of the relative stability of prices of coal and oil fuel. During the last eight years oil fuel has been subject to a variation in price, up and down, of approximately 25 per cent., whilst the variation in the cost of steam coal has been approximately 11 per cent. On Indian broad gauge railways, for the year 1933-4, coal consumption per 1,000 gross ton goods miles was 126.3 lb., compared with 151.9 lb. ten years ago, or 17 per cent. reduction, due probably to the more extended use of superheated locomotives and more efficient maintenance.

Electrification

Electrification of railways in India has been introduced on a moderate scale with a route mileage of 181.7 on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 21.25 miles on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and 18.14 miles on the South Indian Railway for suburban services from Bombay and Madras, respectively. Lower density of passenger traffic on the longer electrified mileage of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway appears to be the reason for their having less favourable train-mile results than have the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway and the South Indian Railway.

It is, perhaps, interesting to note that while the passenger train-mile costs of one of the broad-gauge electrified railways running out of Bombay are given as Rs. 1.16 per train mile, or approximately 1s. 9d., the passenger train-mile cost of one Indian metre-gauge steam-worked railway is given as Re. 1, or approximately 1s. 6d. per train-mile.

General Improvements.

The use of superhead steam has become general, and the adoption of poppet valves, first introduced on Indian railways in 1925, has gradually extended, displacing piston valves and ordinary slide valves, whilst rotary drive has, to a certain extent, displaced Walschaert gear, which had previously displaced the Stephenson gear. The introduction of poppet valves has drawn

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attention to the possibilities of the more economical use of steam in locomotives by a consideration of the relative valve events of compression, pre-admission, cut-off and release, which are independent in the case of the rotary form of drive, and there appears to be scope for a series of trials, particularly with regard to compression and pre-admission events. Much attention has been given during the past few years to detailed economies possible in steam locomotive design and operation, and the undoubted improvements obtained have probably advanced to a stage where they can be translated into the further economies incidental to a reduction in steam locomotive stock. What is a reasonable percentage of locomotive stock to provide for repairs and other emergencies must, of course, be left to individual railway administrations, but there seems no question that the logical results of improvements in steam locomotive design and operation should be a reduction in total locomotive stock. The use of water-softening plant is being extended, and tenders with greater capacity are being adopted.

Tractive Efforts

The average tractive effort of all the steam locomotives running on Indian broad-gauge railways approximates 25,250 lb., about 25 per cent. increase during the last ten years, which indicates that locomotive stock, about 92 per cent. of which on class I and class II railways is fitted with the vacuum brake, has been improved to meet modern requirements. Bogie coaching stock for all classes of passengers is now in general use on the broad-gauge railways, displacing the old four-wheeled coaching stock, and 94.5 per cent. of coaching stock is equipped with either electric light or gas. Gas is, however, gradually being displaced by electric light. An interesting application of electric lighting on some railways is the provisions of exterior lights on the coaches, controlled by the guard, which floodlight many of the dimly-lighted roadside stations when the train is standing at the platform.

Locomotive Mileage

Endeavours are being made on Indian railways to increase the daily mileage from locomotives in use. For the year 1933-34 the engine miles per day per engine in use on Indian broad-gauge railways varied on different railways from 99 miles per day to 126

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miles per day, with an average, for all broad gauge railways, of 107 miles per day per engine in use. The implications from an increase in engine-miles per day per engine in use are a reduction of locomotive stock and a possible redundancy of fully-equipped running sheds, or their conversion to "turn round" sheds with facilities for only coaling and petty repairs. On the other hand, improved and additional repair facilities are required to accelerate repairs if the increased daily mileage from locomotives in use is not to result in a greater number waiting, or under repair, the total stock remaining approximately the same. Relating the total engine mileage run on Indian broad-gauge railways to engine hours worked for the year 1933-34, 10.4 miles were obtained per engine-hour expended. On Indian broad-gauge railways for 1933-34, the percentage of goods train engine hours to total goods engine hours varied from only 30 to 46 per cent.

Possible Economies

The increase in tractive power per unit of locomotive power, together with increased daily mileage per locomotive in use, appears to indicate possibilities in the direction of a saving on capital account and a saving on revenue account of depreciation and interest charges. For the year 1933-34 the total steam engine mileage run on India broad-gauge railways is given as 126,898,000, and the average mileage run per engine in use as 107 miles per day, or 39,055 miles per engine per annum, which gives 3,250 locomotives in use out of 5,670 locomotives, or 58 per cent. of total locomotives on the line to give the total engine mileage run. In the accounts of the London Midland and Scottish Railway for the year 1934, the total steam engine mileage is given as 212,380,340, and the average daily mileage per engine in use as 110.5, or 40,332 miles per engine in use per annum, which gives 5,265 steam locomotives in use out of 8,004 locomotives, or 56 per cent. of total locomotives on the line to give the total engine mileage run. These figures have probably been affected by the slump in railway traffic during the past few years, and Indian railways probably require a reserve of locomotive stock for contingencies peculiar to Indian conditions. However, changing conditions seem to direct special attention to this particular feature of steam locomotive operation, in view of the financial considerations involved.

Abstract of Presidential Address to Institution of Locomotive Engineers, London; (Sept. 12, 1935)

COUNCIL ENTRY AND AFTER

[BY J. M. GANGULI]

PERHAPS the most important decision by the Congress in recent years has been the lifting of the ban on council-entry, which was imposed by Mr. Gandhi, when he launched the Non-Co-operation movement in 1920. Several reasons led to that decision.

The Bardoli programme of Mr. Gandhi, consisting of quiet and dry constructive work, never appealed to the Congress leaders. Of course several of his staunch followers agreed to take up the work, if for no other reason, at least out of their regard for and confidence in the Mahatma. But their heart was always elsewhere. Brought up and educated in the modern way, in big cities, with their comforts and amenities of life, these gentlemen, in spite of their allegiance to their saintly leader, could not convert themselves overnight to the latter's ways of living, much less to his ways of thinking. Mr. Gandhi's advent in Indian politics, with his strong personality and his South African reputation, was welcomed by them as very useful in vitalizing Indian politics and in rousing mass consciousness, both of which are bound to provide scope for national work and leadership to the young and the ambitious. But national work generally meant at the time long resolution-drafting and speech-making at political meetings or in Legislatures. Political leadership thus, while it brought one into limelight and newspaper headlines, did not entail hardship or personal sacrifice. Mr. Gandhi, however, made a different and a more exacting demand on leadership; but his captivating personality, as also his ability to glorify the idea of sacrifice, compromised his adherents to the changed conditions,—though not for long.

Sentiment wore off with time and enthusiasm slackened. The novelty in village organization work, which was necessary for mass movement, became uninspiring; the music of the spinning

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wheel went out of tune; the constructive programme of Mr. Gandhi, which required too much patience and perseverance, seemed to return no reward. There thus came slump in the Congress activities. To introduce fresh life the Swaraj Party was formed with the object of fighting the elections and entering the Legislatures. Quite a large number of Mr. Gandhi's followers transferred their allegiance to the new organization, which, however, with the death of its great founders, as well as on account of its inability to show any real achievement to its credit, gradually lost popularity and went out of existence. The council boycott movement revived, but as before many of the bigger leaders did not have their heart in it. Just as they could not give up their professions—many returned to their professions after having left the same during the hey day of the Non-Co-operation movement—so they could not also, at least for long, court arrest by joining the Civil Disobedience Movement, nor could they remain content in obscurity in doing nothing but quiet social work like the removal of untouchability, or the uplift of the backward classes. Such work was not to their taste, for, what they wanted was publicity and popularity with newspaper readers without materially altering their ways of living and disturbing their avocations of life. I know many would become cross with me for saying so in a blunt way, but I would ask them to search their hearts before flying into temper. What they wanted could not be better achieved than by becoming members of the Legislatures. Long and patriotic speeches could be made there with impunity, which speeches would be published *in extenso* in newspapers and would be read by a large number of people. Long lists of questions which might catch the public eye could be tabled there, and if, in addition, one could provoke a Government member into a spirited passage-at-arms, nothing better.

A longing for such easy and palatable leadership had always been lurking in the minds of a large number of leaders; and when they found that they were going out of the picture on account of their inability either to participate in the law-breaking movement of Mr. Gandhi or to stick to his non-political nation-building work, both of which demanded considerable sacrifice, that longing increased. Mr. Gandhi also realized the lack of support he was receiving and the brewing revolt in the Congress Camp. So he

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yielded and the Congress ban on council-entry was lifted.

The above brief Summary of facts and incidents in the political history of the country in recent years is necessary for appreciating the psychology behind the council-entry decision of the Congress. I do not propose to enter here into the merits of the question of council-entry, but I shall, instead, engage, in some other considerations relating thereto.

The main argument of the council-entry group in the Congress had been that in addition to organization and constructive work to be done outside the Legislatures it was worth opposing the Government within the councils also by providing a strong opposition there. But in doing so it was always to be borne in mind that the former work, which was really the foundation of national regeneration, did not suffer. But what has happened? Almost all the leaders have flocked into the councils leaving Mr. Gandhi practically a lone worker outside. There are, of course, some notable men, like Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Vallabhai Patel, to keep company with him, but others are concerned with academic debates in council chambers, which might bring them glory but would not advance the cause of the country.

Was it, however, really necessary for so many leaders to waste their time and energy in the councils? Could not the same purpose have been served by having the Congress parties in the councils formed by the rank and the file of the Congressmen with one or two elders to lead them and act as their spokesmen? As the Congress group was to vote one way *en bloc* it would have fulfilled the object of irritating the Government by opposition or of demonstrating national disapproval of a Government measure or of Government's conduct just the same way by having the opposition benches occupied by the commoners in the Congress as by leaders selected from different parts of the country. Would it not have been better if the leaders were thus left outside for doing more useful work in the country than the work of sitting in the legislatures and vying with one another in the art of elocution?

It has been seen in the past that the quality of speeches or

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the fineness of arguments does not count in the council chambers, nor can win over a single vote from other sides. Councillors vote almost always according to their party or individual policies. It is alright, therefore, for those, who have nothing better to do elsewhere, to adorn the Council Halls and indulge in unprofitable rhetorics or hair-splitting academic discussions, but not so for the Congressmen who have avowedly more serious business to look after outside. The Congress made it clear when permitting council-entry that council work was the least part of its work, which was mainly national constructive work. Why then were not the leaders kept out of the councils for the main work and others sent in in their places with one or two elders to guide them there? It cannot be said that leaders stood better chances of winning at the elections, for it has been found that those, who vote for the Congress, do so because of their sympathy for it and not because of the personality of the Congress nominees. It is only the Congress label which guides them. So instead of standing themselves if the leaders had supported other nominees of the Congress in their places results would have been just the same as now.

That other activities of the Congress would suffer if council-entry were permitted was apprehended by many when the existing ban was lifted and though it is now only a few months that the elections are over that apprehension has proved to have been true. Already reports are filtering in that leaders are taking more interest in council affairs than in Congress work, and, as a result, national progress is being retarded. And at the cost of national work thus suffering what are the Congress members in the councils accomplishing? Constituted as the councils are at present and in the existence of communal disunion as it is to-day the Congress could not have obtained a clear majority for itself in the councils. And so for obtaining a victory in the lobbies on any motion there could be no other alternative than to seek the support of the other groups by compromising on principles. But even if by coaxing them the Congress party ever secured a favourable division in the lobbies against the Government, of what use could that be so long as the Government was not responsible to the Legislature? It is easy to move sensational adjournment motions and get the same carried even on some occasions with

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the goodwill of other parties, but besides providing news for big head-lines to newspapers they would not carry things an inch ahead. They would not, for instance, make the Government permit an undesirable member (from the Government's point of view) to attend the Assembly or ask its servants not to watch suspiciously Mr. Gandhi's village activities.

All these facts make one sorry to think that instead of conserving energy for the all-important work of national uplift it is being frittered away within the unsympathetic walls of the council chambers.

Not only that. Another thing to be remembered is that the example of the Congress leaders leading easy lives as councillors and yet getting fame and credit for their so-called *great work* all the same, is most likely to damp the spirit of real workers, who have to bear the brunt of the national fight in obscurity, always facing the risk of being misrepresented to the authorities, with whom the leaders sit in comfort in pleasant discussion in palatial council halls.

There is yet another aspect of the question which is worthy of serious consideration.

Council-entry with no other work save that of crying 'no' to all measures and gestures by Government, and of making purposeless and ineffective speeches cannot long keep in contentment those, who have read the history and the proceedings of the British Parliament from their early youth with an intentness and avidity greater than what they have ever felt in their national history or even in their religious scriptures. The political prospects coming through Parliamentary career have also held their imagination.

The ban on office-holding, like a self-created gulf, separating them perennially from the Treasury Benches in the Legislatures, could not but be most disheartening to those who had not learnt to love a political career without even the chances of ever acquiring ministerial power and glory. How many of the Congress leaders had indeed imbibed the self-sacrificing spirit of

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the Mahatma, whose influence with the public they would always exploit to their own ends, or his ideal of ambitionless national service? But it is no use blaming them for such failings on their part, for, such weakness is only human.

Mr. Gandhi probably could foresee the inevitability of individual ambition slowly and surely firing up the Congressmen in the councils, when in 1920 he stood like a rock opposing the powerful influences working for the lifting of his ban on council-entry. But did he not realize, when he eventually succumbed to them, that if council-entry was bound to rake up ambition for ministerial career, it was bound also to lead in the end to rivalry and bitterness among the Congressmen, which would be skilfully encouraged and fanned by those interested in the break-up of Congress solidarity?

True, this feeling of rivalry among the Congressmen has not yet very appreciably come to the surface. But that is because the ban on office-holding exists. Once the ban is removed and the road to the coveted ministerial benches is clear the spectacle of fellow Congressmen elbowing out their way ahead for places would not be long in appearing on the scene. Preparations for the enactment are being made with vigour. Leaders among leaders, who run best chances in the race for office, are agitating with enthusiasm for the clearance of the road by the hacking down of all bans, obstacles and restrictions.

Some say that, if Congress had turned to the view of fighting for Swaraj through the country's parliaments, it could not stop half-way by fighting shy of office-holding, which followed parliamentary methods of warfare as naturally as an infantry attack followed a shell-bombardment. There has been enough of bombardment by speeches, and now there should be attack and rush on the Government Benches, which must be occupied.

Others say, with feeling, that mere passive resistance in the councils would not bring out fruits; more activity was needed, for which scope was necessary,—and therefore we must get into the executive.

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More skilful advocates of the policy of accepting office would say that, if we could fight the Bureaucracy from within the cabinet, we would make it easy for our supporters outside to overpower the beast whose attentions were diverted.

But idealists—the ever undisillused—among them suggest that it would be possible to do great good to the poor people, to the uncared-for masses, to the helpless country, if the people in executive power were to be Congressmen, the self-sacrificing patriots.

Such are the arguments,—sympathetic, calculating heroic, and logical. One, who has followed the trend of recent Congress mentality critically and in a detached way, can see how the present cry for permission to hold office will result and what will follow it. The critical observer would have merely laughed at the fun, but when he walks and travels and sees the pitiable condition of the country, the abject helplessness of the masses on account of dis-organization and lack of able leadership; the unfathomable poverty of the people; the vastness of unutilized resources of the country; the despondency even in educated men and women, weighted down with wants, uninspired by hope, and gloomy through realization of an aimless and profitless existence,—the thoughtful observer becomes serious and he sighs. He sighs again when he says to himself—'Non-co-operation, civil-disobedience, council-entry, then office-holding,—what next!'

Indeed, what next ?

INDIAN LABOUR LEGISLATION, 1911-1935

[By N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.]

THE main characteristic that differentiates the earlier laws from those which were enacted after 1911 is that the dominant motive of the former was not primarily the protection of labour. Thus, the earlier Assam Labour Acts, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859, the Employers' and Workmen's (Disputes) Act of 1860, and the provisions relating to criminal penalties for breach of contract contained in the Indian Penal Code of the same year were all conceived in the interests of the employers in order to supply them with a docile labour force. Somewhat later, the growing cotton industry of Bombay began causing anxiety to Lancashire, and the obvious abuses connected with the work of women and children in Indian factories in those days were availed of by Lancashire to insist upon India adopting the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891. The earlier Act ordained that children between the ages of 7 and 12 should work only 9 hours a day and should have 4 holidays in the month, while the latter limited the work of women to 11 hours and of children to 7, and protected both classes against night work. As a result of the Berlin Conference of 1890, the first Mines Act was passed in 1901, but it concerned itself mainly with the provisions of certain safety and sanitary measures. By 1903, owing to the laxity in the administration of the Factories Acts and the absence in them of any legal limitation of the working hours of adult males, working hours had become so intolerably long that two commissions of enquiry had to make a thorough investigation of the labour conditions prevailing in factories.

Act XIII of 1911 was the first legal attempt to limit working hours, which were not to exceed 12 a day. A compulsory rest interval after 6 hours of continuous work and the reduction of children's hours from 7 to 6 in textile factories were also notable features in the new Act.

The post-war period in India has been an era of progressive labour legislation, and this is not surprising when we consider the

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new forces that are now at work in this country to accelerate the pace of social reform. One of the most outstanding facts from the point of view of labour during this period is the birth of the Indian trade union movement. The grave economic difficulties to which industrial labour was exposed during the latter period of the war and the years which succeeded it had led to the formation of a large number of trade unions, and in 1926 the Indian Trade Unions Act was passed for the registration and protection of trade unions. This growth in working-class organization has been accompanied by a desire on the part of labour to be represented in the legislatures of the country. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, an attempt was made to meet this desire, with the result that to-day labour is assigned 10 nominated seats in all the provincial councils taken together, and a practice has been established by which one of the nominated seats in the Legislative Assembly is given to a labour representative. An additional powerful urge in favour of progressive labour legislation during this period has undeniably come from Geneva. India's desire to prevent being classed at the International Labour Conference as a backward country in matters of social policy has led to the initiation of labour measures which might not otherwise have come up for consideration at all. Another important factor in promoting the growth of labour legislation was the appointment in 1929 of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, and the recommendations of this Commission have already resulted in a crop of labour measures.

The Indian Factories (Amendment) Act of 1922, which came in consequence of the Washington Convention, was a great improvement on its predecessor in that the number of persons necessary to constitute a factory was reduced from 50 to 20, the ages of children were raised to 12 minimum and 15 maximum, and no person was allowed to work for more than 60 hours per week or 11 hours per day. The extent to which we have since travelled in this direction on account of the recommendations of the Royal Commission is indicated by another measure (Act XXV of 1934) adopted in 1934, which limits working hours in the case of adult workers to 54 in the week and 10 a day, gives them a weekly holiday and a rest interval after 6 hours' continuous work, provides for the grant of certificates of fitness for non-adult workers between

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the ages of 12 and 17, and lays down that no child between 12 and 15 years of age shall work for more than 5 hours a day.

Prompted by the decisions of the International Labour Conference, the Mines Act of 1901 was amended in 1923 and provided for a weekly holiday, for the limitation of hours of adults above ground to 60 weekly and below ground to 54, and for the prohibition of the employment, whether below or above ground, of persons under 13 years of age. Another measure in 1928 laid down that no person shall be employed in a mine for more than 12 hours a day, and in March, 1929, the Government issued administrative regulations to exclude by stages women from work underground. Finally, a Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly on January 22, 1935, which proposed to limit the hours of work in mines to 54 weekly and 10 daily above ground, and 9 daily below ground, and to raise the minimum age of employment of children in mines from 13 to 15, has just become law.

All the earlier laws regulating recruitment for the plantations, particularly in Assam, were based upon the principle of indenture. But the evils of the system had become so clamant that by 1915 the provisions relating to indentured labour contained in the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, VI of 1901 had to be withdrawn. The Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, to which reference has already been made, was also finally repealed in 1923 with effect from 1926, and a Madras Act of 1927 repealed the older Madras Planters Act, which provided penal sanctions for breach of contract. As a necessary consequence of these steps, certain sections of the Indian Penal Code were repealed. Emigration to tea estates is now governed by the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act of 1932, which has given effect to some of the recommendations on the subject made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

Other categories of workers who have benefited from the progressive social legislation of the period are the railwaymen, in whose case a beginning has been made for the application of the International Labour Conventions regarding hours of work and weekly rest by the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act of 1930, and the maritime workers. In the case of the latter, the Indian

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Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act, IX of 1931 insists on a minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea and for admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers, provides unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship, and ordains the medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea. The same Act also provides for seamen's articles of agreement to protect their rights. Act XIX of 1934 protects dockers against accidents in loading and unloading ships, and an earlier Act of 1922 regulates child labour in ports. The ratification by India of the International Labour Convention regarding the marking of the weight of heavy packages transported by vessels is also a step in the same direction. While on the subject of legislation enacted to protect particular categories of workers, special mention must be made of the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act of 1933, the object of which is to abolish a particularly revolting form of child-slavery.

Social reform measures of wider scope and import have also been considered by the Indian Legislature and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, with its various amendments ending with Act XV of 1933, guarantees to the worker compensation when he meets with an accident or is stricken by any of the principal industrial diseases. The Maternity Benefits Acts adopted by Bombay in 1929 and the Central Provinces in 1930 are attempts to meet one of the urgent needs of women workers, and Madras has just recently adopted a law on similar lines. Attempts have also been made, by the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 and the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934, to prevent industrial disputes and to devise machinery for conciliation. Indebtedness being a general and acute problem of the workers, a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council in 1934 to prevent money-lenders from besetting industrial establishments, and another Bill introduced in the Central Provinces Legislative Council early this year provides for a summary procedure for liquidating the unsecured debts of workers. In addition, the Legislative Assembly is now considering two measures to protect honest debtors from detention in a civil prison and to provide that salaries below Rs. 100 per month of all workers should be totally exempted from attachment. A third Bill now before the Assembly seeks to regulate payment of wages to industrial workers

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so as to prevent the abuse of long delays, as also to limit deductions from wages by way of fines.

Apart from implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the immediate problem in front of us is to provide for some measure of social security for the workers. One of the most pressing needs of India to-day is the establishment of a Government-controlled fund to protect the worker against sickness, old age, and invalidity, and, in view of the increasing unemployment in industrial areas, a beginning will have to be made not only for the creation of employment exchanges, but also for the establishment of schemes for the relief of the unemployed. There are sufficiently clear indications that the public conscience has already been roused in this matter, and it is our hope that before long India will be equipped with systems and measures for providing adequate security for her working classes.

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WOMEN'S DOMESTIC SCHOOLS

[BY DR. JUR. ANITA KASHYAP]

I

If you open the advertisement page of a newspaper nowadays, you will very often find an advertisement running this way :

" Wanted a suitable match for a young beautiful girl of respectable family, highly educated, B.A. passed recently....."

When I read such things for the first time I could not help laughing, because it seemed such a funny idea to me that passing a college examination should be regarded as a recommendation for marriage. But very soon I realized that the thing is not at all ridiculous but that a very deep and serious problem of Indian female education is lying underneath such an advertisement.

So far as I have seen, it has become a custom here that young girls after finishing their matric. go to the college without asking themselves if they ever will need the things they are studying there. They mostly do it because they think it necessary for a young modern up-to-date girl to pass their F.A., B.A. or even M.A., to study science or economics and other things which after a short time they are bound to forget. Very few of these girls attend the college with the intention of taking up some profession afterwards. Most of them know that they will get married soon and will have to stop having to do anything with these subjects. For most of the girls the college is only the way to pass the time usefully between school and married life and the only way to satisfy their desire for knowledge. And most of the parents allow their girls to attend the college not because they want them to become independent and to be able to earn their own living but only because they hope to improve their prospects for marrying her and getting her a husband of a higher position.

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But there is no question that on pass the college examination is not at all the proper way of preparation for married life. By spending several years entirely on the study of theoretical things lying quite outside of their daily life they often lose the interest in the profession for which the women in India more than anywhere else are destined--to be a good housewife and to be a good mother. Even if they try after marriage to become perfect in their new profession they have lost the joy and the satisfaction which occupation with household things and with children may give.

And their husbands--the same young men who would not have taken a girl who is not at least B.A. --often complain that their young educated wives are no longer simple but have become expensive due to the present educational system. The educated young men in India have nowadays the choice of marrying educated but expensive girls with no certainty of their being good housewives or to marry uneducated girls who are sure to be good housewives and good mothers, but who cannot be real companions to them. This, everybody will admit, is not a proper state of affairs.

And as female education is only in its infancy here, the problem will become more and more difficult the more the girls start going to schools. If it becomes the rule, as it seems to be now, that every girl after finishing her matric. attends the college, the college education will be more and more degraded to a sort of secondary school instead of being as it is in other countries, an institution where only those girls who want to take up a profession as a man or those who have special scientific interests go, whereas the others chose a more fit preparation for their future profession as housewife and mother. Special institutions enable them to do this. Let us consider such institutions in Germany as we might get some useful ideas for improving female education in India.

II

In Germany only those girls who really want to become lady doctors, lawyers, teachers and so on go to University. All the others get themselves trained in Domestic affairs for one or two years. In every town in Central Europe there exist Women's

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Domestic Schools in great variety and number, state-owned and private-owned. Only those girls who have finished their usual schools are admitted there.

The educational aim of these schools is threefold. Firstly to educate the girls to become good house-wives, secondly to become good mothers and thirdly to become good citizens.

To develop housewifely qualities the girls are taught systematically all sorts of housework, both theoretically and practically. On practical side they learn how to arrange the house in a healthy way and with good taste even with small means. They learn how to clean the rooms properly, how to heat and air the rooms, how to work in the garden, etc. They are further taught how to cook and bake all sorts of things, how to preserve things, how and what to cook for ailing people and infants, how to lay the table and decorate it and so on. They learn how to knit, do embroidery work, to crochet, to patch and darn clothes, how to sew underwear and dresses. They further learn how to wash and iron clothes and many other things which a well-managed household requires. In the corresponding theoretical lessons they learn how a house must be constituted so that it embodies all the hygienic principles, how tuberculosis and other diseases can be prevented by healthy houses. They get lessons in the science of nutrition, in which they are taught which things are substantial for the building of the body, what things are easily digestible, etc. They learn how to spend the household money most economically and how to prepare healthy and substantial food at the least cost and to keep the daily account.

In this way by theoretical lessons combined with practical training the girls come to know that house-work not only requires technical abilities but that it is a difficult task requiring much brain work. The more they learn about this subject the more they get interested and begin to realize what pleasure a well-managed household has in store for them.

The second aim of the school to make out of the girl a good mother and companion for her husband is fulfilled also through theoretical and practical training. The young girls come to know

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the rights and duties of married women. They learn how to care for babies, how to bathe them, how to nurse them when they are ill, the reasons for infant mortality, and how to fight against it. They learn about the upbringing and education of children about their hygiene and dress, how to prevent illnesses, to recognize the symptoms of an ailing child. They learn how to overcome difficulties in the life of the child, what are the underlying principles on which the child's education is to be based. They learn how a child's room must look and how it must be kept, how to make toys for children from useless things and so on.

Most of these schools have a Kindergarten where children from 2 to 6 years whose mothers have to work during the day-time are kept and where the young girls learn in practice, how to dress, feed and clean the children and how to keep them busy with play and work. Some of these schools have also baby creches where babies from working women are provided for by these girls. They have to clean the rooms where the babies are kept, they have to make the beds of the children, to wash and keep them clean, to prepare their food and to feed them and many other things. It is evident that these young girls when they themselves become mothers will know how to bring up their children properly and it is no doubt that the high standard of children's education and the very small child mortality in Central Europe is to a great extent due to the fact that the young women have learnt before their marriage the duties and high responsibilities of a mother.

Besides the care of children, the girls are also taught the care of the sick in general which is necessary in the household. They learn the symptoms of different diseases, how to follow the directions of the doctor, how to take a temperature, how to give medicine, how to care for the bed and the bath of an ill person and how to make bandages. They are also taught how to render first-aid to the injured in case of accidents.

But they do not only learn how to help others when they are ill, but they also learn how to keep themselves healthy. They have Gymnastic lessons, they learn the importance of keeping their body clean, of the necessity of healthy clothing and simple

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food. A lady doctor teaches them how to take care of their bodies and answers all their questions about this subject. So these young girls are not ignorant when they marry but they go into married life with a full knowledge of things and know how to lead a healthy and hygienic married life.

The third aim—to make a good citizen of the girl—at the same time satisfies their want for more knowledge, although in a different way from that in the college. No subjects outside real life are taught. On the contrary the further education starts from the daily life and it arouses the understanding of these young girls for the connection between the individual life and the social life of the whole nation, especially with the position and tasks of the women in the life of society. They learn economics as far as it is necessary for understanding the occurrences of their daily life, *e.g.*, what money is, the principles of insurances, the necessities of savings and the most important rules of the banks and saving banks.

• They learn to take part in the social life of the town, they come to know the constitution of the country and the rules of administration of their town. They also learn the things a woman must know about law in order to be able to defend her own and her children's rights.

Some of the schools have also religion as one of their subjects where the girls are not taught any dogmatics but are shown the practical side of religion: how to lead an honest and simple life, how to become a strong personality themselves capable of making their children straightforward and good citizens. More stress is laid on the moral side of the religion. Music and Drawing are often chosen as auxiliary subjects in these schools.

Of course I could not treat in detail the variety of subjects and themes that are taught there, every school mostly having its own character and special features and its own preferred special subject. But it is common to all these schools that only those subjects are taught that have a connection with the real life of women.

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III.

Such like schools—I think—are a bare necessity for India. Of course the plan of such European schools cannot be blindly followed here. The way and character of these schools will have to correspond with the Indian conditions and requirements but the basic principles can be the same.

There are, however, some special features which such like Domestic schools in India must think of and which I must mention here. The first thing is about English. One may think about it as one wants, one may like it or not but the fact remains, that the language of the educated Indian has become English. And it is a most deplorable sight at a party to see the ladies who have been so advanced and so brave as to take part in a mixed party sitting aside not able to follow their husbands, talk or at least not able to take part in the conversation. As a rule girls after matric, can read and write English, but they can follow the conversation only when it is spoken very slowly and they are usually not able to express themselves freely. In an Indian Domestic school they should learn to express themselves freely in English. For that purpose they will not, as nowadays, in colleges, be taught to write essays about "David Copperfield" or to know exactly the life of Dickens or other English poets who are very seldom read by Englishwomen nowadays. But they will learn how to read newspapers, to be able to understand their husbands' political and social views, and they will learn to follow conversations and discussions and to take part in them.

But the first condition for this is that the girls must learn to overcome their shyness. In this respect the Domestic school will also be a great help to them. All these young women and girls who do not keep Purdah any more still do not exactly know how to move freely in society. As a rule they do not like to take their meals together with the male members of the family and if their husbands have some guests to entertain one can see very often what a great effort they have to make to remain in the same room or to answer a question asked by one of the guests.

A smaller or greater knowledge of economics or science or

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English literature, as it is taught nowadays in Girls Colleges, does not help them at all in this respect. The women of Domestic schools must find new ways and means to help them to overcome this shyness. In my opinion regular sport and Gymnastics would be a very good thing for this purpose. Girls who not only have learnt to play a little Badminton, but who know how to run and to jump, to swim or even to row or to ride, whose movements have become free and natural by daily exercises in convenient sport dress will lose their shyness and overcome their inhibitions much easier. Gymnastics therefore should play an important role in an Indian Domestic School.

Another way of overcoming the unnatural shyness of Indian young girls is by discussing freely about everything. All the things which as long as they are hidden secrets seem mysterious and dangerous affairs, will lose their frightfulness if once drawn out and discussed freely. The relation of sex, the problems of marriage and similar questions only can be discussed, of course, with clever and fully responsible teachers. The girls must come to know that a boy if not related to them is not a frightful being with nothing but forbidden wishes towards them in his head, but that without becoming too intimate with him, he does not need to be avoided, that they can work and talk and play together and be good comrades.

There is no reason why such schools should not, *e.g.* at the end of one term have a party or a discussion evening--of course under the supervision of the teachers--at which they should invite their brothers and their friends and where they should entertain their guests in an equally decent and natural way. One often hears complaints, that our young students nowadays do not know how to behave towards girls, that it is unsafe to allow girls to be in their company, etc. But the behavior of young men usually depends on the girls they are meeting. I am sure the boys would not dare to be bold and impudent towards girls, if they had to deal with proud, clever, self-conscious, free and ladylike girls who know how to check any boldness towards them and not as nowadays with extremely shy and timid girls who do not know how to defend themselves, who lower their eye-lashes, and do not answer or run away, if a boy addresses them.

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Another thing which Indian girls are not taught in Colleges nowadays and which is a task to be fulfilled by these new women's schools I am recommending, is to think. Yes, just simply to think. In Europe especially in the bigger towns the young girls have now their fixed opinions and ideas about everything at an often too early an age. Here it is the contrary. Even educated girls do not have their own ideas, do not judge things by themselves. Logical thinking can be taught by discussions about different problems systematically guided by the teacher. And this will be a comparatively easy task, as the intelligence of children in India is on the average much higher than in Europe. But this intelligence especially in the case of girls is yet not used as it should be. Women in India have long become accustomed that somebody else does the thinking for them. The young girls of to-day either keep Purdah because their parents think it right or they do not keep Purdah because their modern husbands do not want them to keep it. They either follow the old customs they have been taught at home by their parents or new western customs they have been taught by their brothers or by the modern Cinema. But they do not decide for themselves.

Indian women are getting more and more freedom nowadays. But they will know how to use that wonderful gift only if they have become free inwardly, if using their brain, they have become independent in their thoughts. India, at a time where enormous changes are taking place needs a generation of young women and mothers who are able to decide for themselves what is worth preserving from the old and what is worthy of being adapted from the new. On the way to achieve such power of judgment the women's domestic school should also be a great help to them.

One often hears and reads nowadays about the opening of a new college for girls "with excellent European and Indian staff". Why not instead of this open a new and far more useful institution, a "School of Domestic Science for girls". When it has proved its usefulness the public schools will also appreciate the value and—as many girl schools in Europe have done, *i.e.*—add a special domestic year after the matric. But the start will have to be made by private initiative.

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Of course such a college must, from its beginning, be of a very high standard to be able to compete with the already established colleges. Girls who come there must be fully convinced, that they are not going to attend a simple cooking class but that their studies in this domestic school require as much brain work as the study of economics and literature only that time and labour will not be wasted but such education will enable them to live their life as wife and mother in a cleverer, better and happier way.

THE POLITICAL OUTCOME OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA

[By T. I. MARDY JONES]

HAD the dead classics of India been adopted as the educational media a century ago to cope with the science and industry of the modern world, India would probably have remained about as backward and undeveloped as China still remains. The use of English gave tremendous stimulus to higher education, and for several generations ample employment was available for those who had passed through the many schools and colleges that arose in many parts of India. Yet within the present generation thousands of youths turned out annually, more or less graduated, remain unemployable, as the Government and other services in India do not now absorb them half as fast as they are turned out. The whole system of education is out of joint and has grown top-heavy. This is due to the failure to promote education as a comprehensive whole. Primary teaching was neglected in the vernaculars and English was used for all higher education. The slow spread of primary teaching for boys led to a demand for compulsion for boys, whilst girls were utterly ignored. This great wrong to the girlhood of India is a tragedy in this age when womanhood everywhere seeks and secures equality with manhood. It is obvious that boys from homes wherein the girls are utterly illiterate are at a serious disadvantage compared with boys whose sisters enjoy school life.

It is also noticeable that the educated youths of India nowadays grow dissatisfied with lifemates who are not school mates. The ancient ideals of marriage were destroyed by the later adoption of Purdah. Modern education is breaking down the pride of purdah steadily, and is reviving the ancient ideals of Indian womanhood consonant with modern needs. For the girls of India, in the upper classes at least, now find the charms of purdah womanhood no longer attract the desirable youths. There is a growing demand in the

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marriage market in India for wives with a more modern outlook. The purdah goes as education comes. For at heart India is a land of meditation and intuition more responsive to the glamour of learning than most nations. Under wise direction and liberal usage, this inbred yearning for learning can be revived, restored and refashioned in accord with the modern aspirations of India. The first condition of success is a complete system of compulsory primary teaching in the vernaculars for both sexes as the basis of a national education. Once this is established all higher education can look after itself and its present top-heaviness be righted. This would necessitate the establishment of vernacular training centres all over India to train men and women to become efficient teachers at stipends and with conditions that will attract the best types. Moreover enough women teachers must be trained to take over all infant teaching for both sexes, as women are best fitted for it in all countries. At the outset these women can be recruited mainly from the trainable young widows in the upper and middle classes who now spend wasted lives. Their instinct of mother-love will prove a priceless asset to all infant teaching, and it will give them a new and a noble avocation in life.

Secondly, primary schools in rural India need to be planned in the main on the group system. A well-equipped central school with a trained headmaster who will also inspect and direct the small feeder schools in adjacent villages is needed. As a necessary adjunct, adult education must be fostered as a vital factor in the reconstruction of village life. Wireless broadcasting from amplifiers in the central villages can do much for the adults. Art, drama, music and sport can all play their part. Unless the social interests of the parents are aroused in these ways to destroy illiteracy, it will be impossible to overcome the huge wastage in school attendance now so prevalent. In their poverty and ignorance peasant parents are tempted to work their children on the land and village pursuits in the school years. Most of the school-children drop out after the second year and less than 1 in 10 complete the primary period. Adult education would do much to stop this wastage, by consent, as it would strengthen community life under intelligent civic leadership.

At present about 8,250,000 boys out of a possible 18,000,000,

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and less than 1,500,000 girls out of possible 18,000,000, now attend primary schools, staffed by about 320,000 teachers, of whom only 35,000 are women teachers. Half are untrained, all are grossly underpaid. The best in the towns get from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per month; and from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 per month in the villages generally. The school buildings, too, in most parts of India are shockingly bad and meanly equipped. The total cost of primary education in India at present is 1s. 6d. a year per head of the population, or 12s. a year per pupil. If up to 80 per cent. of these forlorn children could be kept in the schools for the full primary period of five years, over 14,000,000 boys and over 14,000,000 girls would attend. This would involve the training of 1,000,000 teachers. In fact, a trebling of the teachers and a doubling of the schools. Gigantic as this task may appear, it is neither impracticable nor very costly. In this connexion, it is worthy of note that one of the pioneer efforts to introduce primary teaching in Britain was brought from Madras in 1797 by Andrew Bell, who had tested in Madras his monitorial system of teaching based on the elder boys being put to teach the younger boys. Although the monitorial system gave way in due time to more efficient English methods, the principle, if properly organized by the State, is sound and practicable in backward peasant countries. I have seen it at work recently in Soviet Russia. It works there with remarkable success, as there is an acute shortage of trained teachers and an acute desire among the rising generation for literacy. I found a similar keenness prevailing in many peasant areas in India eager to support a sound nation-wide system of primary education.

A monitorial system should work in India even better than in Russia; it should absorb the growing army of unemployable educated youth and also draw upon the numerous body of trainable young widows. These could be organized as the nucleus in an All-India drive against illiteracy, as ignorance is at the bottom of most of the social ills of India. Of the total population of some 360,000,000, about 4,000,000 are literate in English, less than 24,000,000 in the various vernaculars. Such is the fruit of a century of educational work under British rule. The teacher is the foundation of all education. There is a plenitude of excellent latent teaching talent to supply all requirements, once proper training facilities, adequate stipends and security are provided.

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The cost of an efficient system of compulsory teaching would be manageable as an all-India charge. The initial capital outlay and the recurring extra changes could be met partly by higher local cesses, partly by grants from Government and the residue from an All-India Public Education Loan Fund (forty to sixty years) raised on the credit of Government. If adequate funds cannot be raised for up-to-date schools generally, recourse can be had to the general adoption of seasonal open-air schools in the rural areas. This would be a reversion to the ancient Indian custom of gathering the pupils for teaching during the cool hours, which would cut down capital costs greatly and also improve the health and efficiency of scholars and teachers alike.

An efficient system of primary teaching in the vernaculars for both sexes equally should lead in a single generation to a substantial rise in the standard of life of the entire population, which exists now, as in the past, on the margin of existence, just because Indian methods of cultivation in the main ever remain on the margin of economic production. That again is due to the immemorial illiteracy of the peasantry. Primary education is the only instrument that can cut through this vicious circle.

There is thus immense scope for a big uplift in the lot of the peasantry. India is a sub-continent of sub-poverty. To lift up these masses educationally is to lift them up economically at a still faster rate. A rise of 20 to 50 per cent. in the standard of life of India within twenty years is practical politics. What Soviet Russia has done in fifteen years India can do in twenty years.

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The next big step forward in social endeavour will probably be the enforcement of primary teaching in British India directly the Provincial legislatures are set up. The Indian States will have to follow suit whether the rulers wish it or not. To help all India to provide adequate finance for the first generation of the compulsorily educated, the Government of Great Britain must be generously prepared to help with a pound for pound grant on the income that can be derived from the All-India Public Education Loan Fund herein suggested. It is the best way Great Britain can make amends for her share of the responsibility for the past neglect of primary education in India. A British contribution on this basis would stimulate all India to make supreme sacrifices

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for her own educational progress. The gift could be made with such good-will as to make every taxpayer feel that he or she was a personal contributor to this humanitarian purpose. Thus ample provision could be made to provide primary teaching for all boys and girls of school age regardless of creed, caste or class.

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(Extracts from an article in the "Nineteenth Century"—London).

TO THE INDIAN PEASANT

[BY N. G. RANGA.]

Fellow Comrades and Servants of Peasants !

I AM grateful to you for affording me this opportunity to get into personal communion with you in our attempt to lay the foundations for the organization of the All-India Peasants' Federation. As chance would have it, we meet at a time when the attitude of the two great protagonists in India's struggle for Swaraj, i. e., the Government and Congress, towards the necessity for the development of Peasants' organizations has been made clear to the public. By his refusal to give his previous sanction for the introduction into the Legislative Assembly of my Peasants' Union Bill, the Viceroy has made it clear that this Government would not welcome the progress of any self-conscious and class-conscious Peasants' organization. But through his reply to the deputation of the South Indian Federation of Peasants and Agricultural Workers, the President of the Congress has clearly recognized the necessity and utility of the independent development of Peasants' consciousness and organizational strength. The Viceroy seems to think that the Government alone is good enough to look after peasants' welfare while the Congress President recognizes the right of Peasants' organization to "remind" Congressmen "when they are remiss" and says to peasants "You are in a position to influence and indeed determine the views and actions of Congressmen and as days go on, your power will go on increasing." This is, therefore, the fittest possible occasion when solid foundation should be laid for the formation of an All-India Federation of Peasants, among other things, incidentally to give a fitting reply to Government and to completely utilize the proffered opportunity to "influence and indeed determine the views and actions of Congressmen."

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Peasants, the Weakest link in our National Organization

That our Peasants are the weakest link in our national organization is only too well known to us to need any arguing. Both Government and Congress have realized the necessity of getting into consultation with industrialists, commercial interests and industrial workers, planters and landlords because there exist for them fairly well-organized national organizations with Provincial units. Peasants alone, if we except the agricultural workers, lack an all-India organization supported by Provincial and District Committees to ascertain and publish their views upon the present-day affairs and to take concerted action and to make their voice felt in the public life of our country.

The Time Spirit

Our whole political atmosphere is surcharged with new ideas. Sir Henry Craik warns the country against Communism, though being obliged to give it the greatest publicity and he sees little difference between Socialism and Communism. The disciples of Mahatma Gandhi state that Gandhism is the true Indian expression of Socialism. Even the Nawab of Chattari declared that Socialist Organization of our industries is inevitable and welcomed the progressive socialization of our Railways. Indeed many of us claim to be Socialists and are not a little influenced by the "Communist Manifesto" about which the Home Member of this all-knowing Government feigned ignorance. Sir Malcolm Hailey while at Lahore and Lucknow, Lord Erskine at Madras and Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, have all hastened to forewarn the landlords and to advise them to fraternize with our peasants so as to prevent them from imbibing the new thought and voicing the new demands. Even the Chief Minister of Madras, the Rajah of Bobbili has had to rush to peasants' conferences and claim to be their friend and champion. It is this extraordinarily potent new time spirit, surcharged as it is with the cataclysmic Russian achievements especially in regard to the peasantry and its problems, that we have to try to utilize for the advancement of our peasantry. The practical shape taken by our reaction to this time spirit may be found to be different from that of Europe. But with all that,

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we must see that our peasants are enabled to imbibe this time spirit and derive the greatest advantage from it.

Demands of our Time

If we are to help our peasants to grow to their fullest stature and gain a mastery over the politics of our country, as is justified by their numbers and revolutionary capacity, we must get busy in educating them to the realization of their responsibilities to their twin brothers, the agricultural workers, their co-operative relations with industrial workers and their conflicting reactions to the landlords, merchants, industrialists and other great vested interests. We cannot be blind to the unfortunate fact that the treatment, social and economic, meted out by our peasants to their workers all over India, is inhuman and unjustifiable. The sufferings of the Kamins of the Punjab are not much different from those of the Harijans all over India. If we are right in thinking, as I feel sure we are, that it is in the interests of our Peasantry and industrial workers that there must be developed the maximum amount of co-operation between peasants, agricultural workers and industrial workers, then it is our bounden duty to try to eliminate the points of friction between them and strengthen and increase the points of conciliation and harmony. We, the servants of peasants, know it only too well, that our fight against all the vested interests ranged against us in our political and economic life is so stiff and strenuous that we need all the allies we can secure. Apart from considerations of Justice and fair-play, we can ill-afford to allow in our own interests, the continuation of the present unsatisfactory relations between our peasants and workers.

Our Enemy is our Own Mind

Our peasants are themselves largely to blame for their present unenviable and unprogressive position. Their partiality towards the Zamindars and moneyed classes and against the propertyless, and helpless people is responsible for the degradation of not only themselves but also their co-partners, the agricultural workers. The abolition of the old system of communal ownership of land and the establishment of individualized Ryotwari settlements have contributed their share towards the growth of

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the present-day capitalistic mentality of our peasants, which indeed is the greatest stumbling block in their road to progress. It is our sacred duty to make them realize the direction in which their real class interests lie and to discover and follow up the right and effective means by which they can gain, in co-operation with their other allies, the control over our political and economic life, which is their due and which alone can assure them continuous prosperity in their collective and individual lives. We have to carry on incessant and tireless propaganda amongst our peasantry and in our country-side to make them realize their class consciousness and shoulder their historic responsibility.

Class War going on Now

Government fears that Communists are interested in creating a class war and Congress is nervous of the emergence of a class war. They do not seem to realize that class war has been going on mercilessly and continuously in almost every part of our country-side between the Talukdars (Zamindars of the South) and their tenants, the Ryotwari landholders and their tenants. To dispel all doubts regarding the truth of this, all that need be done is to peruse the annual reports of Government published on the working of their Tenancy Laws. We find, therein, more than enough evidence to show how cruelly and relentlessly the landholders have been victimizing and persecuting their tenants through Courts and Magistracy. The landholders are powerful in their money, influence and legal rights and their tenants are powerless and poverty-ridden. While this continues the calamitous contact between these two unequal parties results to-day in a clash which enthrones one party and degrades another.

Then again the records of Courts and the department of Civil Debtors' Jails, and the Registration Department which keeps the records of land alienations bear their testimony only too eloquently to the unashamed and uncontrolled class war going on between the money-lenders and indebted peasants. The fact that the Punjab, U.P. and C.P. Governments have had to pass special legislation to partially protect the peasants shows that even Government is aware of the fact that in this clash of interests, peasants are being ground down. But this clash of interests is nothing else

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but a class war which is allowed to be carried on by the present legislation and to whose ravaging and ruinous existence the authorities are strangely blind. It is, however, our bounden duty to do all we can to strengthen our peasants and equip them in every possible way so that they can eliminate this class war which to-day eats into their very vitals.

Ruralization and Socialization of Industries

Our country is fortunately yet to be industrialized, in the Western sense. The Textile, Iron, Mining and other industrial interests which are growing very rapidly, thanks to the nationalist-*cum*-capitalist policy of protection, imposed upon our country by all our nationalists, are already developing a Fascistic hegemony which bodes ill to our peasants and workers. The various Provincial Governments as well as the Government of India have set themselves to the costly task of subsidizing, at our cost, the private entrepreneurs in order to enable them to develop their control over our economic life. It is up to us to see that industries of our country are ruralized and socialized as soon as possible and that any further industrial development is allowed only on collective or co-operative lines so that any profits, direct or indirect, arising from such ventures will be shared by all the masses.

Reorganization of Agriculture

Our present methods of cultivation are most uneconomic and unprofitable, mostly because of the uneconomic holdings, fragmentation of fields, thanks to our hereditary system of distribution of property. Neither co-operative nor even compulsory consolidation of holdings nor the creation of family holdings coupled with non-alienability of lands can satisfactorily solve the problem. Co-operative or collective reorganization of our occupied lands and their exploitation by modern methods of cultivation can alone help us. But to convert our peasants to the advantages of such a system will not be an easy task, as is shown by Russia's experience and it is our task to carry on ceaseless propaganda to win their agreement on this point.

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State Lands and Workers

We must not, however, forget that the land hunger in our country is just as strong as in pre-War Russia and that our landless agricultural workers are dying to secure some land. Nearly one-third of our cultivable land is still unoccupied and in possession of the State and all this can and ought to be granted to the co-operative organizations of such workers, without the right of alienation. Not a cent of this land or that of the Talukdars which is to be taken for allotment to these people shall be granted to any individual, as that will only help to strengthen the present suicidal individual exploitation of land. Indeed, the success that may be achieved by such co-operative agricultural enterprises will help us to persuade our peasants to embrace the new Russian method of agricultural organization.

* * * *

All-India Federation is Needed

Now to carry on our propaganda on these and other lines, to acquaint our peasants with the present-day thought and to fit them to face ably and courageously the demands of the times and to enable them to triumph in the present class war, we need have, to make an organized attempt. We have to-day Peasants' organizations in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, U.P., C. P., Andhra, Tamilnaad, Malabar and Kerala. We have to bring them all together into an All-India Federation, so that we can carry on our work more effectively and consciously in our respective provinces. We can pool all our varied experiences and learn from one another. This conference is convened mainly for the purpose of deliberating the need for such an organization and taking the best measures for bringing it into existence. I am fully confident that you will all strive to co-operate with me and the organizers of the conference and enable us to bring into existence the All-India Federation at least by the time the All-India Peasants' Conference meets at Lucknow.

*(This is the Address given by Mr. Ranga, to the All India Conference of
Peasants Workers)*

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

[BY. M. S. RANDHAWA]

WHENEVER man is at the mercy of his environment he tends to be fatalistic, indifferent and slothful. In countries like England, Germany and the United States of America due to extensive industrialization the majority of the people are employed in factories and they are more self-reliant, energetic and of an optimistic frame of mind, for their living is not directly dependent upon rain and soil. It is the environment of man and not his race which determines to a large extent his physical and mental traits. On the other hand it is alleged by some writers that the people of India and other Asiatic countries are inherently fatalistic and lazy. Japan gave a lie to this presumption when she became, within the short period of a quarter of a century, a highly industrialized mechanized country, instead of a mediæval romantic island known to the Western world only for her lacquer work, paper lanterns, and geisha girls. In industrial production she not only attained a parity with some of her masters, but she has outstripped and outdistanced most of them, beating them at their own game. The cynical race theorists now attributed all this to the wonders of a temperate climate and Japan was euphemistically called the "Britain of the East".

In the post-war years we have been witnessing the transformation of another Asiatic country and her people; we refer to Asiatic Russia, which resembles India in many features. The following passage from Mr. E. J. Dillon's "Russian Traits" may fairly well apply to Indian peasants living east of the Ganges. Discussing their mental traits, he writes, "This combination of fatalism with paralysis, indifference, and grovelling instincts, gives us a clue to the marvellous endurance of the masses, whose mode of life is at times more bleak, cheerless, and less human than that of the grazing monks of Mesopotamia, whose sufferings were at least the result of choice." The titles of Dillon's book are also very suggestive as "Lying", "Fatalism", "Sloth", "Dishonesty".

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As hot and humid climate is said to be responsible for the sloth and fatalism of the Indian peasant, similarly to cold and long winters is attributed the laziness of the Russian peasant. Professor Huntington of Yale University discussing the causes of inertness and submissiveness of the Russian peasant writes, "Passivity, dreaminess, lack of initiative, docility, carelessness of detail, and the tendency to put off until to-morrow appear to be Russian characteristics closely connected with the long, cold, monotonous, workless winters." Maurice Hindus in his famous book, "The Great Offensive", gives a more scientific explanation of the backwardness of the Russian moujik. According to him it is idleness and lack of employment which induces a fondness for inactivity not only in Russia but in other lands also regardless of climate. It becomes a habit and like all habits feeds on itself. If people are given opportunity to be more active, to read more and enjoy other civilized diversions they would easily overcome traits that climate would ordinarily develop. There is an historical background also to the problems of the Russian peasant. The Czarist regime kept him ignorant and illiterate, a serf at the mercy of the nobles and the clergy. With the coming of the Five Year Plan and the machine, Russia had begun to develop a tougher breed of men. The new education and the machine are transforming the Russian mind, making it more disciplined, more sophisticated, more restless. The peasant or the woman who has been in contact with the machine will never again be the same as before.

In India the Machine has still to come and play its part and its coming will be followed by a tremendous transformation of the mental and moral traits of the Indian peasants and our country will enjoy a wave of prosperity such as she never experienced in her whole history so far. However these happy results would only follow if we benefit from the experience of the Western countries and avoid slums and sweating and at the same time develop the industrial centres according to a plan. Our country is in a state of arrested economic development and only when our people will become wise enough to stop communal bickerings and frittering away their energies on petty quarrels about mosques, temples and Gurdwaras, will her economic salvation be achieved.

The Indian Peasant and his Environment

Now let us examine the mental and physical traits of the Indian peasant and his environment. Pessimism overshadows the mind and soul of the Indian peasant. The Indian saints and prophets have sung for ages about the unreality of the present world; according to them it is Maya, an illusion. Our music is mostly sad and tragic. The explanation lies in the insecure conditions under which our peasants and workers have been living for more than nine centuries. The robber chiefs, tax-gatherers and predatory soldiers seldom allowed them to enjoy peacefully the fruits of their labour. These are ideal circumstances for the birth of the theory of Karma. According to the theory of Karma, a man is well-off now not because he is working hard and is intelligent but because he has done Bhakti in his previous birth and if he is poor and miserable it is due to his sins in some past life. Such an attitude on life encourages extreme fatalism and inaction. People blame their past misdeeds for their present miseries. Laziness is excused and the whole blame is placed on *Qismat*. We want a psychological change of a revolutionary character in the outlook of our peasants. They should be made to realize that poverty is the wages of idleness. Work hard and you will prosper. You may not get rich quick, but be patient and go on working hard, your efforts will never go unrewarded.

Even now if we go to an Indian village, particularly in the United Provinces, what strikes one immediately is the general atmosphere of gloom and depression which pervades the village. You may see a couple of stray dogs barking at you in a corner of the village street and a few children with dirty unwashed faces and running noses staring at you. Women come with their *gharas* on their heads, heavily laden with silver or gilt ornaments marching in a silent procession to the village well. Near the well, under the shade of a *peepul* tree, are sitting eight or nine men some smoking their *hookahs*, some poking the cow-dung fire, and the others staring at the women. If anybody suggests some improved methods of cultivation or a better way of living, the usual reply is, "If *Qismat* favours us we will get enough to feed ourselves, if not these devices of yours are not going to help us however clever they may be." People who are in easier circumstances often say that the peasants are contented with their lot and quite happy, so why disturb the peace of their minds by telling them about new

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things which they would not receive with any earnestness. But even if they are contented, it is because they cannot imagine that any thing better can exist and their attitude on life and its future is that of utter hopelessness and despair. The so-called contentment of some of them is the contentment of a buffalo wallowing in mud, or that of a worm rolling in mire.

It is a common obsession of the European mind that the Indian peasant is a weak anæmic and skinny creature. For most Westerners, India is a land full of diminutive men and women. This is merely one side of the picture. In the Panjab, we meet with the sturdy Jat Sikh peasant who is very well-built, tall and hardworking. He is capable of enduring extreme heat and cold. When the thermometer shows 119 F. and extremely hot wind blows he is busy in the fields harvesting and threshing wheat. The climatic conditions under which he works would kill any European within a few days. The Muslim and Hindu Jats, Gujars, and Arains also approach him in grit and endurance. The Panjabi cultivator is a peasant-proprietor and most of his good qualities are attributable to his comparative economic independence. He owns his few acres of land, ploughs them industriously, keeps a buffalo and maintains himself and his family in a comparatively well-nourished condition. As compared with the Panjabi farmers the peasants of the Agra Province are of a weaker constitution, for they earn to pay the rents of their zemindars and as the land belongs to persons who do not cultivate, the peasants have no incentive to improve it. As we go east to the Province of Oudh the cultivators and their cattle are more diminutive in size. In this part of India almost semi-feudal conditions prevail and the state of the peasantry is miserable. Children do not get enough milk, and men and women are underfed. Climatic conditions in the Panjab and the United Provinces are not very different, but the peasants of the Panjab and U. P. are so very physically dissimilar. Again the system of land tenure explains the cause. In the Deccan the soil is poor and the population is as numerous as in more fertile parts of India. The consequence is extreme poverty.

Ultimately the problem of the Indian peasant resolves into the problem of bread. As my friend Dr. Harold Mann remarked

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at a meeting of the Indian Village Welfare Society at High Leigh, Hertfordshire in England, "The problem of the Indian peasant is the problem of filling empty stomachs. Let us find out means by which the peasant should get enough to eat." As the famous Panjabi proverb says, "He who has plenty of grain in his house, even his madness is wise." So people and nations who are in better economic circumstances can call us backward and uncivilized with impunity, and may feel proud of their mushroom civilizations and cultures. When our peasants will be able to get enough to eat, they will look up to art, beauty, knowledge, and other higher things of life also. What we want to emphasize is that our peasants are not inherently lazy, weak, and apathetic. Given a proper diet weakness and apathy will disappear, and if we create jobs for them in factories and other industrial concerns laziness will be thing of the past. When worker's clubs, libraries, cinemas and theatres are provided, the peasant will shake off his mental inertia and begin to think.

If our peasant is apathetic and listless, it is not he but his environment which is to be blamed. People who do not have two square meals a day cannot be expected to be otherwise. Even now our people are not inferior to any nation in the world, given an equal opportunity they have proved themselves equally capable. Take the case of Sikh Jats who migrated to California, Canada and Australia. In the course of a generation in spite of many handicaps they have proved themselves as efficient workers in industrial concerns as the Europeans. Describing the Indian people and their history Arnold Lupton writes in his *Happy India*, "In dealing with the inhabitants of this enormous territory we must remember that we are dealing with people who are second to none in the world. Thousands of years ago India had great people, and great cities. It had philosophers and statesmen, writers of great literature, and to-day its people either do or are capable of doing all the work that can be done by any other people, and of taking a high place in all the arts and sciences, philosophy and statesmanship of the world." There is nothing wrong with our climate also. In fact our country is fortunate enough to have a variety of climates which is unequalled by any country in the world. It is only because our country is warm that so many underclothed and underfed people are managing to exist. With

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much less effort our people can be as comfortable as people in the cold European countries, where a human being must have plenty of clothes, food and shelter, during the long winter.

We will only master our environment when we have utilized every drop of water available for irrigating our cultivable land, and the peasant is not left entirely at the mercy of the monsoons. At present there are far too many people in our country dependent upon soil for their livelihood, directly or indirectly, than can be maintained at a reasonable standard of comfort by the produce of the soil. This unemployed and partly-employed surplus should be absorbed in industrial concerns built with state aid and under state control. If crops fail in some tracts, these surplus peasants who will become industrial workers, will be capable of buying foreign grain rather than relying upon famine relief doles. When the machines will hum in India, more goods are produced, and more employment is created, fatalism and gloom will vanish. Our people are not constitutionally gloomy, it is the cramping circumstances in which they live that makes them pessimistic. When they will get steadier employment and better wages, they will also become self-confident and optimistic, like the European workers. At present they can barely satisfy even their primary needs, and the life of an average Indian peasant is little better than that of an animal, who spends his life in search of food and drink, and procreating. When he will achieve a better standard of living with more leisure, he will lift up his eyes to beauty also. When this stage is reached in the economic development of our country, our people will cease to be fatalistic, slothful and anæmic.

THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RESERVE BANK

[DR. RAMA CHANDRA RAU]

A GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, dated 27th January 1936, has been issued exhibiting the annual accounts of the Reserve Bank which will be submitted to the First Annual General Meeting of the shareholders to be held at Calcutta on 3rd February 1936. The accounts submitted cover the period of nine months roughly from 1st April to 31st December 1935.

Central Board of Directors

A full list of the first batch of nominated Directors would have been welcomed. The salutary practice of electing the nominated Directors would, I hope, be pursued by the shareholders of other areas when their turn comes. The Bombay Board was called upon recently in December 1935 to elect two Directors of the Central Board. Both the nominated directors—Sir P. Thakurdas and Mr. F. E. Dinshaw were elected so that no change would ensue in the original composition of the Central Board. It is regrettable that death has snatched away Mr. Dinshaw so that a new Director will have to be elected to take his place in the Central Board.

Election of Auditors

There is no gainsaying of the fact that both Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes of Calcutta and S. B. Billimoria and Co. of Bombay would be selected as the auditors for the forthcoming year according to section 50 clause (2) of the Reserve Bank Act. The greater standing and wider experience of the first two firms would carry the day however. That their remuneration would be greater than the present fees is a foregone conclusion as increasing volume of business in larger number of areas than they have done hitherto has to be conducted in the near future. The accounts of the

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London branch would have to be audited in the course of the next year.

Some observations on its business

The first business of the Reserve Bank has been the taking over of the control of the Issue Department from the Government of India. The Controller of Currency still exists for performing some minor items of business concerning the circulation of rupee currency. The Controller of Currency will not be on the unemployed list as it was prognosticated at the time of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendation of a bank issue.

The next item is the management of the public debt of the Government of India. Though it might not have sponsored the £10,000,000 Sterling loan flotation conducted in July 1935, for its London branch was not formed as yet—the rupee loan of 15 crores floated in August might have been ushered in by the Reserve Bank in the slack season of the Indian money market. Easy money conditions have led to their popularity and favourable reception by the public. Both the loans have been duly subscribed within a few minutes of their opening. Both the issues now stand at a premium. The Rupee loan is quoted at a higher premium than the sterling loan. The moral from this is clear. A judicious flotation of the rupee loan should be undertaken before the flotation of external loan is decided upon. Of late, the Government's financial position has been improved greatly. It is time that more conversion loans are undertaken to reduce the interest payable on public debt.

The considerations governing the issuing of the treasury bills in the Indian Money Market lead to the same conclusion. While 103·80 crores worth of treasury bills were issued in 1934 about 76·77 crores worth of treasury bills alone were floated in 1935. The yield has fallen to a lower figure. As the report points out "the highest and lowest yields per cent. per annum on the bills during 1934 and 1935 were Rs. 2-9-11 and Re. 0-13-9 and Rs. 2-0-2 and Re. 0-11-8, respectively." There were days when the Government of India was forced to pay a higher rate for its short-term loans than what the commercial borrowers had to pay for their corresponding short-term

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loans from the hands of the banks. Fortunately these days are over. Treasury bills seem to have become an integral feature of the Indian money market. A proper scanning of the assets of the Banking Department will convince one that the Reserve Bank did not buy any of the treasury bills during this period. Perhaps this might be due to the late formation of the Banking Department. Neither treasury bills nor bank bills nor other eligible bills figure in the balance-sheet.

The Government accounts have been taken up from the Imperial Bank and the Government deposits on 31st December 1935 amount to Rs. 6,04,51,054-3-4. A comparison with the Government deposits in the Imperial Bank prior to 1934 will reveal the small amount of the Government deposits in the Reserve Bank. The following table shows the balances at the Imperial Bank in December 1932 to 1934 :—

<i>Name of the Government Bank</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Government deposits.</i>
The Imperial Bank of India ...	1932-33	684 (lakhs of Rs.).
	1933-34	624 " "
	1934-35	635 " "
The Reserve Bank of India .	1935-December	604 " "

Central banking business

Two significant items remind us that the Reserve Bank is the Central Bank of Issue for the country. For the first time in the annals of the banking history of the country the official bank rate was announced on 4th July at 3½ per cent. It has continued it steadily at that level for full four months. Notwithstanding the fact that the busy season is ahead this rate was lowered to 3 per cent. mainly as the result of "easy money conditions arising out of slackened demand for moving the crops and the low level of commodity prices themselves necessitating lesser banking resources to finance their movement and the weight of money conditions awaiting release for investment purposes." Whatever might be the actuating reasons which compelled the declaration of three per cent. bank rate in the midst of a busy season it must be understood that the maintenance of it all-throughout the busy season at this low level is likely to take place. The cash

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percentage on 31st December 1935 was 57·231 per cent. roughly. The Issue Department is in an impregnable position possessing more than the needed quota of gold coin and bullion, sterling securities, and rupee securities—quite a motley crowd or heterogenous collection.

Official contact has been established with the scheduled banks. On 5th July these banks lodged statutory deposits with the Reserve Bank in accordance with the provision of section 42 of the Reserve Bank Act. Five per cent. of the demand liabilities and two per cent. of the time liabilities are to be deposited according to this section. On 31st December 1935 the deposits of banks amounted to Rs. 28,34,23,268-10-2. Assuming that bare seven per cent. of cash reserve has been deposited with the Reserve Bank it follows that the total amount of banking deposits might be safely calculated on the basis of above reasoning — $\frac{28 \times 100}{7}$ roughly 400 crores of deposit money. "The Statistical

Tables relating to Banks in India," i. e., the banking blue book has not mentioned such a high figure for Indian banking deposits as a whole at any time in the past. Evidently something more beyond the statutory ratio of compulsory reserves is being placed by the Scheduled Banks. A more explicit statement of the pure statutory cash reserve deposits of the scheduled banks will be welcomed.

Coming to the next item in the Report it is stated that 134,558 applications were received at 547 different stations spread throughout the length and breadth of this Indian Continent. It is a matter of interest to note that "the number of applications in Bombay, Madras and Delhi has been far greater than the statutory quota allotted to them; while in Calcutta and Rangoon the number fell short of the statutory quota." The colossal over-subscription from Bombay easily points out that it is the largest manufacturing centre, the financial centre of the country, and one of the largest ports of the country.

While this is what the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank says the Controller of Currency gives a different version. The following table quoted from his recent report says that the number

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of applications were very large in almost all the centres. (*Vide* p. 2, of his Report):—

(*In Lakhs of Rs*)

<i>Area</i>	<i>Applied for.</i>	<i>Allotted.</i>
Western (Bombay) ..	321	140
Eastern (Calcutta) .	164	145
Northern (Delhi)	239	115
Southern (Madras) .	131	70
Burma (Rangoon) .	36	30
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	591	500
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Which fact has to be believed? "The issue was over-subscribed to the extent of *nearly 1 crores*" says the Annual Report. But according to the above table it was over-subscribed by 3·91 crores only. It was also over-subscribed in *every area or centre*. Such a gigantic task of allotting shares was finished within ten days in a neat and accurate manner. But it would have satisfied our inquisitiveness if the nationality of the shareholders has been mentioned in the Report. Economic nationalism in Germany has been responsible for a curious fiat issued quite recently—which says that foreigners holding the shares of the Reichsbank would secure no dividend at all due to the extraordinary nature of the times. Such a measure might be permitted in this country only by the Governor-General in Council. Curiosity prompts us to have an idea of the shares held by *born* Indians and *domiciled* Indians. It is often stated by the Nationalist thinkers that encouragement of measures to develop the internal capital market would mean only British Investment alone. The holding of Reserve Bank shares will be a tacit proof supporting or refuting the above opinion. The Reserve Bank shares are cumulative shares entitled to obtain 3½ per cent. dividend and "not more than five per cent." at any time annually. Safety and steady yield are attached to the Reserve Bank share. If at all the investment habit exists in this country the floating of the Reserve Bank after proper notice in several important centres has given ample scope to these savers to invest their capital in sound investment.

The new regulations and bye-laws

Detailed regulations concerning matters stated in the Reserve Bank Act have been drawn up. The approval of the Governor-General in Council has been secured and details concerning the general regulations, election rules, rules for meetings of shareholders, regulations concerning the relations of the scheduled banks and the form of the returns to be submitted by the scheduled banks, the Note Refund rules, Staff regulations, Provident Fund regulations, Guarantee Fund regulations and Expenditure rules have been drawn up. It is stated that copies of these can be had by the public on payment of certain fees. The availability and price of these rules are not stated anywhere in the report.

Complete lay-out

The election of the five Directors to each of the Local Boards has been completed and the nomination of three Government Directors to each of the local boards has been also finished recently. Thus the lay-out and the financial poise of the Reserve Bank has been completed at last.

What about the Agricultural Department ?

The Reserve Bank has requisitioned the services of Mr. M. L. Darling to write a Report on the indigenous bankers and the Co-operative Credit Department. Pursuant to the recommendations of the special officer the Reserve Bank, it seems, has requested the Provincial Governments to gather more useful details of the work of the indigenous bankers, money-lenders and the co-operative credit movement. The starting of the Agricultural Credit Department and the closer nexus which has to be established between the Reserve Bank and the indigenous bankers will then be settled. Light and yet more light is needed on their standing and position in the internal monetary centres. Mr. Darling's Report ought to have been released for research students in Economics could also have helped the process of securing the relevant data.

Securities market para

A few scattered remarks on the gilt-edge market and the prices quoted therein form the subject-matter of the securities

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market para. Herein the reasons for floating a sterling loan, while in the previous year two rupee-loans were floated, have not been mentioned. One of the main reasons for the starting of the Reserve Bank is to improve the investment habit and the capital market of the country. The floating of external loans at the time the political improvement of this country is being seriously thought of has to be condemned. Again the heaping up of external obligations would make the transfer problem a very difficult one.

Gold exports and rupee exchange

The rupee exchange, thanks to the continually forthcoming gold exports to the tune of £700,000 a week, has been at a premium over the sterling. The annual gold export was roughly 46'63 crores making up a total export of gold since September 1931 worth Rs. 256'70 crores. The Directors are of opinion that "there is no reason to assume that the average figure will greatly diminish in the near future." Given high prices for gold abroad the export of gold will be continued. That all the imported gold into India has not been belched forth is fully known to students of Economics. So long as the rumoured embargo on gold export or export duty on gold is not forthcoming gold exports will continue. Apart from stating accepted truths and economic facts the Central Board does not enlighten us as to the evils of monetary instability nor does it say how long the present managed-sterling-exchange standard would continue.

The Silver crisis

Reference has been made to the silver crisis in the Bombay market. Two panicky situations arose in August 1935 and December 1935. American and Chinese policy have been blamed for the situation. America has been purchasing silver stocks but not at "steadily increasing prices" as anticipated by the speculators of the Bombay Market. Secondly, China officially gave up the silver currency as a result of the rise in the price of silver and exodus of silver from the country. Although lacking internal stability it has embarked on the doubtful plans of managed currency. The reduction of the import duty on silver and its effect on silver market has not been referred to in the report.

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Clearing House returns

The total figure for the Clearing House operations has been mentioned. The increase in these returns is a positive though not an infallible indication of the improved nature of the trade conditions. One convincing testimony which goes to prove that the depression has turned its corner in this country and that conditions are slowly improving can be placed by the Clearing House statistics. The Controller of Currency quotes these figures in his annual reports. The following table indicates the trend of depression and the slow recovery therefrom.

<i>Year.</i>				<i>Total (in lakhs of Rs.)</i>
1929-30	...	...	...	19,99,74
1930-31	...	...	...	17,30 65
1931-32	...	...	...	15,15,06
1932-33	...	...	..	16,18,53
1933-34	...	...	..	16,41,20
1934-35	...	...	...	17,33,01
1935 (Reserve Bank Report)	...	...	...	19,44,57

An explanation of the Balance-sheet

A close study of the balance-sheet will explain the nature of the work of this newly-created bank—with its double-barrelled balance-sheet. The Reserve Bank Act has prescribed a bi-departmental organization for the operations of the Bank. The balance-sheet of the Issue Department is as follows :—

BALANCE-SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1935.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

<i>Liabilities</i>			Rs.	A.	P.
Bank notes held in the Banking Dept	21,48,68,747	8	0
Notes in circulation	171,78,39,318	8	0
Total liabilities	<u>193,27,08,066</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

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Assets

A	{	Gold coin and bullion	41,55,19,156	0	0	
		Held outside India		
		Held inside India	2,85,97,782	0	0	
		Sterling securities	..	...	66,18,83,085	0	0
Total of A					..	110,61,00,023	0	0
B	{	Rupee coin	..	...	57,11,64,232	0	0
		Government of India Securities		...	25,54,43,811	0	0	
		Internal bills of exchange and other						
		commercial paper	..	..	Nd		
Total Assets					...	193,27,08,066	0	0

Ratio of total A to liabilities · 57·231 per cent

BANKING DEPARTMENT

Liabilities

			Rs.	A.	P.
Capital paid up	...	...	5,00,00,000	0	0
Reserve Fund	...	...	5,00,00,000	0	0
Deposits—					
(a) Government	..	..	6,04,51,054	3	4
(b) Banks	..	...	28,34,23,268	10	2
(c) Others	..	.	26,44,597	11	5
Bills payable	11,29,498	9	1
Other liabilities	70,83,088	3	2
Total Liabilities			...	45,47,31,507	5 2

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Assets

			Rs.	A. P.
Notes	21,48,68,747	8 0
Rupee coin	4,45,633	0 0
Subsidiary coin	4,28,667	6 11
Bills discounted —				
Internal	...	...	Nil	
External	...	...	Nil	
Government of India Treasury bills			Nil	
Balances held abroad including cash and short-term securities	..	..	17,38,77,970	6 5
Loans and advances to the Government			1,00,00,000	0 0
Other loans and advances			Nil	
Investments	..	...	5,29,24,719	2 9
Other Assets	...	..	21,85,769	13 1
			<hr/>	
Total	...	...	45,47,31,507	5 2

Income

		Rs	A. P.
Interest, Discount, Exchange and Commission	...	1,25,92,053	8 1

Expenditure

		Rs	A. P.
Establishment	...	22,49,568	0 0
Directors and Local Board Members' fees and expenses	..	27,684	4 0
Auditors' fees		15,000	0 0
Rents, taxes, insurance, lighting, etc.	..	3,91,475	5 3
Law charges	..	3,150	15 4
Postage and telegraph charges	..	37,074	0 7
Stationery, etc.	..	69,259	9 2
Depreciation and repairs to bank property	...	30,562	14 0
Agency charges	...	17,25,572	7 0
Contributions to staff and Superannuation Fund	...	Nil	
Miscellaneous expenses	...	24,36,761	11 4
Net available balance	...	56,05,744	5 5
		<hr/>	
Total	...	1,25,92,053	8 1

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	Rs.	A.	P.
Amount set aside for dividend at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum ..	13,12,500	0	0
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund ..	<i>Nil</i>		
Surplus available for payment as additional dividend ...	<i>Nil</i>		
Surplus payable to the Governor-General ...	42,93,244	5	5
Balance carried forward ...	<i>Nil</i>		
Total ..	56,05,744	5	5
Reserve Fund Account by balance on 31st December 1935 ..	5,00,00,000	0	0
Transfer from Profit and Loss Account ...	<i>Nil</i>		
Total ...	5,00,00,000	0	0

I propose to present a few thoughts on the balance-sheet. Apart from what I have stated elsewhere (see CONTEMPORARY INDIA—Article on the Reserve Bank) suggesting a combined balance-sheet I desire to draw attention to the composition of assets in the Issue as well as the Banking Departments. Remembering that there is sole organic unity of the different departments of the Reserve Bank the method of isolation has to be adopted so as to study the problem of general banking reform.

The issuing of Reserve Bank's notes has not commenced as yet. There would indeed be dual issues—namely the Old Government of India notes, and the Reserve Bank notes. The former are payable in silver rupees. They are convertible as of right. This function is being faithfully performed and without any delay.

Coming to the assets of the Issue Department notes have not been issued on internal bills of exchange as yet. Gold coin and bullion held by the Bank is greater than the minimum 40 crores provided by the Act—clause (2), section 33. Gold held outside

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India is not coming up even to the prescribed amount, namely 15 per cent. of the total gold stocks. Roughly, of the total 44 crores only three crores are held outside India. Gold coin and bullion has been valued at 8'47512 grains of fine gold per rupee. Gold coin and bullion, has been valued at 8'47512 grains as fixed by the terms of the Reserve Bank Act. Gold coin, bullion and sterling securities amount to 57 per cent. of the liabilities although by law only 40 per cent. need be kept by it. Increased demand for currency can be safely met by the Reserve Bank as it has roughly 17 per cent. of excess or free reserves on which additional accommodation needed in the busy season can be created without inducing further changes in the three per cent. bank rate which is now prevailing.

The amount of Rupee coin is roughly 57 crores and the Government of India securities is roughly 25 crores. Clause (3) of section 33 fixes the limit of the Government of India securities at a quarter of the total amount of assets or fifty crores whichever is greater. Unfortunately the holding of silver rupees to the extent of 57 crores is excessive. Whether it is due to the contravention of the section 35 of the Reserve Bank Act is not clear. Will the excess be returned according to clause (i) of section 36? As the excess seven crores cannot all of a sudden be returned a beginning should be made with five crores of rupees. In lieu of these gold coin or bullion can be purchased and placed in its hands by the Government.

Silver rupees are not convertible into gold but the fellowship of the silver rupee with the Government of India currency note still exists. Unless this is dissolved the lessening of the silver rupees coin holdings would be a danger. Both paper notes as well as silver rupees are to be converted into sterling at 1s. 6d. ratio. The silver rupee is still the preponderating money of daily circulation though, of course, notes are forging ahead since 1929. China's official dethroning of silver currency means that India's previous determination to dethrone the silver rupee cannot be reopened again. Its eventual withdrawal from circulation will not be facilitated unless the Reserve Bank notes (with their limited convertibility into gold bullion as envisaged by the Hilton-Young Commission and the Currency Act of 1927), are ushered in into actual circulation. Of course fresh rupees are not minted. Silver

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bullion does not find a place in the cash reserve of the Reserve Bank. The policy of silver bullion sales is being continued by the Government of India. These are the only visible proofs of the determination of the Government of India to dethrone the silver rupee. Operations of the Silver Redemption Reserve are a second reminder to the effect that the silver rupee currency standard will not be brought back to the currency theatre of our country. The Rupee-sterling exchange standard is being maintained and managed by the Reserve Bank. The transference of the note-issue privilege to the Reserve Bank closes the eventful history of the Government note-issue in this country which commenced so early as in 1861 and has continued till first April 1935.

There is a simple and intelligible separation of the Issue Department from the Banking Department. The fully paid-up capital is Rs. 5 crores. The Reserve Fund as constituted under section 46 amounts to Rs. 5 crores. This large amount of reserve will enable it to pursue Reserve Banking policy and central banking functions without regard to profit-making motives. As the credit standing of the Reserve Bank needs a large reserve fund additions would have to be made to this reserve fund.

Coming to the assets of the Banking Department it is sad to record that bills of exchange are not being discounted as yet. Now that recruitment of fresh hands for the Banking Department has been completed eligible bills will be purchased by the Banking Department. The credit control function would then be exercised in actual practice.

The Reserve Bank has commenced the sale of treasury bills by means of open tender on 16th April 1935. Their sale was evidently suspended from 20th July to 6th September to enable the market to subscribe to the sterling and rupee loans floated in July and August. The Reserve Bank does not hold any treasury bills in its portfolio on December 1931--1935. "Balances held abroad" include cash as well as short-term securities. Loans to Government notably *ways and means advances* amount to one crore of rupees. "Other loans and advances" under clause (4) section 17 can be made to State, local authorities, scheduled banks, and provincial cooperative banks but they have not been made as yet.

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The Reserve Bank has earned by Interest the bulk of its income, amounting to Rs. 1 crore roughly. More details would have been welcomed.

Of the expenditure amount the main items are establishment charges, Agency charges, and Miscellaneous expenses. In the near future there might be increase in establishment charges and the contributions to staff and super-annuation funds will have to be on the increase. The expenditure of the Reserve Bank will be *increasing as also its income*. The surplus payable to the Governor-General in Council is roughly Rs. 42,93,244-5-5. In lieu of the interest on the securities held in the Paper Currency Reserve the banking profits from the operations of the Reserve Bank are a substitute. If there is increasing prosperity on an uninterrupted scale Government's main receipts from banking business will expand. Increasing flow of money from Reserve Bank's business might be expected in the near future. The Reserve Bank is a revenue-yielding organization. This revenue should be utilized to reduce the public debt of the country.

The Report has not a word to say on the definite monetary policy and organization to be pursued by the country. The international monetary position and currency standard is so much befogged that no clear-cut policies can be outlined. Unification of Paper Currency Reserves and Banking Reserves in the hands of the Reserve Bank has led to economy of the reserves and a unified currency and credit policy has already led to a significant lowering of the bank rate. The expectation of easy money rates and financial conditions is having its own influence in bettering the economic conditions. There is no vacillation and weakness as regards the official bank rate and banking policy as a whole. As a result of the establishment of three per cent. bank rate businessmen might become more forward, cheerful, scientifically-minded, resourceful, and co-operative to a degree hardly dreamt of or ever realized in the past. The instability or world's monetary outlook is, I presume, the stumbling block in the path of India's monetary reform. I am sure that the Reserve Bank would take a real step forward in selecting a definite monetary standard as soon as monetary uncertainty clears up. In the past we have experimented with silver monometallism. We abandoned it for the Gold

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exchange standard form of organization. Its breakdown in the eventful war years led to the adoption of the independent rupee standard. As a result of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendation this yielded its palm to the gold bullion standard or "hardened gold exchange standard form of organization" as it proved to be in practice since 1927. England's abandonment of the gold standard in 1931 forced us to link our rupee to managed non-metallic inconvertible sterling standard. We are practically on the sterling-rupee standard. If at all monetary theory is a good guide the independent rupee should be linked with an index-number of prices representing the cost of living. Improved statistical technique and general economic research would enable us to measure accurately the cost-of-living index. A stable and sound rupee standard can be maintained by the Reserve Bank.

After the advice tendered by the Macmillan Committee the Bank of England has been issuing a monthly summary of useful banking statistics. Even the monthly summaries of the scheduled banks returns are not published in the Annual Report. A glance at the English version of the Annual Report of the Bank of Java, 1934-35, would convince one of the necessary banking data which ought to be placed before the shareholders at the important annual meeting. Such wealth of useful information is not available in this annual report. Even as the Managing-Governor of the quasi-Central Bank—the Imperial Bank of India,—no such illuminating report has been made available to the shareholders by Sir Osborne Smith. I presume he has been maintaining this self-same attitude in his new and dignified role as the Managing-Governor of the Reserve Bank.

SIDE GLANCE AT INDIAN CINEMA

[By KRISHNA SINGH THAPER]

A RECENT issue of a popular Bombay weekly states that an Indian film producer very often pays as small a sum as Rs. 50 for the story he puts on the screen. On enquiry from some people in the trade this estimate is found to be correct. This, to a very large extent, explains the poor quality of the stories portrayed on the Indian Screen. It is true that in many cases the producers themselves write the story and the scenario. There are also historical plays like 'Seeta,' 'Raj Rani Meera' and 'Puran Bhagat,' where the writer does not have to think out a story but has only to supply the dialogue. Indian history could offer innumerable stories worthy of being put on the screen. But if the cinema is to take its rightful place with art and literature as a mirror of the age it must portray the emotions and reactions of the nation to the various social problems. Indian producers, it must be said to their credit, have thought of this and have tried to deal with the social questions of the day. It is in these cases that their reluctance to pay the story-writer produces deplorable results. There is a proverb in Punjabi which says that the sweetness of a dish depends upon the amount of molasses you put in it. If the story-writer is not well-paid his story will not be well-written.

The Popular Theme

Consequently the writers do not apply their mind to the story or try to be original. A popular theme which the writers have caught hold of—it is a glaring social question too—is the conflict of age and youth specially in questions of matrimony. This theme has been so much exploited by the film producers that conflict between the parents and their children has, like the eternal love triangle of the American film, become proverbial on the Indian screen. At the same time there is very little variation or originality in the different stories dealing with this subject. Whether we look at 'Chandra B.A.', 'Indira M.A.', 'Jawani-ki-

Side Glance at Indian Cinema

Hawa, *'Dhoop Chhaon,'* or *'Devdas,'* not only is the theme the same but, with the possible exception of the last-named, even the treatment of the subject in all these is very similar.

Avoidable Mistakes

One result of the inadequate attention paid to the subject-matter of a film is that apart from its general merit as a whole, the story contains such mistakes as could be easily avoided. It is not the purpose of this article to point out all the faults of film stories in India. Below are given a few examples to show the carelessness with which these stories are apparently written.

'Indira M.A.' is the story of a young girl who goes to Oxford for her education and after four years' stay there returns with an M.A. degree. A little enquiry would have made it clear to the author that this is impossible as the Oxford University regulations do not permit the obtaining of an M.A. degree (which, by the way, is an honorary degree) within four years of the date of joining the University.

In *'Modern Girl'* or *'Chandia B.A.'* a similar mistake is made on account of the author's ignorance of the process of law. A judge condemns his own son, who, in reality is innocent, to be hanged by the neck till 'dead'. All attempts at reprieve having failed the youth is taken to the gallows. He is shown there with a noose round his neck while the Magistrate in charge is counting seconds to give the final word. At the last second the judge appears on the scene in his dressing gown, has the boy released and takes him home—as if a judge, any more than a common citizen, could interfere at that stage!

A common fault of story-writers and producers is that they loose all sense of time and space. It is true that these factors are not so important in a film story as they are in a drama written for the stage. But where there is an inner plot in a film, that is to say, where a drama on the stage is shown in a film story these factors have to be observed carefully. A recent picture *'Life is a Stage,'* is a case in point. In this story *'Jiwan Natak'* is a play produced on the stage in a well-equipped theatre. The camera

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occasionally turns to the auditorium as a reminder that the play is being produced on a stage. And yet for all that the author and producer (who happens to be one and the same person in this case) forgets that he must keep the inner plot within limits as would be possible on a stage. What is shown instead is a rapid succession and inter-change of several different scenes—village scenes, Durbar scenes, fights with swords (and guns) culminating in a huge procession containing bullock carts and camels through varying country-side—as could be shown only in a film. All that is not possible on a stage—not even on a revolving stage.

Is it any wonder then that Indian pictures are, as a rule, very unconvincing and fail to make an effect ?

THE I. L. O. AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

[BY DR. P.P. PILLAI]

IT is perhaps unnecessary, in the year of grace 1936, to begin with an explanation of what the I. L. O. is, but it may as well be stated that this three-letter combination stands for the International Labour Organization which is one of the principal autonomous units of the scheme of international organizations known as the League of Nations. As is well-known, the principal object of the League of Nations is to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, and it was the realization that political peace was not possible without industrial peace that led to the birth of the International Labour Organization as a twin-sister of the League of Nations. The League of Nations stands for peace between the various countries of the world, while the I. L. O. stands for peace between the various economic strata of the population in the different countries. If I may so sum it up, the League of Nations stands for horizontal peace, while the I. L. O. stands for vertical peace.

The Machinery of the I. L. O.

A short preliminary reference may here be made to the nature of the machinery that has been set up to ensure the vertical industrial peace to which I have alluded. The I. L. O. functions through an annual conference, a Governing Body, and a permanent secretariat. The Conference is composed of four delegates appointed by each country, two of whom represent the Government, and one each the organized workers and employers of the country. Each meeting of the Conference discusses a report presented by the Director of the I. L. O. on the work of the Organization during the preceding year and considers specific questions relating to conditions of work with a view to agreement on international measures. The decisions of the Conference generally take the form of Draft Conventions or Recommendations. A Draft Convention is a proposed treaty. In compliance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the Government of each Member-State of the I. L. O. must submit Draft Conventions

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within eighteen months of their adoption to its own Parliament or other competent authority for decision as to whether it can be accepted and applied within its country. This is the process of ratification of a Convention, and it is worthwhile remembering that each Member-State possesses full authority for rejecting or ratifying any of Geneva's Conventions. In case of ratification, however, the State becomes a party to the Treaty with other ratifying States and is under an obligation to see that its own law and practice are in accordance with the Convention. This is no empty formality, since each ratifying country has to report every year to the Conference on the steps taken to give effect to the Convention and these reports are very carefully scrutinized at Geneva. Since the Conference consists of the representatives of Governments, employers and workers in the proportion of 2 : 1 : 1, and since the adoption of any Convention requires a two-thirds majority, it is apparent that a Draft Convention adopted at Geneva represents the highest common measure of agreement reached between Governments, employers and workers.

Universality of the Organization

The International Labour Organization consists to-day of all the countries of the world except Germany, Egypt and the Hedjaz.* Germany had all along been an active member of the Organization, which recognized her social and industrial achievements by according her a permanent seat on the Governing Body. In 1933 the question of equality of status as regards armaments led to her withdrawal from the League of Nations, and though the examples of Japan, Spain and Brazil have clearly shown the distinction between social and political international problems by the adherence of these countries to the I. L. O., even after they had left the League, Germany has unfortunately preferred to follow a different course. On the 21st October 1935, after the completion of the statutory notice-period of two years, she ceased to be a member of the I. L. O. also. In spite of this, however, there has been a momentous extension of the I. L. O.'s horizon through the entry of such highly industrialized countries as the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This additional membership has considerably augmented the moral authority of Geneva and altogether this is the nearest

* The name of this Country has now been changed to Saudi Arabia

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approach to universality that any organization of this character has so far attained. This is reflected in the elections to the Governing Body which took place last year as a result of which there were 7 European countries among the 16 countries represented, while corresponding increase in Extra-European representation took place in both the employers' and workers' groups. It is not too much to say that the new Governing Body inaugurates a new era in the history of the Organization.

India—a Power at Geneva

It is a matter for sincere pride that, on the Governing Body of this international organization, India has been able to obtain her full share of representation. The Governing Body is, as its name indicates, the executive committee of the Organization and it consists of 16 representatives of Governments and 8 representatives each from the employers' and workers' group. Of the 16 Government seats, 8 are allotted in permanence to the eight States of chief industrial importance. During the first few years, India's claim to be regarded as one of the eight leading industrial countries of the world was not recognized at Geneva. In 1922, however, as a result of India's persistent agitation, her claim was admitted and since then the Government of this country has been enjoying the privilege of having a permanent place reserved for it in the Governing Body. In 1934, when the United States and Russia joined the I. L. O., it became necessary to revise the list of the eight States of chief industrial importance, and some apprehensions were entertained in this country as to whether India would find a place in the new list. Fortunately, the Governing Body which met in January 1935, included India in this list and it is not likely that her place will ever again be threatened. Our first representative on the Governing Body was Sir Louis Kershaw, who was succeeded by Sir Atul Chatterjee, and it is Sir B. N. Mitra, the High Commissioner for India in London, who now represents the Government of India on the Governing Body. Nor have the interests of Indian employers and workers suffered any neglect at Geneva. Mr. D. P. Khaitan, of Messrs. Birla Brothers, Calcutta, was the first Indian Employers' Delegate to take part in the work of the Governing Body, when he attended one of its sessions in 1929 as a

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representative of the British Empire group of employers on that body. In 1931, Mr. David Erulkar, the founder of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, was chosen a Deputy Member of the Governing Body, and in 1934, when the Employers' Group in the Conference of that year elected him as Titular Member, the claim of Indian employers to representation on the Governing Body was fully met. Indian labour interests are represented on the Governing Body by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has been connected with the I. L. O. from the old Washington days. He has been a Deputy Member of the Governing Body from 1928, and was elected a full member in 1934. While on this topic, it may be mentioned that another eminent son of India, Sir Atul Chatterjee, presided over the International Labour Conference of 1927 and was elected as the first overseas chairman of the Governing Body in 1932, thus filling the highest offices which it is in the power of the International Labour Organization to bestow.

The Geneva Labour Code

By the end of 1935 the International Labour Conference had adopted 49 Conventions covering a wide variety of subjects. In illustration of the scope of the International Labour Code thus evolved, we may picture the position of a worker whose country has put the major labour treaties into operation. First of all he cannot be employed until he is 14 years old, in industry or commerce. While under the age of 16 he may not work at night in any industry, and in most industries not till he is 18. His hours of work in any industrial occupation may not, as a rule, exceed 48 per week, and he will be entitled to one day's rest in seven. If he meets with an accident or is stricken by any of the principal industrial diseases, he will have compensation guaranteed to him by law, and he will have the protection of a Government-controlled fund against sickness, old age or invalidity. Finally, if he is unemployed, Government employment service will help him to find a job, and if he cannot do so, he and his family will be preserved from destitution by a State scheme of insurance relief. If he is a seaman, he can apply for a job to an employment office jointly administered by shipowners and seamen. When he is engaged, it will be under articles of agreement protecting his rights and if he meets with shipwreck, he will be entitled to be

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repatriated and compensated during the period of unemployment at the cost of the shipowner.

India and Ratifications

By the end of 1935, again, of the 40 Conventions adopted from 1919 to 1933, 672 ratifications have been received at Geneva, making an average of 17 ratifications per Convention. Of the leading industrial countries, Belgium has ratified 23, Italy 21, France and Great Britain 19, Germany 17, India 14, and Japan 12. In addition to these 14 Conventions and the Berne Convention on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus which have been ratified by India, there are certain unratified Conventions which have led to legislative or other measures calculated to give effect to some of their provisions. The large part of these measures refers to protective legislation for women and children, which was only natural in a country that is still in the preliminary stages of industrialization. This latter point about the differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition making strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment was fully recognized by the creators of the I. L. O., and a special Article in the Treaty of Versailles lays down that the Conference shall take account of the modifications required for any particular country in the provisions of a Convention in order to make them applicable to it. An illustration of the application of this exempting provision is found in Article 10 of the Washington Hours Convention which, while prescribing a 48-hour week for the rest of the world, allowed India to maintain a 60-hour week. Here, in parenthesis, it may be remarked that the Factory Act of 1934 now prescribes a 54 hour week for India, and that, in consequence, a certain section of public opinion in this country is desirous of repealing this exempting provision.

Tributes to the I. L. O.

The extent to which India has benefited by her connection with the I. L. O. is undoubtedly great, but is at the same time somewhat difficult to define. Most of the ratified conventions have led to legislative enactments needed to implement them.

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But even more important than the necessarily limited number of legislative enactments which the Government of India had to adopt in consequence of the ratification of Conventions is the new attitude towards labour and labour problems which India has imbibed from Geneva. How a consideration of the Conventions by the Indian Parliament, which is statutorily obligatory, has given a new impetus to social progress is a theme on which many men with divergent points of view have exhibited surprising unanimity. On the Government's side, Mr. A. G. Clow has recorded his opinion that the I. L. O. has been instrumental in stimulating public interest in labour questions and at times in initiating measures which might not otherwise have been adopted. The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India also pays a tribute to the I. L. O. for the progress in Indian labour reform which it has brought about both directly and indirectly. On the employers' side, all are agreed on the substantial advantages that India is receiving through our connection with the I. L. O., though this handsome acknowledgment is now and again tempered by the fear that the I. L. O. may unconsciously be forcing the pace of labour legislation in this country. Mr. C. F. Andrews has suggested a somewhat different method of assessing gains that have accrued to India from the I. L. O. He asks us to compare the two or three halting bits of labour legislation which we had during the half-century which preceded India's joining the I. L. O. with the large number and wide scope of the labour Acts that we have had since. From 1930 onwards the Indian legislature has adopted at least fifteen major or minor laws, and these owe their inspiration either to Geneva or to the Whitley Report. Altogether it will be safe to say that almost all the great landmarks in Indian labour legislation have been set up since India joined the I. L. O.

The Challenge from Newly-Industrialized Countries

As was to be expected, the passage of time has served both to deepen and to widen the channels of the I. L. O.'s activity. While endeavouring to fulfil through the usual legislative channels its sacred duty of abolishing the injustice, hardship, and privation to which large numbers of the world's population are subject, the stress of circumstances has led it to expand its activities, and seek

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many other directions for the accomplishment of its main purpose. One of these circumstances is the changing centre of gravity of the industrial world. We have all been brought up in the belief that in all industrial matters Europe is supreme, and it is, therefore, not easy for us to assimilate the inferences which follow from any impartial survey of present world conditions of production. Europe's superiority in this matter is now being formidably threatened by the growing industrialization of several non-European countries, both in America and in Asia. The United States, which exported only about 1,566 million dollars worth of manufactured goods in 1913 exported them to the value of 3,547 millions in 1929. The old equilibrium was destroyed by the War, by the modification of the previous classification of creditor and debtor countries, and secondly by the growth of a new doctrine of national self-sufficiency. In Asia, countries like our own, China and Japan are taking long strides towards industrialization. And even more important than this phenomenon is the comparative rate of industrial advance, which is higher in the newly industrialized areas than in the older ones.

'Social Dumping' and the Battle of the Standards

What does this indicate? From the I. L. O.'s point of view it shows that the social problems arising from industrialization, which formerly were confined to limited areas in Europe are now encircling the whole globe. In consequence, the I. L. O.'s mission is now becoming genuinely universal, for industrial evils, like industry itself, are international in character. The I. L. O. realizes that the spread of industry in Asia and other places is bound in the long run to benefit rather than injure the old manufacturing countries of Europe by creating a demand for all kinds of necessities and luxuries which were not previously within the reach of the newly industrialized populations. But the short-range effect of this development is to produce dislocations and embitterments, and to precipitate a battle between higher and lower standards of living. One of the slogans invented during this battle of the standards is the slogans of 'social dumping.' It was, therefore, only in the fitness of things that the I. L. O. should have taken up the study of the social conditions prevailing in some of the countries against which this charge has been brought.

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Enquiries of this character, the object of which is to ascertain the fair competitive price of goods entering the international markets, have perforce to travel beyond questions of hours of work and wages and to take due account of all the important elements involved in production and distribution.

The Economic Crisis and Its Consequences

Another circumstance which has compelled the I. L. O. to launch out on more ambitious programmes is the world economic crisis which began in 1929 and out of which, thank God, we now appear to be emerging. The social efforts of this crisis may be summed up in a single phrase—unemployment and loss of social security. India too has had her fair share of the travails and sufferings engendered by the crisis, finding expression in well-known business houses going bankrupt, in closed-down factories where the machinery no longer keeps its merry hum, and where the chimneys belch forth no more smoke, and in the destitution and suffering of thousands of working class families—the bread-earners of which have not seen a week's wages for years. And what have we been doing about it? The world has been busying itself with erecting barriers built of tariffs, quotas and exchange manipulations; it has been seeking to reduce wages; it has insisted upon severe retrenchments in the social services; in short, it has been doing everything calculated to render a return to normalcy impossible. All the countries seem to have been stampeded into unthinking action in their frantic efforts to shove the common nursery from their shoulders on to the shoulders of somebody else.

The Era of Planning

At least one good thing has come out of this hopeless tangle. People have begun to realize that the present crisis and its attendant unemployment, whether endemic or technological, have got to be fought, that it is useless to rely on things righting themselves. The experience of the last four years has shown that the application of the old remedies employed to overcome previous depressions is not likely to be of much avail in the present case. To give an instance, one of the favourite devices resorted to by the industrialist to get over a crisis has been to

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reduce the costs of production, invariably at the expense of the wage-earner, but the present crisis has demonstrated that a fall in wage-rates, far from checking unemployment, has actually had the contrary effect. An examination of the records of Great Britain, the U. S. A., and Germany in 1933-34, has revealed that wage reductions have not led to increased employment, and that "in countries where wages and salaries represent a very large proportion of the aggregate purchasing power of a nation, the prosperity of industry is intimately bound up with the rise and fall of the incomes of wage and salary earners." It is not without significance that, in countries like Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Poland, where wages continued to decline, little or no reduction of unemployment has taken place. This example will serve to illustrate that the traditional methods of meeting a depression seem now to have lost their potency.

It is because of the unsuitability or failure of orthodox methods to meet the present depression that some of the leading countries in the world have now been driven to question the old economic dogmas. The fact that four of the world's chief industrial states, containing some 400 million people and responsible for 64 per cent. of the world's industrial production have already flung an open challenge to the outworn creed of *laissez-faire* and blazed the trail for national economic planning is not one which may be lightly set aside. The United States of America and Germany, Italy and Russia have all of them abandoned to a greater or less extent the principles which had governed economic thought and social statesmanship during the last century, and their example is having a contagious effect on other countries. Everywhere the old economic gods are being displaced and new idols are being installed in the shrine. The management of currencies, the reorganization of industry under Government tutelage, the substitution of international barter for international trade, the initiation of social policies which invest the Government with greater powers over the conditions of life of the working classes, are now being not only widely adopted as emergency measures, but strongly advocated as economically sound and advantageous even in Great Britain, the home of economic liberalism.

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The American Experiment

By far the most far-reaching and fruitful of the many socio-economic experiments that are now being attempted is undoubtedly that undertaken by President Roosevelt in the U. S. A. The energy and resourcefulness which the President and his lieutenants have brought to bear on the New Deal have made it the cynosure of attraction, and it is no wonder that the exponents of the "Let-well-alone" policy should have taken advantage of the constitutional difficulties President Roosevelt has been encountering to proclaim from the house-tops that the whole scheme has been a failure. But it should not be forgotten that, when the Supreme Court vetoed the National Recovery Act in May 1935, its potentialities for good had already been exploited, and that its achievements have now become part of America's national heritage. Industry still continues to be organized in voluntary groups which maintain prices, and preserve in the main the gains in wages and conditions that have accrued to the working classes. Purchasing capacity has been kept up not only in this wise, but also by the injection of enormous streams of money into the economic life of the people as a result of the vast Public Works and Relief programmes which have been such conspicuous features of the N. E. R. A. More recently, another important piece of socio-economic legislation, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the object of which was to rescue the farmer from the bankruptcy that threatened him some three years ago, has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and though the shades of the prison house of *laissez-faire* seem thus to close upon the activities of the Federal Government, here again, it is evident that the now defunct Act has brought about a rise in agricultural prices, and that the pre-slump proportion between agricultural and industrial prices is now more or less achieved. The usefulness of an Act of this kind has been so successfully demonstrated that the "Forward" farm policy is likely to be continued by the passing of other measures within the framework of the constitution, which would serve much the same purpose. There is every reason to believe that the President is already contemplating some such measures, but however that may be, it is clear that, thanks to his energetic intervention, the depression in America had already been brought under control by

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the end of 1935. There has been a sizeable recovery in consumers' goods, Wall Street has been steady and even according to Big Business which finds the President's regimentation irksome, business activity has now recovered to 91 per cent. of the "estimated normal". It is only natural that as a consequence of the general economic improvement, there should have been a steady diminution of the unemployment figures by about 5 millions. Even if the beneficial effects of the N. E. R. A. should turn out to be purely temporary, there can be no doubt that it has brought about a remarkable change in the attitude of the people towards the depression; the old despair is now replaced by a new optimism.

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Experiments like those of the Roosevelt Administration have furnished such signal proofs of the efficacy of the new "interventionist" principle that even those Governments which still profess loyalty to the orthodox views regarding the functions of the State find themselves almost unconsciously adopting policies and programmes which are at variance with their avowed economic creeds. In our own country, for instance, the events of the last three or four years show that there is an increasing tendency on the part of the Government to stimulate production and business activity, if not by the direct process of State regimentation, at least by the process of taking concerted thought for co-ordinating economic efforts and directing them to agreed objectives. The setting up of an Economic Sub-Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the resumption of the old practice of holding annual conferences of the provincial Directors of Industries, the Convocation of the Provincial Economic Conference of 1934 when questions such as the relief of agricultural indebtedness and crop-planning were considered, and the contemplated appointment of an Economic Adviser to the Government—all these go to show that though India has not yet adopted "planning", we are undoubtedly moving in that direction. The signs from the Provinces are even more unmistakable; already, in the U. P., Bengal and Madras, Boards of Economic Enquiries or Provincial Economic Councils have been set up which are concerning themselves with the preparation of plans for economic development.

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Limitation of National Planning

One of the results of extending national control over economic affairs has probably been to strengthen the belief that national sufficiency is both possible and desirable. But it is yet to be seen whether national economies aiming at self-sufficiency in contradiction to their actual interdependence can result in anything more than a feeble and uncertain resumption of activity. On the other hand, it is only too palpably clear that the application of economic nationalism generates tensions and antagonisms between nations, which in the long run are bound to affect their political relations. There is no escape from the unanimous conclusion of the twenty-five eminent experts of the World Economic Conference that "If a full and durable recovery is to be effected, this prevailing conflict of national economies must be resolved." As J. B. Priestley has pointed out in his book *English Journey*, "We may be under fifty different national flags, but we are compelled to serve now under only one economic flag. We do not know who designed it and ran it up, but there it is, and the more often we try to desert from it the more brutally we shall be starved into submission."

Towards a National Organisation of Society

The International Labour Organization in promoting the systematic relief of the unemployment, the maintenance of social insurance, the initiation of public works, the adaptation of working hours and other measures for dealing with the immediate situation, has had the realization borne in on it that no final solution of our social and industrial problems can be achieved by piece-meal national measures and that the remedy has to be sought in a more rational organization of the world's economic life. The regulation of labour conditions is now no longer so much a matter of protecting the worker against abuse as part of a rational organization of society. If unemployment is to be removed, economic balance preserved and future economic disasters averted, it can only be achieved by international cooperation for the more scientific direction of the world's activities. In shaping industrial evolution in the new epoch, therefore, the I. L. O. has an essential role to play, since it aims at coordinating national

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economic plans into an international one, the primary objective of which will be "to guarantee not only greater wealth but its better distribution, and to eliminate waste not only of material but of human values," and thus to reconcile material prosperity with social equity.

The I. L. O. and Democracy

There is also another reason why, particularly in these anxious times, we should continue to give our undivided allegiance to the I. L. O. One of the significant advances made in the new Government of India Act is the widening of the electorate, "so that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions." The proposals of the Franchise Committee will enfranchise nearly 30 per cent. of the adult population, or 43 per cent. of the adult men and 10 per cent. of the adult women, and the total number of voters on the provincial roll will be increased from 7 millions to over 36 millions, out of a total adult population of 130 millions. This extension of democratic control is being attempted at a time when we are faced everywhere with the cry that Democracy has been a failure, that parliamentarism leads only to inefficiency and procrastination, and that the needs of the times demand Dictatorships. The examples of Russia, of Italy, and of Germany are flung in our faces as conclusive proof that the days of democracy are past, but if Democracy has proved a failure in some countries, the fault lies not with Democracy itself, but with the men who work it. It is commonly assumed that universal suffrage and the setting up of representative forms of Government constitute the infallible signs of democracy. What is here overlooked is that Democracy postulates something more than equality of political rights; it implies equality of opportunities also. There is no meaning in extending equality of political rights to the workers—and workers, agricultural, industrial and clerical, constitute over 75 per cent. of the population in any country—as long as conditions and circumstances are allowed to continue which make it practically impossible for the working man to exercise his political judgment. As long as economic equality and distributive justice are denied to him, as long as he

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is deprived of the leisure needed for the comprehension and exercise of his duties as a citizen, as long as he continues to be harassed by the uncertainty of obtaining employment, as long as he remains exposed to industrial risks and their demoralizing consequences, as long as he is not guaranteed the freedom of his children and women-folk from cruel and degrading exploitation, so long will the bestowal of political rights, as signified by the vote remain a meaningless gesture. Every effort of the I. L. O. is directed to the abolition of those conditions and circumstances which now prevent the worker from making a considered use of his political rights; and viewed in this light, its pleas for the improvement of wages, the reduction of working hours, the prevention of unemployment, the establishment of social insurance systems, the regulation of the work of women and children, acquire a new meaning, and reveal that its true social purpose is to usher in an era of genuine democracy. In the endeavours, therefore, that India is now making to equip herself for a truly democratic regime, she can have no greater friend than the I. L. O.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

[By M. KIFAIT ALI]

ON account of various natural causes which have been at work during the past so many decades the problem of unemployment has become very acute. With the increased burden of population on land as also the unprecedented fall in the prices of agricultural produce and fragmentation of holdings the whole country-side is faced with new economic difficulties hitherto not experienced in India. The landlords are feeling the pinch due to financial stringency and its consequences because they are unable to keep up their abominably high standard of living. The small holders and the peasants are feeling it because they are almost starving and have to go about half naked from one end of the year to the other. The bankers, the legal and medical practitioners and the businessmen feel it because their respective trades and professions depend upon agriculture which has been so adversely affected by the world-wide economic depression. Had the calamity visited the dumb-driven rural people alone probably their case would have gone by default and none would have given a serious thought to it. But fortunately or unfortunately the catastrophe is so extensive in range and all-embracing in its effects that even people living in urban areas as also the educated classes have received a heavy blow. The latter are not so mute and patient sufferers like their rural brethren. They are loud in their protests and cry for help and often their restlessness and despair persuades them to try all methods expected to bring relief. The whole atmosphere is surcharged with a kind of a subdued resentment and the restlessness caused by a very keen struggle for individual existence is gaining ground every day. If some effective action is not taken to stem the tide when still there is time, it might break loose after gathering sufficient strength and submerge the country under a deluge of fresh difficulties. Every quack is in the field with his quack remedies. The socialist, the communist and the terrorist are all trying to make capital out of the present situation and each is busily engaged advancing his

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own particular cause or creed. Those who are at the helm of affairs, whether Indians or others, are sitting still as if utterly paralyzed by the quick and stupefying succession of events in the transitional stages leading towards the pandemonium. The real remedy that the nature of the situation suggests to us, is to provide lucrative employment to the people in order that they may be able to live contented lives with as little grievance against their lot as possible. Up till now the services, shopkeeping and agriculture with few dependent cottage industries have been our mainstay and these also allowed us a simple living with as few wants as possible. The contact with the west has become closer and this has engendered in us a desire for high standard of life. Our industries, primitive as they are, can no longer provide a living, especially, the sort of living we desire, for us all. The affliction itself suggests its remedy and it is the industrialization of the country. But if this remedy were to be applied, it would mean India for Indians and perhaps may lead to a clash between different interests. This clash if avoided by yielding to the economic forces will be less harmful than if withstood. No doubt India was an agricultural country, but it has now been made more so and even the Indians themselves have come to believe that theirs is only an agricultural country with very little industrial possibilities. This belief which was fostered in them by subtle working on their minds during the past so many years, is being shattered by unforeseen natural developments and they are gradually being disillusioned. It has almost become patent to all that our salvation lies in industrialization for which this country, of all the countries in the world, is most suited. The public mind is always very alert and can analyse the most complicated situation in an amazing manner, especially when it is a question affecting all and sundry. Hope has dwindled in all hearts as regards agriculture and other professions and already those who can afford it are proceeding to different countries to get training in various trades and industries. A cursory glance at our country will convince us of our folly in having all this time regarded it as an agricultural and non-industrial country. All the conditions precedent to industrial development are there. In India labour is cheap, raw material abundant and capital for investment largely available.

Unemployment and Industrialization

Labour

Generally speaking all the oriental countries with one honourable exception of Japan, are poor but India is specially so. It is common knowledge that in some districts at times when rains fail and the famine sets in, relief works have to be started and the wages allowed range between 3 pice and 6 pice a day. This is the lowest pitch to which wages can fall in India and the highest level to which they rise in good times is 12 annas a day—although at present they do not exceed 6 annas a day. This is only when work is available and work is not available for all and at all times. The agriculturists who form the main bulk of population have work only for 6 months in the year and for the remaining 6 months they sit idle without being usefully employed. Boys turned out every year by the technical colleges remain for a sufficiently long time without employment and when they do get it, it is on starvation wages and no more. For some time to come, labour, whether skilled or unskilled, because of overpopulation and poverty, is bound to be superabundant and, therefore, obtainable at ridiculously low wages.

Raw Material

For raw material of all kinds India can supply the world market. Nature has specially favoured it with all kinds of soils. Cereals, oilseeds, timber, wool minerals and all sorts of animal produce are the proverbial wealth of India. At present we export all these and many others at very low prices and import them as manufactured articles at a very high cost. If the country is industrialized we need not depend upon other countries for the marketing of our raw material. The sources of supply are so inexhaustible here that even after feeding our own indigenous industries much raw material would be left for export to other countries. The wealth of our plains and mountains is more than sufficient to keep us from depending on other countries for any kind of raw material.

Capital

Although the Indian masses are poor there is sufficient capital in the country which can be invested in industries. No doubt the capital is shy but there are reasons for this. The only profitable methods of investment up to this time known to

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Indians were agriculture and money-lending. Those who could purchase land invested their money in land and those who could not do so lend it. The former did not proceed like businessmen. They spent more than they earned. The latter in the absence of any other safe way of investment continued to lend it. The agriculturists who were the debtors in this case on account of defective systems of assessment and realization of land revenue and some other causes for which they themselves were responsible, had to depend upon loans. This process continued for a sufficiently long time until at present the creditors have come to realize to their horror that their debtors have become absolutely insolvent and that no more money could be advanced to them. They not only realized this but also in many cases felt that the insolvency of their debtors may at some time lead them into fresh troubles. This realization prompted them to seek fresh methods of investment profitable for themselves as well as for their debtors making the latter solvent and able to pay off their past debts. Consequently, the common need drew the attention of the creditors as well as the debtors to the industrialization of the country. As a result thereof the creditor capitalists are willing to invest their capital in industries and the debtors which include in their ranks agriculturists as well as non-agriculturists, townsmen as well as villagers, are willing to co-operate with the former to bring about an industrial revolution for the benefit of all. The circumstances are moulding themselves to facilitate the industrial development of the country. The acute unemployment amongst the educated classes presses this need all the more vehemently and as there is a general will in support of it, it is hoped that a way will even be cut through the rock of opposition within a few years. Here it may be stated that while blaming the money-lenders for their avarice the fact, that the lack of incentive for industrial investment and enterprise has also been one of the causes of agricultural indebtedness, should not be lost sight of and that the blame should be apportioned equally between the money-lenders and those who were responsible for providing but did not in fact provide an incentive.

Pressed by public opinion and the general need at present the only industries to which the attention is most tactfully being diverted are the cottage and other industries which depend upon

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agriculture, *e.g.*, dairying, bee farming, poultry, cattle breeding, etc. The industries which can help to keep the Indian capital within India are regarded and sniffed at by those responsible for their encouragement and development as impossible ones. These are articles of dress, yarn, stationery, paints, buttons, toys, prepared foods, electrical goods, photographic goods, glass works, surgical instruments, agricultural implements, labour-saving machinery, arms and ammunition, shipbuilding, motor cars, aeroplanes, etc.

In this connection it would be better to mention a few methods by which industries can be encouraged and which have been employed by other countries for their own industrialization. Firstly, model cotton, wool, iron and other factories are set up by the Government and after they become flourishing they are handed over to the public by the sale of shares, etc., and thus realizing the original capital invested in them. This is done in order to set an example to industrialists so that they may be encouraged to build factories. The second method is to give contributions or subsidies to them and also to arrange to supply them with raw material at a low cost. The third method is to afford facilities so far as the supply of credit on low rates of interest is concerned. In India the rates of interest are very high and prohibitive to industrial enterprise. Means should be found to reduce the rates of interest in order that people could find money to invest in industries without apprehending that the whole profit would go towards the payment of interest and that nothing would be left as a return on the capital invested and the labour spent. It is also necessary that the banks should be persuaded to lend money to the industrialists on the security of immovable property as well. At present banks advance loans only when the security offered is liquid. It means that in order to get a loan from a bank one should first build a factory, put it in a working order and produce articles or goods to be deposited with the bank to form security against which the loan from the bank could be contracted. This strangles all initiative. The fourth method is that the Government guarantees a minimum rate of return on industrial investment, which means that if a concern earns the minimum profit guaranteed well and good otherwise the Government pays from its own pocket in order to make up the

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deficit below the minimum profit guaranteed. The fifth method is that in the beginning when the country is still industrially backward foreign capitalists are allowed to build factories but on such terms by which within a certain number of years those factories pass into the hands of the people of the country in which they are opened. Afterwards, when a sufficient industrial advance has been made, restrictions are imposed on the investment of foreign capital so as to discourage the foreign capitalists from building any more factories in the country. At present a very large amount of foreign capital is invested in India. In 1924 high tariff duties were imposed on matches imported from Sweden and Japan. To escape these high duties both these countries opened match factories in India. To these factories the sized splinters were imported from their respective countries. The tariff duty on such splinters was only nominal. The Japanese and Swedish factories in India had only to tip the ends of the sticks with the combustible chemicals and to pack them in boxes for sale. In this way those countries escaped the payment of high tariff duties. Such methods to evade taxation practised by foreign manufacturers should be discouraged. The sixth method is that the industrialists are supplied electric power at very low rates and are also given similar concessions and facilities such as reduced railway freight for the export of prepared goods or the import of raw material and other necessities. The seventh method is that departments are set up for supplying industrial statistics and information and also to give advice with regard to various industries. The eighth method is to start business and industrial research institutes which in addition to their research work organize and open industrial museums and exhibitions. The ninth is to arrange for the marketing of industrial produce and to protect it from foreign competition. So far as India is concerned markets can be found within the country and for a sufficiently long time the question of securing foreign markets will not arise.

The history of the sugar industry in India will show the inherent capacity of India to develop its industries. Within a short period which does not exceed four years Rs. 15 crores were invested in sugar industry from Punjab alone and all over India nearly 150 sugar factories were built up. This was largely due to the little encouragement the sugar industry received at the

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hands of the Government in the form of raised tariff duties on foreign sugar. The effects of the exise duty on sugar which was later on levied by the Government of India are also worth studying for, they show how an industry can be discouraged and crushed by the unsympathetic attitude of a Government. Our match industry also forms a good subject for study.

Whenever any Indian goes to visit Western countries he returns with a self-consciousness of his own and his country's smallness. In those countries he is made conscious of his own country's unworthiness. Both himself and his country are belittled in his own eyes and often he wishes he could afford to disown it. But if he were also to think of the very little time that is required for raising his own country to the level of Western countries, he would never bow down his head in despair and develop an inferiority complex. Annually about Rs. 250* crores are sent out of India as the cost of its imports. Rs. 250 crores divided over all the 8 provinces of India mean that approximately Rs. 31 crores go out of each province every year. What does it mean if you are assured every possible Government aid, to retain these Rs. 31 crores within your province? It means that in five or at the most in seven years' time, you will have all your industries completely developed, the percentage of your literates raised very much say to 30 or 35, all the rural uplift work completed and rural population no longer underfed or underclothed, the sanitary arrangements of all cities and towns faultless, a decent rise in the standard of living, a far better individual with high morale and a changed and healthy outlook, a first class aircraft, a first class military, national honour and last of all, admiration in the eyes of the people of the rest of the world. Although the progress of the Western nations appear to us as inconceivable for ourselves and beyond our power, it is very easy in practice to attain all that the West has attained. Given enough money, of all the Eastern countries, ours is the most happily situated to come on a level with the West and also to beat it in many respects in such a short period as five years. Our possibilities are great and it is our duty to realize them.

* CONTEMPORARY INDIA, Vol. I, No. 3, "Post-War Tendencies in India's Overseas Trade", Statement "F", page 349

IN THE GARDEN OF THE DEAD

[BY DHANI RAM CHATRIK]

[**Dhani Ram Chatrik** is one of the modern poets in Punjabi literature and his poems are very popular. He is not one of those who care more for religion than their country, and thus in many of his poems he appears on the scene as a national poet. His latest book from which this poem is taken is *Chandanvari* (Forest of Sandal Trees) and is printed by the Sudarshan Press, Amritsar. The poet Chatrik is one of those who have brought new life and awakening to the literature of the Punjab, and he is now the president of the Central Punjabi Sabha, Amritsar, which stands for a renascent literature, on new lines, destined to express the new ideas in the Punjab. The poet is an old man who is young in spirit and he always writes in a Punjabi that is the living language of the people and not that of high-browed scholars. That is why he is appreciated even by those who have never gone to schools and colleges.]

The translator, **Balraj Sahni**, is an M.A. of the Punjab, a former president of the Punjab University Students' Union. Those who read his "Kashmiri Love Song" in the third issue of CONTEMPORARY INDIA will realize that he is one of the coming writers in the Punjab.]

"STRANGE bedfellows are there, some
Drunk in spirit's eternal rhyme
Nor see the cup, nor heed the foam
On SAKI'S wine.

For some their favourite chess-boards wait
Intact the pieces where they lay :
One left unloved his thirsting mate :
Well-a-day !

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Behrampur palace crowned the earth:
The golden skies of Jamshednagore:
The nightingale once warbled mirth;
Oh, never more!

Her barren notes bring solace to her
Who once lay dreaming in a bower
With petals strewn about her lover
Over, over.

O foster-children of this trance
Break your silence: turn this way.
Just once. Whence is such stern indifference?
Say, O say.

How perfume-lapped your sensuous forms
Were wont to sway in a swan-like motion
O paramours of kings?

Which battles saw your sabre flash
And sent fair sun a messenger of fame,
What pearls bespoke your brow?

Who conquered earth?
Who ruled it well?
Who claimed the moon?
Who begged from door to door?

There's no ceremony in this wayward dust
Uncradled is even the page of history;
For those that follow break the trust
So wantonly.)

The potter unmolested moulds
The clay that once was Khusro's head.
The eyes which pounced on a million swords
The worms have fed.

In the Garden of the Dead

Perchance the potter frets to make
 A clay-lamp for some sepulchre
Perchance a wine-cup dedicate
 To lips of love.

Ah me ! let's make a shelter here
 And be mute witnesses for evermore
Of nature's tamperings. Here is no fear,
 No longer pain, nor sore

Regrets. The mortal life, the sun and rain
 Is at its best a troubled sleep
Men soon or late are dust again
 Then, let us keep

Away from yon loud-clarioned world
 Where skill with cunning vies
In this, in dumbness lulled
 Esconced in sighs.

SONGS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE—III

Collected and Translated

BY DEVENDRA SATYRATHI

Land of the Khasis

[A dance song from the Khasi hills of Assam. The every-day life of the Khasi men and women appears to be a rainbow with its Elysian colours of music, poetry and dance. The sugar-cane dance is one of the most popular dances of these free and happy souls and is illustrated with a good many songs in the periodical gatherings on the gala days. The national love for the beautiful hills of their motherland plays an important part in some of these songs.]

O LAND of the Khasis !
Sweet land of the Khasis !!
We are all in love with thee.

THOU didst cradle our hoary ancestors,
Who are now no more with us ;
Ever-fresh lies their memory in our hearts
E'en the blows of death it never fears.
O land of the Khasis !
Sweet land of the Khasis !!
We are all in love with thee.

My Gem-studded Boat

[A boatman's song from Rural Burma. The Burmese boatman carries a repertoire of such songs and the majority of his brethren have an ear for music. His dreams are ever spontaneous and glowing and he has his own traditional ways of celebrating the beauty-spots of his motherland.]

O THOU, my gem-studded boat !
At top-speed thou art going in the Airawadi,
Like a dancing girl art thou going onward
The dancing waves of the Airawadi are following thee.

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Welcome to my Guest

[A popular song from the primitive tribe, named Sora, residing in the Parlakimidi Agency of Madras Presidency. The word Sora was hitherto wrongly pronounced as Sawara, and the credit of the removal of this mistake belongs to Rao Sahib G. V. Ram Murti Pantulu of Parlakimidi.]

The present Sora song has a sweet touch of hospitality,—that displayed by a house wife who offers her torn mat to her guest and herself sits on the ground; and again when she offers her ripe mangoes to her guest and herself takes the unripe ones.]

Lo ! here comes my guest--
My handsome friend is he.
Him I'll offer my torn mat
And I'll take my seat on the ground.

Lo ! here comes my guest—
My handsome guest is he.
Him I'll serve with the ripe mangoes
And the unripe ones'll make my share
Lo ! here comes my guest—
My handsome friend is he.

Cradle Song

A cradle-song from Maharashtra. 'The baby does not know all about its mother's activities,' says Poet Tagore, 'but it knows that she is its mother'. The Maharashtra Mother's ever-fresh cradle song cannot but make the baby sure of motherly love, if not by its language, at least with its sweet music.

WEEP not, my baby, weep not,
Smile and sing and go to sleep.
Sleep, sleep, my baby, sleep
O my honey-sweet child sleep.

Songs of the Indian People

The Golden Stream

[A popular song from Rural Nepal. Its charm, as a matter of fact, lies in its original tune and one loses much of it when it is put down in writing. Great allowance must, therefore, be made for the translation of this song which can never adequately convey to readers unacquainted with the Nepali language the real charm of its original.]

Love for the beauty of gold plays a remarkable part in Rural Nepal's popular songs. It should not be taken as an idle play of fancy. Let it serve as the expression of the Nepali's passionate fondness for the beauty of the golden colour as well as his national love for his native land when in his hours of inspiration we hear him singing of 'heaven-like golden Nepal', of 'Nepal's golden furnaces', of 'the golden birds of Nepal', and of 'the village mothers of Nepal, offering sweets to their sons-in-law in golden plates'.

In the present song we hear of Nepal's golden streams. The village bride is glad to take her bath in the golden stream of her village, but as she forgets to bring the auspicious vermilion to adorn her forehead according to the custom of the country, her glad heart becomes a little sad.

HERE runs—lo, here runs
Dear Nepal's golden stream.
My hair—O my hair, am I cleaning
In dear Nepal's golden stream.

* * *
My hair—O my hair, I've cleaned
In dear Nepal's golden stream,
On a rock do I sit to sun my hair
Near dear Nepal's golden stream.

* * *
ALAS—O alas! I left at home
The vermilion that adorns my hair
Sad—O so sad is my heart
For the vermilion that adorns my hair.

* * *
How should I return to my husband's place
Alas! the vermilion, I left at home,
'Here comes back my careless girl'
Shall say my mother, if I go to my husband's home.

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Joke with a Friend

[An Orya folk-song, generally sung in comic drama. In spite of the many sorrows to which the people, who sing and hear it, may be said to be born, there are moments of joy and gladness when life becomes as rippling as a laughing brook. 'No man who has once wholly and heartily laughed,' says Carlyle, 'can be altogether irreclaimably bad. In cheerful souls there is no evil.' If the Italian saying, viz., that 'Laughter makes good blood' be right, the gain to the Orya-speaking masses of such comic songs in which the untranslatable humour of the rustic folks finds an adequate expression, is not inconsiderable.]

VERY kind of you that you have come
But no room for you have I, friend '
Return, O return to your home
By the way you came to me, friend '

* * *

A DROP of water, I would have offered you
Sorry, no water in my cracked jar, friend '
Don't sit, make haste, and see your way
How long near me you'll stand, friend '

* * *

A FINE seat I would have offered you
And allowed you to sit and take rest, friend '
Alas ' some child has carried it away
It was the only seat I ever possessed, friend

* * *

SOME oil certainly I would have offered you
On your body you could have rubbed it, friend,
To your ill-luck some pepper is mixed in it,
Your eyes will burn if you use it, friend.

* * *

I COULD have told you the tale of my joys and sorrows
Sorry, from fever am I suffering, friend,
Don't sit near a person so sick,
Make haste and reach your home, O friend.

Songs of the Indian People

A PAN* I would have prepared for you
But sorry no betel-nut is available, friend,
See, there lies the empty *Pan-dan*,
It contains nothing but a few tobacco leaves, friend.

* * *

With a sweet dish, I would have entertained you
If you were here yesterday, my friend,
Its taste you could ever remember,
So delicious was the dish, my friend.

* * *

So late—O so late it turns
To a long distance you are to go, dear friend,
Make haste, stay no more, and go away,
Some other day will I welcome you with a happy heart
friend.

*A typical preparation of betel leaf and nut for chewing.

THE NEW YEAR

[BY V. N. BHUSHAN]

O NEW YEAR—

like a flower
have you blossomed to-day !
—an infant born in the night,
—an infant born into light !

O New Year—

O foster-child of Time,
You who have clambered up
the last December days
with weary step and vigil, —
O brave adventurer
who have planted your flag
on the dawn-lit frontiers
of a new landscape, —
O grant me a gift !
Grant me the spirit
of eternal childhood
that I may bask
in Love's fabulous smile,
and behold with unhooded eyes
the legendary majesty of Life,
that I may unfold my inner self
in the light of the revelation
of the realm of spirit !

The New Year

O New Year—

let me be ever free
from lackadaisical lemmings,
from convention's crucible,
and the manacles
that prohibit
licit longings
and divine delight.

O New Year—

help me to live
and not merely to exist ;
help me to be good.
to be good and to play
with images of young ecstasy !
O let the blue laugh
of innocence be mine,
and the purple gaze
of inner vision too !
O help me to understand
the wondrous world of forms,
their infinite meaning
and significant harmony !

O New Year—

I am afraid
of the creeping shadows
of age and years,
of the thanatoid
thrusters of Time,
and the truculent
tirades of Fate.

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O New Year—

safeguard me surely
from that predatory band.

O New Year—

be my only friend
and impart to me faith
from your imperious lips,
and sweeten my days
with your opulent breath.
Let not the rich rhythm
that is inherent in my blood
languish and be mute.

O New Year—

I care not at all
for the possession of any prize.
but only yearn
for the rapture of the race !
I will be content to dwell
in the orchards of childhood
where leaden-limbed artificiality
shall not disrupt
my lovely game of make-believe,
where grief and despair
shall never be able to reach
even within a league
of my footless fancies
and lyric dreams !

The New Year

O New Year—

let me be a child
forever and always
stressing the accent on youth,
and let me reflect
the tremulous splendours
of sun-illuminated spirit
and know and exalt myself!
Let me adjust my activities
to the ineffable faith
that transmutes this world
into a singing sphere
of beauty and truth

O New Year—

do not forget
how much I long
to be a child
throughout my life.
to be child-like always.
to be one with Nature
and not be Nurture's ward,
to be the infant-friend
of the rose-buds of goodness
and gather the honey of things '—
to marvel at the stars
and leave them brighter.
to open all windows and doors,
to relume all niches and nooks,
and drive all darkness out
with the light of love,

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to be a sacred sentinel
at the threshold
of the Temple of Life !

O New Year—

ere the petals
of your flower
wither one by one
and total twelve--
grant me my boon.
O grant me soon !

1st January 1936.

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION

[BY MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA]

NOW that the India Act has received the Royal Assent, and is an accomplished fact, it would be, to use a popular but expressive phrase, "flogging a dead horse" to discuss the merits or the demerits of the details of the scheme embodied in it. You may remember that all the suggestions made by the Indian representatives to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, including even the very able and exhaustive memoranda presented to them by such eminent authorities as the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and by the British Indian Delegation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan, were practically ignored by the majority of that body, who made their recommendations to Parliament—as distinctly stated by them in their report—uninfluenced by the weight of advanced and progressive Indian opinion. The result of such an attitude on the part of the Committee has been that (as expressed by the supporters of the scheme) Parliament have chosen to frame a constitution which, in *their* judgment, best suits present-day Indian conditions. While that may be so, it is none the less permissible to one—without any disrespect to the authors of the scheme—to entertain a reasonable doubt whether the constitution thus framed is calculated to suit the political and the economic conditions of the India of to-day.

Time alone can show to what extent that is likely to be the case. I quite appreciate that a constitution can not be altogether dissociated from the facts and conditions obtaining in the country for which it is intended, and that such realities cannot be twisted or tortured to make them fit an ideal constitution. But, after all, legislation by one country for another, in defiance of popular opinion in the latter, is obviously not a sound principle of statecraft. It is not, therefore, altogether wrong to hold that no Indian constitution can be said to have its foundation well and truly laid, and adapted to the essential requirements of modern India, which is not calculated to train the Indians—irrespective of consideration of caste, class or community—to realize, first and foremost, the fundamental unity and the absolute identity of their economic and

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political interests, as citizens and subjects of a common State. I must state my conviction in unhesitating terms that it was not at all impossible for the British Parliament—had they been but so minded—to have devised the new Indian constitution keeping this highly important consideration in view, without distorting the facts, with which we are familiar in the present condition of this country.

"Mr. Barrett" of Wimpole Street

As it is, the new Government of India Act may well remind a politically-minded Indian of the treatment meted out to his daughter by Mr. Barrett, a character in a modern drama, called *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*, in which the dramatist represents the love-story of the poet, Robert Browning, when he was courting Miss Barrett. Mr. Barrett was evidently the type represented by the Conservative majority in the British Parliament, for even when the doctors prescribed for his daughter a particular diet, he (in his illimitable wisdom) would direct her to take some other thing, which he thought was the best for her health. He used to tell his daughter constantly: "You are not the best judge of what is good or bad for you. Your likes and dislikes are quite beside the point. Believe me, I have nothing but your welfare at heart. I intend to give your better nature every chance of asserting itself, but you *shall* obey me this instant." I need not tell you how it all ended. Deeply disgusted with her father's treatment of her, Miss Barrett was forced to sever her connection with her home, which she left for ever to marry Robert Browning, without obtaining Mr. Barrett's consent or permission. The story points an obvious moral.

I am old-fashioned enough to believe that there is the profoundest wisdom in the declaration made by General Smuts—a statesman of international reputation—in the course of his rectoral address, delivered last year at the St. Andrew's University, that "to suppose that you can govern without the free consent of the governed, is to fly in the face of decent human nature, as well as the facts of history". The Conservative majority in the British Parliament may have acted to the best of *their* judgment in framing the new constitution for India, but if in doing so they have not kept in view the essential conditions of a successful constitution as emphasized by General Smuts—that of securing for

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the scheme devised "the free consent of the governed"—then, I fear, it may be but another case of their having shown the wind to reap the whirlwind.

Constitutions and National Character

Let us, however, hope for the best. Speaking for myself, I may claim that I am fortunately one of those—one of those few Indians, I believe—who do not attach an undue importance to the frame-work of a constitution, as I hold that an ideal constitution can not be made to grow and expand but by the people's own efforts. Nor can wider political rights be bestowed upon one nation by another by way of a largesse or a *bukhshish*; for they also can be secured only by contesting every inch of the ground with those in power. But apart from that, I think that the soundest view on the value of constitutions and larger political rights was that expressed by old Dr. Samuel Johnson in the well-known lines he added to Goldsmith's famous poems, *The Traveller*, which I shall recall to your memory:—

How small of all that human hearts endure
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.

If you will but think seriously over this problem, you will probably agree with me that it is not so much the text of a constitution that counts as the character of the men and women who work it. Our experience of the working of political institutions, in all ages, places it beyond doubt that the stability and the utility of a State depend far less upon its form—or even on the written text of its constitution—than upon the character of its citizens. From this it follows that the greatest wisdom and the highest patriotism consist not so much in seeking after an ideally perfect constitution as bringing to bear upon its working genuine patriotism, broad outlook, courage of conviction, and strength of character, elevated by the constant exercise of our own free will, and efforts at independent, individual action. As John Stuart Mill truly observes, "even despotism does not produce its worst effects so long as individuality exists under it, and whatever crushes individuality is despotism by whatever name it be called." And so General Smuts rightly emphasized, in his rectoral address, that "it is only human values that survive, and only men and women that matter in the last resort." A distinguished contemporary political writer—Dr. Joad—also justly insists:—"The value which

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we place on the State depends, in the long run, upon the value which we place on the individual." This then may be accepted as an essential truth of Political Science.

The Elevation of National Character

I would, therefore, enjoin on you ever to be vigilant in the elevation of your character, and also of those amongst whom you live and move. It would be idle to expect India to be the one solitary exception to the general rule which is deducible from the experience of mankind, that political morality can have no more solid foundation than a high standard of individual character. This proposition could be easily illustrated by well-known historical incidents, all showing that the greatness of a country does not depend upon the extent of its territory, or the strength of its population, but mainly on the character of its people. It is only by improving and elevating the character of the people forming a State, that it can be made stable and progressive; but if their character is at a low level, then no constitution—howsoever well-balanced, well-conceived, well-designed, and well-planned, on paper—can be of any advantage to the people for whom it is intended. I hope you will ever remember this great lesson of history, which is confirmed by the recorded experience of the working of constitutions in all ages and countries.

These observations do not, however, at all mean or imply that you are not to devote your talents and energies to the reform of your political system. Far from it; what I desire to insist upon is that while in working a constitution you must not attach undue importance to its written text, you should nevertheless devote yourselves to raise the character of your people, by all legitimate means and methods, including the reform of your political institutions. I thus appeal to you to make a strenuous effort at a continuous re-adjustment between the elevation of the national character and the reform of the political system of the country, which latter also is absolutely essential for progress, since in modern (and especially post-war) conditions, Government everywhere is tending to be totalitarian and its influence on the character of the people is bound to be large and effective. As human character is not static but dynamic, it is bound to be influenced by its environment; hence the absolute necessity of developing

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institutions calculated to mould for the better the character of the people. But while conceding that character and institutions act and react on each other, I hold that it is character that ultimately proves far more potent than institutions as conducive to progress and public weal. Hence my insistence on it as the more important of the two.

How to Work the Constitution

I am fully aware of the acerbity and the bitterness in the mind of the vast bulk of the politically-minded Indians—especially of the younger generation—against the new Indian constitution. Nor is it at all surprising when one finds so moderate-minded a leader as Sir Chimanlal Setalvad—not only a veteran public man, but one well versed in the affairs of the State as an ex-Member of the Government, and an ex-Judge under the Crown—declaring that "it was patently manifest that the enactment had grievously disappointed all parties in India, including even the minorities, at the extent of the devolution of power to the representatives of the people". Again, when one finds Sir Homi Mody—apparently a great favourite with the British officials and non-officials in the country—telling them that "the new constitution has failed to command the enthusiasm of any section of public opinion in India", as "at every subsequent stage (since the first Round Table Conference) the constitution was made progressively illiberal in a calculated spirit", one can easily realize the extent to which the reforms have embittered the very soul of India.

But I shall ask you not to be cast down or feel depressed, for the remedy lies in your own hands. Though many of you may feel that your position under the new political system will be no better than that of the Persian poet when he exclaimed in anguish:—"You have confined me at the bottom of the river, and now say 'beware, do not wet the fringe of your garments'"* still there is no reason to despair if only you can call to your aid in working the new constitution those essential political virtues by exercising which your representatives in the legislatures will be able not only to assert the popular will (in spite of the rigid entrenchment in the new constitution of the many vested interests, which would form an almost insuperable barrier to the growth and

نہ میں کوئی کہ دامن ترہ کن ہشیار باش

* مر جان قدر دریا تخته بندہ ترہ

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development of a truly democratic government) but also to control effectively, purely by constitutional methods and convention, the apparently uncontrollable powers vested under the "manifold, multitudinous and complete" safeguards—to borrow Lord Lothian's happy phrase—in the Governor-General and the Governors.

The Right Method of Working it

If you will but see to it that your elected representatives are absolutely the best men available, endowed with political prescience, and possessed not only of sound judgment and moral courage, but uprightness and independence, who will not be influenced in the discharge of their duties, by either personal or communal considerations— not an easy task that, I admit, since they will all represent communal or sectional electorates—your Ministers, who will form (in the provinces) the executive, will then probably be persons whose soul the lust of office will not kill, and whose mind the spoils of office will not buy or corrupt. If your representatives in the legislatures are men of the right sort, then in spite of the inevitable drawback of their being but sectional or communal representatives, it will not be possible for the Governors and the Governor-General to choose as their Ministers men who will sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage, just to serve the hour, or palter with their conscience for obtaining one or more of the many badges of subservience by means and by reason of which our public life is already hopelessly demoralized, or allow themselves to be treated as but gilded tools for servile uses or unpatriotic purposes.

If the new constitution will but put you on your mettle, and evoke in its working not only true parliamentary morality but all that is noble and steadfast in Indian character, then it will have established, once again, the truth embodied in the old saying that there is a soul of goodness even in things evil. If you work it on the lines and in the spirit which I have ventured to suggest—namely, not for what *it* is worth but for what *we* are worth—I feel certain that you will have not only turned a seeming failure into a success, but succeeded in evolving before long a constitution better adapted to the economic needs and the political requirements of India, and also in consonance with our ideals and aspirations.

An excerpt from an Address delivered at the Fourteenth Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow, on 30th November, 1935.

THE PASSING OF A GREAT RADICAL

SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA

[BY B. P. L. BEDI]

[N this little note I do not propose to give any biographical sketch but only some of my personal impressions of the man.

He was an institution

Shapurji Saklatvala was living not merely as an individual but had become an institution and a powerful institution at that. His name did not only bring before one's eye the short stocky figure of a stubborn-looking man with his hat well pulled over his forehead, which gave a greater prominence to his deepset piercing brown eyes—a man every inch of whom, from head to foot, gave the impression of a born fighter, but Saklatvala's name had come to have inseparable association with radical thought. Saklatvala stood as a symbol of progressive militant left-wing socialism.

An idealist

Like all men who are not afraid of undergoing suffering and hardships for the sake of a cause which they stand to serve Saklatvala was uncompromising in his opinions. He disdained bargaining on issues that involved a climb down. He was accordingly merciless towards those from whom he differed—be it the British Cabinet or the Indian National Congress.

As an antagonist of capitalist exploitation he had won a secure place for himself in the hearts of the British working class who valued his opinions and appreciated his activities.

He was unsparing in his lifelong condemnation of Imperialism and the exploitation of the coloured people in the colonial empire over which the sun never sets.

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" Stormy Petrel "

He made his voice felt in the British Parliament in the defence of oppressed people all the world over.

When once " Old Sak " was upon his feet in the House of Commons, he seldom sat down or was made to sit down without creating a sensation. He had a whole lot of the capitalist horde at his mercy as he used to say and he hit harder and nearer home, till resentment made proceedings impossible. He had no use for the stupid formalism of a parliamentary democracy except using it as a platform for airing his opinion and telling the British capitalists what he thought of them. It was quite common for him to refer to any statement made, say, by the Home Secretary, as the Home Secretary *trotted out* such and such theory. Such language might shock the gently bred parliamentarian but for Saklatvala that even was an expression of courtesy.

No wonder, when once Saklatvala lost his election a British minister is reported to have said at a dinner, " Thank God we are rid of that fellow ! "

The Arch Critic

To Saklatvala differences of nationality, colour and creed never mattered. He looked upon the contemporary world with the eyes of a socialist and he saw society as composed of the two classes of exploiters and the exploited.

As such he was as bitterly opposed to the capitalists in India as he was opposed to the financiers in England and he was equally inimical to all organizations which he thought were there to promote the interests of finance-capital as opposed to championing the cause of labour and the peasantry.

The Congress

The Indian Congress, to his mind, was also one of those agencies who were yoked to the service of the Indian capitalists. Therefore he was bitterly opposed to the two steps forward and one step backward policy of the Indian Congress.

The Passing of a Great Radical

"What business had they to trot across to the Round Table Conference," he said twitching his lips and almost tossing the cup of tea off the table. "Had they not hoisted the flag of Independence on the banks of the Ravi? No! these Johnnies are led by their noses by the fat-monied capitalists, who know that a completely free India would mean a better share for the peasants and workers and that their money bags would go—hence all this putting of brakes, all these compromises and truces." By this time a group of undergraduates had gathered around us, attracted by the heated voice of Saklatvala. We were sitting in an Oxford Cafe. Saklatvala had come to Oxford on the invitation of the University Gandhi Group—a club which had been formed by those who felt the need of drawing the attention of the English youth to the condition of India. Mr. Jinrah had already spoken to the club exposing the reality of the proposed new constitution and now it was Saklatvala's turn to address the club. That night a huge meeting of the Oxford under-graduates was held to listen to the crack speaker.

"The Congress had betrayed the interests of the masses to secure the co-operation of the wealthy few. Those fat Congressite millowners, who cry non-co-operation and boycott of foreign goods from the house tops, are the very people in whose mills the worst of labouring conditions exist and those are the very people who while preaching non-co-operation to others call in the aid of the police to break the heads of the Indian workers when they go on strike for the redress of their grievances." The farce of the Round Table Conference, the pretensions of Imperialist England to the trusteeship of India, the great international conspiracy to keep the colonial areas yoked to the wheels of imperialism all came in turn for critical analysis. I have yet to meet a man who could surpass Saklatvala in the art of pulling down.

The Rationalist

The religious approach to politics was the most ununderstandable thing to him. "What is all this temple-entry stunt?" Why hick up a fuss for the Harijans to be able to get into a temple. I would rather see the Harijans continue in their present state than spending an iota of energy for getting them entry into

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a temple—what could they get inside a temple—all this effort just to be able to touch the blooming toe of a badly carved stone."

Nor did Saklatvala look with greater favour upon the good that religion could do. "This salvation! This Nirvana!! Nonsense!!" he thundered. "All the suffering in this world to be borne cheerfully for the comfort of sitting in the next life on the right hand of God with a bouquet of flowers in hand." Such a statement might have led to a riot in India—in the Punjab of to-day at any rate—but there everybody roared with laughter, only a clergyman who had come there to be better informed on India (our apologies to him) murmured 'you blasphemous old sinner!'

His place in History

It must be said in all fairness that Saklatvala had no claims to greatness as a constructive politician or a man who could have built up a state even if opportunities had been given him. He was the practical expression of the historical necessity of his own time. He was a dogmatic and a virulent critic and an iconoclast—the type of people who are the most needed at moments in history when nations have to be awakened out of their lethargy and dynamic forces have to be evoked. He was great at demolishing and truly enough a man who demolishes must appear before the man who builds.

Once the Club of the Indians at Oxford "the Majlis" organized a debate. The subject was that "Communism is the last resort of a scoundrel." An English M. P. was to speak for the proposition and Saklatvala came down to defend the position of this creed and oppose the motion. Saklatvala was never seen to better advantage on biting sarcasm. In irony he excelled himself and in the choice of words in condemning the capitalist structure of society, he exercised the greatest skill in hitting the hardest. There was the appreciative Oxford audience before him and the opportunity of a social vivisection of capitalism was afforded to him by the invitation and on top of that his adversary had excited Saklatvala by making a few weak remarks such as Communism robbing humanity of culture—the usual clap trap. You can well imagine in such an atmosphere the applause which

The Passing of a Great Radical

punctuated Saklatvala's hard hits which intellectually pulped the adversary.

Such was the man whose loss we have recently suffered. In him has fallen a great pillar of the progressive forces and especially he is to be mourned as in him we have lost a great force that always rushed to the rescue, if India's name was sullied in anything by the interested parties. We are the poorer for his loss.

The Fighter

One great thing goes to his credit. He held on to the last. He did not stage any spectacular retirement—which has become recently so fashionable. He died fighting.

RUDYARD KIPLING: APOSTLE OF IMPERIALISM

[BY FREDA M. BEDI]

AN alternative title to this article might will be "The Baneful Effect of Imperialism on the English Character." Rudyard Kipling typified in himself the perverted values and lack of balance that comes over the normal English mind when it gets entangled in the complex ideology and practice of Imperialism.

Indian Estimate

It is one thing for the English nation (or part of it) to bestow laurels on Kipling as "a bulwark of empire," and to lay his body to rest with the immortals in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, to extol his virtues and forget his faults. But the India of to-day must judge him in a different way. India, too, has the right to judge him according to her own lights, since she is the subject and inspiration of the books that made him famous. When the Indian Empire "is one with Ninevah and Tyre", what will be the verdict of the Indians? And, what is more to the point, what must be our estimate of his worth to-day?

Children's Heaven

Politics is not important to the child: the natural world he lives in is a more exciting thing. All the children of the world will love Kipling for his *Jungle Book* and the Indian child most of all, for Rikki-Tikki-Tavi and the wicked snake Nag, fighting to death, is the age-old thrill and epic of the Indian countryside. In most children there is a comradeship with animals which invests them with a human personality, which imagines that they can speak together as men do and act in a heroic way. When Rudyard Kipling gets "beneath the skin" of the animals in that amazing way of his, so that even grown-ups believe that the animals speak in the way he makes them, he is

Rudyard Kipling : Apostle of Imperialism

the master of his craft, and he has opened fairy doors to numberless children.

Who can forget Mowgli, who was brought up with the forest wolves, learned the cubs' language, had Bhaloo the bear to tutor him in the lore of the forest, and who returned to the homes of men only to find his way back once again to the jungle which had taught him all? It is the eternal fascination of a man-child brought up among animals and learning their ways of life..... it comes in direct line from the stories of Romulus and Remus and the founding of Rome, to the inevitable Tarzan the box-office attraction of millions. In the *Jungle Book* Kipling has made the jungle world live for us. . . Bagheera, the Panther with his goat-rippling in the sun; Shere Khan, the tiger, cunning and cruel, rising heavily from his sleep to be killed by the stampeding buffalo herd, right up to the Darzi bird, who is nearer to "civilization", and Kala Nag, the black elephant. Somewhere tucked away in many a child's heart will be found the picture of Mowgli brandishing the fire-flower in front of the wolf pack, and the deer, ungainly body of the little white seal.

Soldier's Hell

We must come away, however, as Kipling did, from this fairy-land of children to the grim life of man. Kipling loved children and animals (and it might be mentioned that there is no nation in the world which has so great a love and consideration for animals than the English), but he also loved the British Raj. Sometimes, in the "Barrack Room Ballads" for instance, he forgets his politics a little, when he is speaking through the mouth of Tommy Atkins, because Tommy Atkins himself is often at heart a child-like fellow and forgets "policies" when he is confronted by human beings. But the note that Kipling strikes in "Fuzzy Wuzzy" (the soldier's nickname for the Negro of the Soudan) :

" Then 'ere's to you, Fuzzy Wuzzy, an' the missis and
the kid :
Our order was to break you, and of-course we went and did.
We sloshed you with Martinis, an' it wasn't 'ardly fair ;
But for all the odds agin' you, Fuzzy-Wuz, you broke the
square "

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degenerates into the traditional hard-heartedness of the soldier, regardless of human beings looking at the Indians round him as something less than human to be beaten and tormented for the sake of loot :

" An' if you treat a nigger to a dose of cleanin' rod
'E's like to show you everything 'e owns.
When 'e won't produce no more pour some water on the
floor

Where you hear it answer hollow to the boot.
When the ground begins to sink shove your bayonet down
the chink,

An' you're sure to touch the—
(Chorus) Loo ! loo ! Lulu ! Loot ! Loot ! loot ! loot !
Ow the loot !

If there *can* be any satisfaction that an Indian might feel on reading this disgusting show of barbarity, it is the satisfaction that thanks to the world depression currency policy and land assessments, these days even if a British soldier had the pleasure of beating a villager, he would not get the pleasure of finding money afterwards, since there is now none to hide.

Sanity and Insanity

The reason, of course, why the Shakespearian sanity of Englishmen is apt to change East of Suez into the peculiar brand of insanity illustrated above is to be found in the system that rules them, the "orders" that guide them into making all their logic follow from one universal promise "that all coloured peoples are heathens, "lesser breeds without the law", something to be taught and bullied and controlled until it can walk, or rather limp, along the way of European civilization. Neither knowledge nor respect for oriental culture or religion is tolerated as a general rule; to them Buddha is "a blomin' idol made of mud" and Hinduism is represented by "a flat nosed Lucknow god."

Rudyard Kipling : Apostle of Imperialism

Yet Kipling can understand and love India and Indians, his poem of the last Suttee, and *East and West* show that. The notorious :—

“ Oh ! East is East and West is West, and never the twain
shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great judgment
Seat ;
is after all followed by

“ But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed,
nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come
from the ends of the earth ! ”

The poison of Imperialism can turn men into beasts, and it changed the essential humanity of Kipling into a ranting superiority complex, common to many of his sentimental “country-born”, which perhaps reached its peak in that poem sung to a magnificent tune, the *Recessional*:

“ God of our Fathers known of old !
Lord of our far-flung battle line !
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine ! ”

The God of Kipling fought against the weak and those who were coloured of skin — it does not fit in with Kipling's philosophy that Christ, the son of God, died as a victim of Roman Imperialism or that the vision of Paul showed him all the nations of the earth equal. It is the bane of Christianity in its organized form that it hallows slaughter in the name of Empire. It is the bane of Rudyard Kipling that the whimsical animal-lover of the *Jungle Book*, the humorist of *Oonts* the sensitive writer of *The Light that Failed* changes when this potent poison gets into his blood and perverts his mind, into the semi-religious humbug of *Recessional*. Our only comfort is that perhaps

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some day the ghost of Kipling may have to sing sorrowfully and with added meaning the most rousing lines in the poem :

“ Far-called our navies melt away,
On dune and headland sinks the fire
Lo! all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre
Judge of the Nations ! Spare us yet !
Lest we forget ! Lest we forget ! ”

CURRENT LITERATURE

THE MEMORIES OF MEERUT

[By B. P. L. BEDI]

MOMENTOUS events flash across the background of decades, they attract the attention of the moment and pass, leaving no doubt an impress on contemporary history but claiming little from the memory of man. They pass and are forgotten, coming back to memory only as events that inspire the sympathetic mind, but act no longer as the exciting elements of our day-to-day living.

The great trial at Meerut which flashed across the headlines of all the nationalist newspapers in India—a trial which made the name of Meerut synonymous with conspiracy—is almost among the forgotten events of India's national history. More so in the Punjab to-day. Here people are more concerned about the legal possession of one building or another. They are concentrating on the ownership of one particular structure forgetting for all time the fundamental question of the ownership of the country itself. When the country itself does not belong to its people they have no right to quibble over its parts. They are busy deciding the moral rights of one community against another forgetting all the time that a slave nation has no right to talk in terms of moral rights against one another, when they fail to unite and stand for the assertion of their one undisputable right—the highest moral right—the right to freedom. In the midst of all this choking demoralization one feels happy to receive a breath of fresh air. That is provided by a recent publication by Allen and Unwin, London. It is called the *Conspiracy at Meerut*. The writer is Lester Hutchinson. This book is a slice out of his own life. The story of a man who came to India as a romantic idealist, looking forward to a career in journalism and his head full of

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the ideas of justice and freedom, but dangerously obnoxious to the Indian administration as he had certain Marxist tendencies and did not look upon Imperialism as God's own scheme for the best preservice of "native" interests. This book brings back to our minds in vivid detail the most remarkable side of the Meerut case. Here, we are reminded, was a band of people who had been hauled up on a charge of conspiracy to deprive the King of his sovereignty over India. Here were people who were charged with receiving inspiration from Moscow, for topsy-turvyng the Indian social order and bringing about a change in the mastership of this land.

These people were shut up in Meerut for 4½ years as under-trial prisoners and Mr. Hutchinson has given us the most vivid detail of jail life. These details are instructive and full of absorbing interest.

The conditions of the under-trial prisoners did not stop at getting vigorous protest from the Indian people itself. It went far beyond. International opinion condemned it. From Einstein to Roman Rolland, from scientists to philosophers, all joined in an unequivocal denunciation of the whole procedure. Even the undergraduates at Oxford were seen busy with printed protest forms rushing round the political clubs and getting hundreds of signatures to register their vote of disapproval of what was being done in the name of England abroad.

This was the international scene. Nearer home, we witnessed in the Meerut case the grandest sight in modern history of the comradeship of ideals between people of different nationalities—a comradeship which transcended the barriers of colour. English and Indians appeared in the same dock to answer to supreme authority for the efforts that they had made to alleviate the heart-breaking poverty of the workers around them.

What moved Hutchinson is worth telling in his own words. "The living conditions of the Indian working class," he says "are among the worst in the world. Whole families live in one room *chawls*, which can only be described as hardly fit for cattle.

Current Literature

Hundreds of people are huddled together in tenements, which are as ugly as they are insanitary. There is a scarcity of water and one tap only is supplied for about a hundred families, and several families have to use the same latrine. Of drainage nothing can be said for it is non-existent, and the lanes, the waste land in front of the tenements, are littered with filth of every description from carrion to excrement. And amid the filth and the stench, naked little children play and tumble. Hunger, misery and disease are supreme in the working class quarter; Labour is cheap and life is cheaper."

A Living Document

The sight of these things and the subsequent reactions landed Hutchinson in the Meerut Jail. This book is a living document. It is a supreme testimony to the English sense of humour. Hutchinson could manage to see the funny side of the worst calamities of his career in India – a career that varied in range from a romantic visitor to a convicted conspirator. *Conspiracy at Meerut* is a five-shilling volume. It has a short preface by Prof. Harold J. Laski whose voice of sympathy is always to be heard to the moral relief of the victims of iniquity. Here also he has not failed to denounce the Socialist Secretary of State for sharing the responsibility in what he calls "a prosecution scandalous in its inception and disgraceful in its continuance." Prof. Laski is indignant and he is always at his best in indignation. We can confidently recommend this book to the perusal of those who are still interested in anything beyond the Shahidgunj affair.

SONGS OF THE JUNGLE*

[BY FRED A. M. BEDI]

THE band of workers all over India who are seeking out the folk songs of India from their homes in the hearts of the people are doing an inestimable service not only to those who value them for their own sake, but also to their country. Many things go towards making a "national movement" a living entity: the spirit of common effort, adequate organization, leaders, and, very important, a common tradition. In forming this national literature plays a big role. The Abbey Theatre movement, the work of Yeats, and A. E. with their band of workers, nurtured the spirit of the Irish fight for independence. The songs of Plunkett, himself a martyr for the Irish cause, were enshrined in the hearts of Irishmen after the unsuccessful wartime rebellion. One of the most moving songs to Hitler's followers is the "Horst-Wessel" Lied, composed by a young Hitler man who was murdered by an opponent of his cause.

It is significant that the growth of interest in the "songs of the people" is a factor in post-war development, and that it coincides with the "new nationalism" and radical trends in the world to-day. Love of folk-lore is as much inherent in the cultural background of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republics, because of the emphasis on everything that comes spontaneously from the people as it is in the intense idealistic nationalism of the Hitlerite State.

For Indian People

All efforts to create a rich tradition of national culture—not a culture grafted on to the old stock by a civilization that is strange in ideas and expression but an indigenous one that springs from the very heart of the people should be welcomed. Devendra Satyarthi, a Punjabi whose name is familiar to many, is working in Northern India, and has stretched his arms as far as Bengal and Madras. Now there has appeared a new book, "Songs of the

* *The Folk Poetry of India, vol. I*, by Saundra Hivale and Verner Edwin Allen and Unwin, 6 shillings

Current Literature

Forest " a collection of the folk-poetry of the Gonds, by Father Elwin and Shamrao Hivale. Some three million Gonds, nicknamed " the children of Rawan " are scattered over Central India, in their little villages of mud-plastered bamboo huts. They earn a difficult livelihood by primitive agriculture, alternating with road-mending which is so badly paid that it has been compared with forced labour. It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find these songs, instinct with appreciation of life in its loveliest aspects, growing like a lily out of the proverbial dung heap. The grinding poverty of the Gond's daily life has not robbed him of his natural delight in the beauty of woman :

" Your body is straight as a pencil
Your eyes are fashioned of jewels."

or in the grandeur of the jungle--the animals, the birds, the hundred and one trees :

" On every side I see but the trees of the forest."
" In the narrow mountain pass,
The pass that's choked with mud,
Even there are tiger's foot-prints."

The wonder of the forest and the wild life of it runs through the songs with the brilliancy of lightning, irradiating in brief flashes the familiar dun earth and the happy, sad village stories which form the keynote of all true people's songs.

Songs of Labour

But if the forest beauty is the lightning of Gond folk-lore, the torment of their economic condition is the thunder that rolls unendingly in black waves over their simple homes. The struggle for bread is so grim that even words fail. The most bitter songs in the whole book are but a few lines long, as though even the capacity for singing had been dried up :

" The landlord of our village has grown very poor.
He has sold his sister and brought a *dhoti*."

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The satire is almost inhuman. But beyond these blunted feelings grows a blind despair, as the peasant tries by repeating a question over and over to himself, to find an answer to the problem that he knows has no solution :

"Alas ! Alas ! this year how am I to feed my children ?
For the crop has failed.
I can pay my taxes by selling my plough and bullocks.
But how am I to feed my children this year ? "

He cries against God and man, in his efforts to explain his lot. It is not surprising that the Gonds are not religious. Here is the song of the road-mender :

"Our naked bodies shine with sweat, the tears flow from
our eyes.
Sometimes the chips of stone pierce the flesh and the blood
flows.
Those who have plenty of money gorge themselves with
food and live peacefully at home.
But it is when the heat is greatest that we have the heaviest
work.
" Oh, mother, how long must I break these stones ?
I am tired of living any longer."

Village Comforts

Tragedy, want, monotony come to the Gonds, as to all peasants in India, but they too have that unique consolation of village life: an ability to see with a humorous eye the little failings of human personality, the variety of man and his domestic problems. Through these songs of the forest run a crowd of villagers, each drawn with a merciless, pungent accuracy that only those uncontaminated by books can give : the two wives, joining to shame their husband ; the conceited man, the policeman and the prisoner ; the village flirt, a spangle on her forehead, her toe rings making " a mighty row " under the red folds of her sari.

Current Literature

Green parrot, blue forest flower, red shawl, gold and silver earrings glitter across the dark pages, as though just to remember beautiful things were some consolation for the hardness of life.

It only remains to say that the Preface by Sir Francis Younghusband is not only in parts inspired, but is useful and entirely satisfying. Prefaces are usually a waste of time; this one immeasurably adds to the joy of the book. He at once appreciates and enlarges our appreciation and it is to the old Gond whom he quotes that we must go for the final grain of truth. Talking of his reverence for Pawan Dassorie, the wind, he says :

" It moves within my mind and I am its brother. Truly the wind is a great God, so strong and yet unseen; when it blows into my mind it talks with me."

" And what does it say? " we asked.

" It tells me to take no heed of the lies that are in the world. There is no truth among men: only in work, in the labour of the fields is truth. So my wheat grows tall and strong, and the neighbours say it is because of my magic, but really it is because I seek truth with the hard toil of my hands."

THE GREAT PROPHET*

THE founder of Islam is the subject of an essay by Mr. F. K. Khan Durrani. It has meant hard work for him as the contents of the book show. He has set out on a task which, according to him, has never been attempted so far, that is, to write the life of the Prophet not mainly for the Moslems as others have done, but for the non-Moslems, who do not look upon the great personality of Muhammad with sentiments of awe and affection, but who would like to see the founder of Islam in a more critical and a rationalist way, to be convinced of his greatness as a man and then espouse the cause for which he lived. The standpoint is admirable and this effort is to be commended by everyone who is interested in knowing the heroes, thinkers and inspirers of all people better.

And who would not, after reading this book, acknowledge the loftiness of the pedestal on which the Prophet stood. One who could propound his greatest law of social behaviour in defining a Muslim "as a man from whose hand and tongue mankind is safe."

The Prophet's conception of the status of women and of motherhood as shown by Mr. Durrani is equally great - "paradise lies under the feet of the mother." It once again conclusively proves that when human thought transcends the limits of the ephemeral and crosses in its elevation the barriers of caste and creed it flows in the same channel. One is reminded of what the Rig Veda says that mother and motherland are above heaven itself. In giving such a place to women in society great minds once again thought alike.

Of no less value was the Prophet's idea of the rights of labour and the place of equity in society. When he advised his followers "to give the labourer his wages before his perspiration is dry," he was setting forth a lesson which a large number of Indian industrialists to whichever religion they belong, could learn with great benefit to-day.

**Muhammad the Prophet - An Essay*, by F. K. Khan Durrani, Rs. 2, Office of "The Truth," Railway Road, Lahore.

The Great Prophet

Then in the life of the Prophet one is struck by the institution of *Istighfar*—retirement for purposes of thought. All great men have realized the value of this habit in their lives. The Prophet's moments of *Istighfar* correspond to Gandhi's silent Monday and to Lenin's hours of self-criticism.

The superhuman will, and energy, determination and a conception of social and moral values with which he was endowed, have been fully brought home to the reader and he leaves the book with a richer knowledge of the ideals and the actions of the great prophet.

Now a word to the Biographer. The book is meant for the edification of the non-believer. Yet the author has talked very little about the personality of the Prophet—the historical and the human side of it. There is too much of the pulpit and too little of the person. The supposed non-believer is left as much in the dark about the human side of the Prophet as when he began the book. Too much space has been given to the discussion of abstruse theological arguments—a chapter with which the book opens. Instead of making the personality of the Prophet *a pivot* around which the whole story may revolve and from whose thought all discussion of fundamental principles may follow the starting of a book by such theological argument is enough to frighten the non-believer into laying the book aside. Again the writer shows positive ignorance about the social institutions of other groups. As for example, when he says that among Hindus a woman "remained the chattel and shadow of her husband". The author once again shows lack of tact and discretion when he goes out of his way to attack the personality of Gandhi. About Gandhi's fasting he says "though thoroughly cowardly and thoroughly foolish, it serves its purpose and brings him into the lime-light," such comments are not in good taste and are specially out of place when the book is specially meant for the use of non-Moslems. The author, again, shows acute political myopia when he exhorts the Moslems not to work for a Hindu dominion status. One admires his progressive idealism in wanting to see the Moslems of India free, but one regrets the short-sightedness of the author who believes that the future grouping of political India will continue to exist and operate

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in stupidly water-tight communal compartments. He ignores in his fantasy the onrush of those tremendous economic forces which, when they grip the masses, will give rise to such powerful waves of unified efforts which will wash away all the tiny rocks that block the way to inter-communal co-operation in the service of a common country.

One feels sorry for the author who has spoiled such a fine effort through lack of appreciation of the broader issues involved in the writing of such books. To sum up in fairness to the author and to the public one must say that this book is an excellent effort, badly blotted.

MORE BOOKS.

Universal Code Book, Parts I and II. *Price Rs. 5 and 2, respectively,—A. R. Dervi, Dera Ghazi Khan.*

This book might be accurately described as "worth its weight in gold" to Indian businessmen. It is a full and clear code for the use of businessmen, designed to save money for telegrams. The author is to be congratulated on producing a book tending to simplify Indian Commercial life. It is obviously much more satisfactory to communicate by code than by words: the troubles both of drafting and cost are eliminated. Mr. Dervi has written the book after long study and experience. The production is simple and attractive.

Song of Eternal Peace—by *M. S. Nirmal. Bhai Amar Singh Model Electric Press, Lahore. Rs. 2/8.*

The Voice of the Gurus. *Selections from Sikh Scriptures by Raja Sir Daljit Singh, rendered into English by Sir Jogendra Singh, Model Electric Press, Lahore. Re. 1/4.*

These two books are valuable contributions to the literature of Sikh religion. They are all attempts to interpret the Sikh scriptures through the medium of the English language. The object of the writers is to explain real Sikhism "in all its pristine glory", and this they achieve with admirable clarity.

The *Song of Eternal Peace* is notable for the excellence of its lucid English and its production—both rare in Indian publications. It is a translation into English free verse of Guru Arjan's *Sukhmani*, a book notable in itself. Both the Press and the writer are to be congratulated on its production.

The Voice of the Gurus is a well-chosen selection of the sayings of the founders of the Sikh religion, and can be

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recommended to those who like to have their reading selected for them.

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The Flesh is Willing—by *Richard Terrel*. Gollancz, 1936. 7s. 6d.

It is the tragedy of young writers of no outstanding talent that they magnify their immature emotions into novel lengths when they might be conveniently dealt with in a short story. Richard Terrel is a young man writing his first novel. in that perhaps is his excuse. His chief character, Alec, is mildly interesting as an example of Freud's philosophy, and understandable as such, but he is wholly *unsympathetic*. The other characters are haphazard and ordinary. The only justification for Mr. Terrel to go on writing is that at times he shows a certain felicity of phrasing, capable of being developed, allied to a way of mixing the actual with the abstract which has its attractions.

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Mystic India—by *Helen Boulnois*. Methuen, 1935.

India is the subject of many mystic effusions. This is one of the worst examples. If elderly ladies *must* "search for God" in India, it would be kinder to the general public if they did it as quietly as possible. We beg to be spared such medicore baring of the soul.

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Ahang-i-Razm—by *Waqar (Anbalvi)*, Mozang, Lahore (1935). Price Rs. 1.

Here at last is a book of Poems which was long overdue. It goes to the credit of Waqar to have given us a collection of his poems which sing of the spirit of war. It is not war which is laudable in itself but it is that spirit of heroism which war brings which is worthy of emulation. After decades of soulless poetry which echoed only the decadent life of the people, we have here a collection of poems which exhort the individual to put the nation above himself :

کر ماہر وطن کے معنی ڈھرا شمار عزت پہ ملک و قوم کی کڑے معیار ہزار
میرے وطن کا سر کہ صافھی وطن کا ہون

More Books

These poems are written with the express purpose of instilling the heroic conception of life in the minds of the young and the grown up alike. One thing must, however, be said that the author is hardly aware of the technique of modern warfare. It might not be fair to train up young people to look upon war as a field where swords flourish and when they actually go to war they may be disillusioned because the flash of the sword has given way to the Tik Tik Tik of the Machine gun. Granting this to be poetic licence we deeply appreciate the spirit of this book and strongly recommend it to those who have the right education of the adolescent mind dear to their hearts.

Due to a number of important articles which could not be delayed the reviews of the following books have been held up and will appear in the next issue:—

Immanuel Kant on Philosophy in General, by Humayun Kabir, University Press, Calcutta, 1935.

Tendencies in Recent Economic Thought, by Brij Narain, Mercantile Press, Lahore, 1935.

The Atlantic and Slavery, H. A. Wyndham, Oxford University Press, 1935. Price 12s. 6d.

Eastern Industrialization and its effect on the West, by G. E. Hubbard, Oxford University Press, 1935. Price 18s.

India Before the Crisis, by Brij Narain, The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1935.

Der Orient Under War, a Symposium, Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1935.

Progressive Japan, by C. L. Nayar, 1936.

INDIAN SOCIALISM MUST DECIDE !

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT

[BY FREDA AND B. P. L. BEDI]

THE Socialists of India stand at the cross-roads, and the moment of decision has arrived. Briefly the problem before them is this. So far as the objective of establishing a Socialist State in India is concerned, there is hardly any difference of opinion among those who espouse the cause of Socialism, whether inside a party framework or out of it, but the clash of opinion comes on points of strategy. There is a clear-cut difference of opinion as far as method is concerned. And that difference of opinion centres round one *main point, which is the attitude and the relationship of the Indian Socialist Parties with the Indian National Congress.*

The Two Schools

Between the two groups, the argument centres round the decision whether it is better to keep away from the Congress, dub it as a middle class counter-revolutionary organization, and keep the Socialists of India as a separate identity altogether, developing an absolutely independent party . . . or whether it is better, as the other group argues, to get inside the Congress as the left wing of the organization and work most effectively from within with the object of ultimately permeating this body, flooding out the moderate element, and capturing the Congress as a body for the benefit of the peasants and workers as opposed to the interests of the middle classes which it has so far mainly represented.

The New Direction

So far, the Socialist movement has been in a state of infancy in India, and the numbers of factions which existed in its ranks did not really matter. So far the Socialist doctrine itself

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has been a matter for discussion, but that also did not matter because it only clarified the extent to which people were willing to go. Now, however, we have got to realize the change in perspective that has come, and recognize the need of the moment. This changed condition has been brought about by the simple fact that to-day for the first time we stand face to face with the necessity of forming a clear-cut programme and getting down to do some concrete constructive work, not singly and disjointedly, but on an all-India basis. This need for action demands *united action*, and this makes it necessary to have a *united front*. Therefore the issue of working inside or outside the Congress must be decided one way or the other here and now.

This question before the Socialists is of far greater import to the future of the country than any relatively minor points such as acceptance or non-acceptance of offices which faced the National Congress at Lucknow. In this respect, radical thought has a very great responsibility on its shoulders. Its attitude will affect the course of the All-India movement by its decision in this matter.

A Plea for Congress Socialism

The approach to this problem is not to be made in the light of local prejudices and local antagonisms, neither must personalities be more important to us than strategy and principles. We have got to examine the whole problem in the light of the All-India movement, and its effects are not to be judged by the peculiar conditions of a particular town or province but with the background of that United India for which we are all fighting. Here we feel the necessity in particular of inviting the attention of those who have so far always stood against what goes by the name of "Congress Socialism". On a point of principle, Congress Socialism, with the past associations of the Congress on the one hand, and ideas of a Socialistic India on the other, may seem to be in an anomalous position, but the whole thing becomes absolutely clear as soon as we realize that *the term "Congress Socialism" does not stand for a principle but only conveniently symbolizes a strategy*. Therefore the whole argument of Congress Socialism has got to be examined in the light of its strategic strength. Those

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who attack this idea on the grounds of its being a compromise in principle and complain of the "pink" tendencies of those who are Congress Socialists are curiously enough hitting a target which is not even there. Therefore the whole position, as has been said before, is to be examined in the light of its strategic value

The need of the Moment

This question could have been left undecided for the time being, but matters have been brought to a head by the election of Pandit Jawaharlal to the Presidentship of the Congress. Even that might not ordinarily have affected events so much, but the particular necessity of speedy decision arises out of the special position which he holds in relation to his Cabinet—the Working Committee of the Congress. Those who attended the Lucknow Session and analytically followed the debates in the Subjects' Committee saw the difficulties of Pandit Jawaharlal's position. On two occasions, he had to depart from the traditions of the neutrality of the chair and throw his weight on one side. Firstly it was to plead for non-acceptance of office, and secondly it was to secure the representation of minorities (which virtually meant the Socialist party) on the Congress Subjects' Committee by asking the House not to abolish the system of Proportional Representation. In both the cases, he Socialist chairman of the Congress was outvoted in the Subjects' Committee. Thanks, however, to the effective canvassing of the Congress Socialist Group, Proportional Representation was retained at the open session of the Congress, even against the wishes of the Working Committee. This fact once again shows that the representation of Socialists inside the Congress fold could carry weight and be an influence for the good, and it also shows that Pandit Jawaharlal, in order to carry out his programme, most decidedly needs the presence of the Socialist element in as large numbers inside the Congress as possible.

Therefore, it must be stressed once again that from the strategic point of view, we owe it to Jawaharlal to give him as much strength as possible by the largest backing within the Congress camp. His position in the present Working Committee, despite the presence of a small number of Socialists, is an extremely difficult one, and it may not be very long before open conflict occurs there.

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At that moment, Pandit Jawaharlal will feel his hands immeasurably strengthened if he could know that among the ranks of the Congress there existed a solid and ever-growing block of Socialists, concentrating their forces for his support. And it goes without saying that he will not feel the same strength if the Socialist forces are scattered in disunion all over the country.

Further

Besides backing up Jawaharlal, there are various other factors of greater strategic importance which should influence the Socialists to join the Congress. There are three factors to be reckoned with: (1) the position inside the Congress ranks; (2) the position in relation to the people; (3) the position in relation to the Government. The first position we have discussed while reviewing the role of Jawaharlal, and the necessity of giving him our support. Now come the second and third points. Whatever be the position of the Congress according to the Socialists in the country to-day, it may have lost its initial drive, its limitation point may have been reached, because it is inherent in its programme of appeal mainly to the middle classes, with an idealistic trend to the villages; it may be badly in need of new blood and new vigour—but in all fairness it must be recognized that it has at its back the prestige and affection which has been built up during half a century, and that it commands a good deal of affection and loyalty which may be dormant at present, but is still there. If the Socialist party wants to make headway, it must reckon with the fact that for its independent existence it will have to displace the Congress in the minds of the people and therefore attack it on all occasions and on all fronts, and show the people the futility of it. This, in all honesty, we admit would not be a light task.

Before going further into the implication of this, let us go into the other side of the question, *i.e.*, the Government. If any Socialist Party wants to do useful work in pursuing the vision of a Socialist India, it cannot afford to sleep over the fact that it is faced with the best organized Imperialist power of all times, and as such, any and every party must have a profound and clear cut strategy of work and discipline in the interests of survival itself.

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It cannot be divided by factions and hair-splitting policies. Use must be made of each and every anti-Imperialist force.

Between the Millstones

If the Socialist party goes ahead as an independent entity fighting the Imperialist Government on the one hand and also carving its way into the hearts of the masses by the only policy open to it . . . *i.e.*, by trying to discredit the "bourgeois" Congress . . . the Socialist party will have to fight two powerful enemies, the Imperialist Government and the Congress. In that event, the party will be sandwiched between two millstones, which on the one hand will give better opportunities to the Government to suppress its life and on the other hand will alienate the sympathies of those who have always looked upon the Congress as an inviolable symbol of national freedom, the very people will look upon the Socialist Party with undying distrust.

On the other hand, if the Socialists become a part and parcel of the Congress, with no intention of letting their Socialism grow "pink" and rigidly maintaining the integrity of their principles, but with the explicit object of getting the greatest strategic value out of the Congress by using its platform, its organization, etc., once inside the Congress, they can effectively permeate it, and as insiders their quarrels with the "older section" will only be looked upon by the people outside as natural differences of opinion within the Congress which are only a sign of growth. In that way, the Socialist Party will grow from strength to strength with the additional advantage of having the Congress on its side in the creation of a *powerful anti-Imperialist United Front*.

The Awakening Masses

Thus we have seen the strategic advantages for the Socialists if they decide to get inside the Congress fold—advantages which are of no mean degree and which no growing party can afford to lose and at which no dynamic movement can afford to frown. The sooner we decide the better. We have got to go ahead in the genuine realization that all this strategy and talk

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of the capture of power is *simply the means, and not the ultimate end*. Power is to be captured, not for the sake of power itself but because the organized and co-ordinated strength and vitality of the massed peasants and workers of India is the supreme and fundamental basis of the Socialist Party, and through the spearhead of this party that their rights can be recognized. If the peasants and workers are to get an adequate voice in the national movement of this country which is inevitable, the Congress Socialist Party must be the penetration point by which the fusion can occur of mass needs and the Congress demands. If the Congress Socialist Party in this country consists of all the Radical elements in India plus the representatives of Trade Unions* and other workers' and peasants' organizations, it will infuse such new life in the Congress that its strength will be irresistible.

* Since the writing of this article we note with satisfaction that a direct relation has been established between the Congress and the Trade Unions.

MASTER MINDS OF INDIAN RENAISSANCE

[BY RUCHI RAM SAHNI]

BY the seventies and eighties of the 19th Century, two cultural streams, one representing the new social and religious awakening and the other the revival of letters were flowing side by side. Essentially they may be regarded as different aspects of the great movement of liberal thought and belief. As in Europe so in India, the main impulse came from spiritual awakening. It was a good augury that the foundation of the first liberal theistic Church by the 'Luther of India' synchronized with the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain.

I

The Brahma Samaj

Ram Mohan Roy's mantle fell upon Devendra Nath Tagore, who re-organized the Indian Protestant Church in 1844. Devendra Nath's long and inspiring ministry, his pious, austere, godly life, his absolute self-surrender and his soul-stirring sermons were all reminiscent of the Aryan sages of old. All who saw or heard him loved to call him the *Maharishi*, or the great sage.

In 1858, Devendra had a sudden accession of strength by the association in his pious mission of a most remarkable young man. His name was Keshub Chandra Sen. Deeply spiritual, he had a most charming and attractive personality combined with volcanic energy and fire. From the very beginning he gave himself no rest, but during the quarter of a century of his public ministry, he literally spent himself in his many-sided activities for the social, moral and spiritual uplift and enlightenment of his people. He undertook long lecturing tours all over India, spreading his novel, I might well call it revolutionary, message broadcast wherever he went. In his own province, one day he might be seen dressed in a *kurtā* and *dhoti* and with an *ektara* in his hand walking bare-footed through Calcutta as well as in

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remote villages singing kirtans, followed by crowds wherever he went. Another day he was thundering before a crowded audience among whom the Viceroy of India and members of his Executive Council would not consider it beneath their dignity to be seen. On other occasions, again, in obedience to the insistent call of the inner spirit, he would spend days and weeks in study and prayer in some lonely garden all by himself, subsisting all the time on nothing but unbaked gram soaked overnight in water.

As Surendra Nath Bannerjee tells us in his *Reminiscences** "it was Keshub who first made use of the platform for public addresses and revealed the power of oratory over the Indian mind". "His marvellous oratory", we are again quoting Bannerjee, "set forth with all the accessories of a sonorous voice, a noble diction and a commanding presence and inspired by the fervour of a deep and burning conviction, fascinated his hearers."

If Ram Mohan Roy was the architect of modern India, it was left to his two immediate successors, but especially to Keshub, to give material shape and form to much of the design which had been handed down to them. For, Keshub was no mere idealist. He was, as Mr. Bannerjee tells us, "a great organizer, a born leader of men with a penetrating insight into human nature. He was a religious teacher with all the asceticism of the Hindu Vaishnav ingrained in him by his family associations, but he was also a man of affairs and understood the world and knew how to deal with the world. If he had not chosen to be a religious leader, he might, if he had had the opportunities, have been a statesman, occupying a front rank among statesmen."

In 1861, Keshub started the *Indian Mirror* as a fortnightly English Journal which was soon after made a Weekly. In due course of time, it became a Daily, being the first daily newspaper in charge of an Indian in the whole country. The special Sunday edition, known as the *Sunday Mirror*, was edited by Keshub himself till his death in January 1884. In 1862, he started a college in which moral and religious training was combined with secular instruction. After five years' work, the college had to

* *A Nation in the Making*. By Surendra Nath Bannerjee Humphrey Melford, Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 6.

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close its doors for want of financial support. The poet Rabindra Nath Tagore was for sometime educated in this college. In 1870, soon after his return from England, Keshub embarked upon a comprehensive programme of social reform activities. He began by establishing the *Indian Reform Association* with separate sections for cheap literature, female improvement, charity, temperance and general education both for boys and girls. He soon started a vernacular piece paper, called the *Sulvasamachar* or cheap news. Keshub and his co-workers used to hawk the paper themselves in the streets. It was the first enterprise of its kind and "made a great sensation". At one time it had a circulation of as much as 4,000 copies, which was considered a singular achievement in those days. Bands of Hope were organized. A college for boys, the Albert College, under the Principalship of Keshub's younger brother, Krishan Behari Sen, was established in 1872 followed by a similar institution for women, called the Victoria College.

Altogether, the stirrings of a new life were visible on every side. In the early sixties, as I have already mentioned, both Devendra Nath and Keshub made extensive tours all over India. In this work they were in later years assisted by a large number of co-workers who had also heard the call of the spirit and given up all their prospects in life to carry the message of the liberal faith far and wide. To emphasize the liberal character of the new faith, Keshub appointed some of his most devoted followers to make a special study of the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian scriptures together with the history of those faiths and promulgate, by publication or the spoken word, the best that there was in each of them. Many of these men, were eloquent and inspiring speakers, a few like Protap Chander Mozumdar, Siva Nath Sastri and Nagendra Nath Chatterji, being orators of no mean order. The preaching of Keshub and his comrades created an intense ferment or social and religious awakening throughout India the like of which has not been witnessed in modern times. It was the spring-time of the liberal movement and tens of thousands of those who still chose to remain outside the new tabernacle, felt themselves growing out of the chilling conservatism of hundreds of years into joyful adolescence. "In the sixties and seventies of the last century", writes Surendra Nath Bannerjee, "the Brahma

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Samaj movement was a potent and living force which exercised a profound, though, possibly, an indirect, influence over orthodox Hindu society. Its immediate effect was to check conversions to Christianity that were taking place. Those that were dissatisfied with the old faith and felt the stirrings of the new spirit created by the eloquence of the great Brahma leader found comfort and consolation in the new religion."

In these circumstances, the more enlightened and progressive spirits in all provinces were naturally drawn into the fold of the new faith. Thus outside of Bengal, we find men like Mahadev Govind Ranade, Ramkrishan Gopal Bhandarkar, Shanker Pandurang Pandit, the well-known Vedic scholar of western India and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the Bombay Presidency, Veera Salingum Puntulu, the Telegu scholar and social reformer, U. Raghunathya and K. Ranga Rao of Madras and Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri and Bhai Kashi Ram of the Punjab early coming under the influence of the teachings of the Brahma Samaj and becoming in their turn centres of important social, religious and other useful public activities. Of these, Ranade and Bhandarkar were chiefly responsible for creating a stir in the seventies and early eighties in the quiescent atmosphere of Maharashtra. As a biographer of Tilak points out, "in profundity of thought and in depth and variety of learning" Ranade was "unequalled". He had devoted all his great talents and energies in organizing and disciplining "a generation of social and religious iconoclasts. He had worked hard to lead the destructive and rebellious spirits of his time into the constructive channels of social reform. He wanted to build a nationalist Church out of the rationalist and agnostic elements born of western education. But he was equally ready to bless and help young men of merit and individuality who did not see eye to eye with him".

And he goes on to explain that it was Ranade who encouraged and helped the triumvirate of youthful patriots, Vishnu Sastri Chiplonkar, B. G. Tilak and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, to establish the Fergusson School, which later developed into the famous Fergusson College, and to start the two papers, one in the vernacular the *Kesari*, and the other in English, namely the *Marhatta*.

The Arya Samaj

In the later seventies and eighties, other great religious teachers also appeared on the scene, and made notable contributions to the awakening of India. One of the greatest of these was Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. What Keshub Chander Sen and the Brahma Samaj did for Bengal and to a much smaller extent for other parts of the country, Dayanand did for Upper India. A great Sanscrit scholar and a most eloquent and powerful speaker, wherever he appeared he carried everything before him. A man of majestic appearance, tall, robust, with a full round face, the head clean shaven, a pair of big, bright, deep set but penetrating eyes, a prominent nose—altogether he had a most commanding personality which bespoke authority. The fact that a learned Sanscrit scholar, quoting freely from the Vedas and the Upanishads, boldly challenged the Pandits to meet him in open controversy, ready to refute, on the authority of the *Shastras* themselves, some of the most widely cherished doctrines of orthodox Hinduism, created almost a consternation. The Christian missionary, who had till then found the educated youth an easy prey, and the orthodox Pandits who met in him a strong hostile critic in their own fold, prepared to confound them with their on weapons, were both greatly upset at his appearance.

Most of Dayanand's orations were delivered while squatting. He generally wore a short *dhoti*, a saffron coloured long, loose coat something like a Roman toga, and a turban of the same colour. In his earlier years, he went about with nothing but a piece of cloth wrapped round his waist and a long pole in his hand. It is said he was led to found the Arya Samaj and take to regular preaching to large audiences by the advice given to him by Ranade and Keshub Chander Sen. Ranade was his constant friend and adviser up to his death.

In 1875, Swami Dayanand founded the first Arya Samaj at Bombay. For two years he wandered about preaching the gospel of the Vedas. He was a born controversialist and his propagandist methods naturally partook of the character of an open challenge

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to all to meet him in public debate. At Mathura, Meerut, Moradabad, Delhi and other places he conducted long and animated debates not only with the orthodox Hindus but also with learned Christian missionaries and Muslim scholars of repute. Everywhere, he made a profound impression by the depth of his learning and scholarship no less than his power of sustained argumentation.

In 1877, he came to the Punjab on the invitation of the Brahma Samaj. Here he was at once acclaimed as a saviour of the ancient Aryan culture and civilization. He attracted round himself a number of enthusiastic admirers, chiefly from the ranks of the local Brahma Samaj. In a few years, several capable and devoted youngmen, like Lala Hans Raj, Pandit Gurudatta and L. Lajpat Rai were drawn into the fold of the new Samaj and became a tower of strength to it.

In November 1883, he was poisoned by some one while he was on a visit to a friendly Indian Chief. His death cast a gloom over the whole country. His followers in the Punjab decided to found a College to serve the double purpose of perpetrating the memory of the Great Reformer and as a means of reviving and resuscitating the Vedic culture and religion. A modest beginning was made with a High School which soon developed into the well-known Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore. Lala Hans Raj became the Honorary Principal and in fulfilment of his vow has served the institution with single-minded love and devotion for a quarter of a century.

III.

Syed Ahmed and the Aligarh Movement

Another remarkable movement of the same kind was that of the great Muslim leader, Syed (afterwards Sir Syed) Ahmed. In 1872, while he was yet in Government service, he formed a Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee at Benares with a Branch Office at Aligarh. Early in the following year, his gifted son, Syed Mahmud, issued a circular letter in which he sketched out the scheme of a Muslim University—a dream which

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has only lately been realized. On May 24, 1875, a beginning was made by opening a High School in a hired building, the foundation of a Residential College was laid by Lord Lytton on January 8, 1877, a few days after the great Assemblage was held at Delhi. In 1878, the Intermediate College classes were opened while the degree classes were added in 1881. Shortly before the College was raised to the status of a university, it had on its rolls as many as 1,000 scholars who were accommodated in ten big hostels.

The service rendered to Muslim education by the Aligarh College must not be measured by the number of scholars it attracted, but by the immense influence it exercised in the awakening of the Muslim community in general. After his retirement from service in 1876, Syed Ahmed settled down close to the College and soon attracted round himself a band of noble-minded, public-spirited Muslims who were as eager to serve their community as their chief. In a few years Aligarh was pulsating with a new life—a centre and radiant point of Islamic patriotism, influence and enlightenment. In order to consolidate the Muslims into a strong, compact political body, with a well-marked individuality of its own, Sir Syed Ahmed insisted upon the use of the Fez as their common head-dress and of Urdu as their special language. For the leaders of the movement, he advocated the adoption of European dress with the exception of the hat, and generally of the European mode of life. In a few years time, the *Alighs*, as the advanced section of Mussalmans, who had come within the influence of the new movement were called, could easily be recognized as a class by itself which stood for certain distinctive views and ideals.

In the seventies and the early eighties, Syed Ahmed was not only a nationalist in politics, but a rationalist in religion. Indeed, he was actually doing that for the Koran which Dayanand did for the Vedas. By the conservative section of his community he was looked upon as a renegade. He and his followers were nick-named *naturis* (followers of "nature" or rationalists) and more than one school of Muslim divines had put the ban of heresy upon them. However, he soon discovered that the rôle of a religious reformer did not quite fit in with his new activities and ambitions as the leader and organizer of his community. To this end he now bent all his energies. He began by brushing aside

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some of the obstacles which stood in his way. A rationalist interpreter of the Muslim scriptures was the last man whom the rank and file of the faithful were likely to accept as their leader. He stopped the publication of his *exigesi* of the Koran. He gave up his frequent disquisitions with the *maulavis*. In his public addresses as well as in the pages of his magazine, *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, he now dwelt passionately again and again, upon the past glories of Islam. It was at his suggestion that Altaf Hussain Hali wrote his famous poem, the *Musaddas*. It depicted in pathetic terms the sad condition of the Mussalmans of India and the pedestal of fame and glory from which they had fallen. Hali went so far as to curse the day when they had left their native uplands in Central Asia and settled down on the banks of the Ganges.

As an adjunct to his activities for the educational progress of his community, Sir Syed Ahmad founded the Muslim Educational Conference in 1886. It soon became the chief instrument for popularizing what was known at the time as the "*Aligarh Movement*", a synonym for the intellectual awakening of Indian Muslims. It met year after year at some important centre in one province or another, encouraging the establishment of Muslim schools and colleges, promoting Muslim solidarity and, above all, broadcasting, as one writer has remarked, "the intellectual message of Aligarh" to the remotest parts of the country.

It may also be mentioned here that, without the co-operation of another capable and devoted Muslim leader, who joined him in the early nineties, Sir Syed Ahmad's great schemes might not have borne the ample fruit they did. Retiring from the service of the Nizam, Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk settled down at Aligarh in 1893 and at once threw himself heart and soul into the work of the great institution which Sir Syed Ahmad was building up there. As we have already seen, Syed Ahmed was regarded as a rebel and a heretic and, in spite of all his efforts had not quite succeeded in winning over the *ulemas* (scholars and divines) to the progressive ideas which the Aligarh movement represented. It was reserved for Muhsin-ul-Mulk to disarm their antagonism. Even he was at first greeted with *fatwas* of *Kufr* (infidelity), but little by little, by the exercise of wonderful patience and kindness to

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his opponents, he was able to bring them out of the narrow pen of exclusiveness and bigotry and even to bless the new movement

IV

The Ahmadiyya Movement

Like Sir Syed Ahmad's earlier faith, the message of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was also to a large extent rationalist in character. He was a great scholar and had made a careful study of both the history and philosophy of his faith. He had a commanding presence and like Dayanand was always ready to engage in a controversy with those who might challenge any of his doctrines, was an eloquent speaker, but was equally ready with his pen. What struck one most about him was his deep earnestness and his transparent sincerity. He had a bright penetrating pair of eyes, which were often closed for several minutes as if he was lost for time in deep prayer. He was a religious reformer of a progressive type. He taught that as all great religious teachers of humanity were inspired men, they were equally deserving of honour and reverence. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed claimed to be the *Mahdi* whose coming had been predicted in the Muslim scriptures. As was to be expected, he met with strenuous opposition from the orthodox Muslims, but neither the scoffing nor the denunciation of Muslim divines have stood in the way of the Ahmadiyya movement growing rapidly in Northern India and even spreading to parts of Afghanistan. Since the death of the founder of the new faith, the Ahmadiyyas have also been carrying on a vigorous propaganda in Europe.

V

Ramkrishna Parmahansa-Cum-Vivekanand

It is no part of our business to discover or explain how it was that so many remarkable men, each with his own message, appeared on the scene at about the same time. The theme is one of absorbing interest and we hope that it will not fail to engage the attention it deserves at the hands of a philosophical historian. In many ways, Ramkrishna was unlike the great men we have just

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mentioned. He was practically an illiterate man and, in a crowd, he would be passed as a person of no distinction. Slender almost to emaciation, of medium height with a bearded face and eyes that were almost half closed most of the time, except when he darted a keen glance at some new visitor, it was difficult for a stranger to realize that he was in the presence of a person whom millions of his countrymen regarded as an *Avatar*. And yet many of those who had the privilege of seeing him and being with him for any length of time said that they had never heard another man speak like him. Manner and matter alike were astonishingly original and impressive, while his marvellous powers of observation, his inexhaustible store of exquisite similes* and the depth and vividness of his spiritual insight simply enchanted and enthralled his listeners. He founded no sect, established no new creed, nor did he profess himself to be a reformer. But he had in the highest degree a truly spiritual vision and he was penetrated through and through by the essence of all religions, namely, all embracing catholicity which knew no bounds and put no faith out of the pale.

The Parmahans (the great soul)—to give him the name by which he is popularly known—studiously avoided publicity and spent most of his time at the Dakhneswar temple near Calcutta. It is said that Keshub Chander Sen was among the first men to be impressed by his remarkable personality. He took delight not only in seeing him himself, and holding most intimate spiritual communion with him, but also in inducing other cultured and thoughtful people of the town to pay visits to him. It was in the course of these visits, that young Norrendro Nath Dutt, then a member of the Brahma Samaj and a student at the Presidency College, was attracted towards his future master and, under the name of Vivekanand, created a stir first in America and subsequently over the length and breadth of his own country. It is said that Ramkrishna would at times become so impatient to see and talk to Norrendro that he would send for him while he was attending classes at College. Soon after taking his Bachelor's

*Some of the observations and remarks which fell from the lips of the master have been collected and printed (in translation) under the title *The Sayings of Ramkrishna Parmhansa*.

Master Minds of Indian Renaissance

Degree, Norrendro Dutt, formally joined the order of Sanyasins and assumed the name of *Vivekanand*. In his own time Ramkrishna was often likened to John the Baptist, while his distinguished disciple was assigned the place which St. Paul occupies in Christendom.

It was at the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893, that Vivekanand made his *debut*, and at once leapt into fame as a great religious teacher. "This Indian ascetic", we are quoting the official Report of the great gathering, "wearing ochre-coloured garments, with his flashing eyes and strongly handsome face, carried the Assembly by storm." It was noticed that he spoke with the attitude and tone of authority as few others did before the assembled representatives of religions from every part of the world. He made a deep and lasting impression on the matter-of-fact Americans and the welcome he received wherever he went encouraged a number of other Vedantist scholars and teachers, like Baba Bharati and Swami Ram Tirath, to visit the States and carry on their missionary propaganda there.

Vivekanand did not take part in politics, but he was a genuine patriot and indirectly exercised a profound influence in the remarkable awakening which took place in India, as in the rest of Asia, in the opening years of the present century. It may be of some interest to record here that during his visit to Lahore in 1897, he remarked that nothing was to be expected from the middle classes for the regeneration of India and that the future of the country lay in the hands of the masses. His feeling for the poor and the orphans was so intense that he could not restrain a free flow of tears at the very mention of them.* He was an eloquent and

*On one occasion, the present writer put the following question to Vivekanand:

Q. "Swamiji, what, in your opinion is the greatest problem of India?"

'The greatest problem of India', answered Swamiji, most feelingly "the greatest problem of India is the Poor. And with these words he burst into tears.

A year or so later, happening to meet Vivekanand again, I put another question to him.

Q. 'Swamiji, whom do you worship?'

Swamiji pulled himself up, moved both his arms with closed fists vigorously forwards and backwards twice, and said

"Whom do I worship? I worship you, I worship myself. Whom shall I worship,"

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impressive speaker, and whether his theme was Vedant or some other moral or social topic, he never failed to inspire his hearers with deep feelings of love, of humanity, combined with a sense of manly self-reliance and self-respect for the individual and of dignity and honour for his country and nation.

Another characteristic story which I heard from a friend, an intimate acquaintance of Swamiji, may also be mentioned here :

After his return from the Parliament of Religions, Vivekanand was staying at Almora. Mrs. Besant, who happened to be there at the time, called on him and asked him why he was so angry with her. Swamiji replied that Indians had lost almost every thing that they possessed. The only thing left to them was "Religion" and she was encroaching on that province also as a teacher. Mrs. Besant explained that she was only a learner and did not aspire to be a teacher.

POPULATION CAPACITY AND CONTROL IN INDIA

[BY DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE]

Population Increase and Agriculture

IT was Malthus who first warned mankind of the danger of population outstripping the means of subsistence and enunciated the law of diminishing returns so important for a country which depends mainly on agriculture. Over-population, of course, did not strike Malthus as a possibility because population would not, according to him, over-step its limits due to misery, war and pestilence. But even in the Oriental countries the notion that population automatically regulates itself by external checks has become incompatible with modern social ideals. In fact with the spread of democratic ideas and institutions in the East, the notions of optimum and over-population have become highly significant along with a desire of regulating population policy. The entire outlook in modern population study is thus changed, the emphasis being now shifted to the means of social control of numbers and the aims and objects of such regulation, due regard being paid to the qualitative and selective aspects of the movement of population.

The whole of India with an area of half of that of United States has a population almost three times as large. In the 16th century the population of India stood roughly at 100 millions. In 1931 the population stood at 353 millions. Now it stands approximately at 375 millions. Population increased roughly from 20 to 50 millions in the United Provinces; from 5 to 25 millions in North and South Bihar; and from 10 to 51 millions in Bengal—a total extraordinary increase of 35 to 125 millions in four centuries in the Ganges valley leading to some of the world's highest records of rural aggregation.

With a rapid population increase, the total percentages of cultivated to cultivable area have now reached the phenomenal figures of 75 to 95 per cent. in the Ganges valley. Forests,

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meadows and marshes, all are now invaded by the plough due to population increase which also leads to the scarcity of fodder and grazing grounds. Due to population increase holdings have been fragmented to tiny bits. Continuous sub-division of holdings restrains the cultivator from adopting improved methods of cultivation, constructing wells and even intensive farming. In the United Provinces during 1928-1933 the net area sown diminished by 1 lakh of acres and the double-cropped area by 4 lakhs of acres as compared with the average for 1920-25. In Bihar also the net area diminished by 2½ lakhs of acres in the same period. "Nor can it be asserted," observes the Census Superintendent, "that the yield per acre of land has increased to any extent by new and improved methods of exploitation." Similarly, Bengal's net cultivated area has decreased during the last decade. It was 2.4 million acres on an average between 1915 to 1920. Between 1920-1925 and 1928-1933 it stood at 2.3 millions. Except in Assam, Burma and Sind a high percentage of available cultivated area has been brought under the plough ranging from 65 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa to 86 per cent. in Bombay. The chances of expansion of cultivation have now been exhausted at least in the major provinces, hills, sand-dunes and uncultivable wastes now thwarting extension.

Throughout Northern India there is now little room for expansion of cultivation. Settled conditions have long been established, permitting the extension of the frontiers of cultivation into the forest and marsh, ravine-stricken jungle and sand-dune. The possibilities of large canal irrigation schemes have been almost exhausted. Much new uncultivated areas can no longer be brought under the plough as a result of the construction of new canal systems. The Malthusian law of diminishing returns is now operating not only by the soil but also by water acting as a limiting agent in agricultural development.

India's Minimum Food Requirement and Food Shortage

Surveying India's food production in relating to her food requirements we find that while in British India population increased during 1911 and 1934 by 22 per cent. the total area under food-grains increased by only 6 per cent. The food derived from

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agriculture available for consumption in the whole of India (after deducting exports, seed-grains and wastage) might be estimated as 60·8 million tons, yielding 218·6 billion calories (estimated on the basis of 100 calories per oz. per average Indian food-grain). If we add to the figure the food-supply from milk and fish production, the total amount of energy contributed annually to Indian food requirements from all sources would come to 253·9 billion calories. Allowing, however, 2,400 calories per man per day and using Lusk's co-efficients for estimating the needs of "an average man" the total requirements of the Indian population would be 256·7 billion calories per annum. India's food shortage in 1931 was 2·8 billion calories. The conclusions, based on estimates which are too detailed to be given here, may be summarized as follows :—

1. India's population in 1931	353 millions.
2. India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931	348 millions.
3. India's food shortage in 1931	2·8 billion calories
4. India's present population (in 1935)	373 millions.
5. India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935.	4·2 billion calories.
6. India's present food supply	222·8 billion calories.
7. India's present food shortage	... 48·4 billion calories.
8. Present number of (average men) estimated without food, assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration	6·6 millions.

India's total waste lands, which are available for cultivation but not taken up and abandoned, comprise 162 millions of acres which might give about 27·6 million tons of food grains under an unremitting population pressure. Under a most complete expansion of cultivation which will not be possible without the adoption of vast measures of land reclamation and irrigation and the strenuous efforts and practices characteristic of the Chinese peasantry, India's total population capacity cannot be above 441

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millions of persons. From 1871 to 1935 India increased from 205 millions to 373 millions and threatens to number 400 millions before long. By 1931 India's present population capacity was overstepped and just before the end of a quarter of a century assuming that the present real increase continues, India will overstep 441 millions, the ultimate population capacity of India, under the existing farming and living standards and industrial conditions of the people

The Toll of Life from Famines and Epidemics

The biological effects of overpopulation in India have been a direct correspondence of birth-rate and inverse correspondence of death-rate with favourable harvests and a gradual economic adjustment of natality and mortality so that an equilibrium density or an average abundance is reached. These were the unclassified Malthusian "positive" checks of population which are now operating in large areas in India in a somewhat modified manner. The mortality from famines has been estimated by Digby as 4,485,000 between 1850-1875 and 23,740,000 between 1875-1900. Thus during the latter half of the last century the total toll of life on this account was represented by the figure of 28.25 millions. In the famine of 1901, the worst of recent years, one million people perished. The incidence of mortality from famine or scarcity diseases has not yet been investigated. The increase in mortality in areas which have just been under the grips of scarcity from diseases like dysentery, diarrhoea and fever as well as from wasting and deficiency diseases needs enquiry. The report of the Famine Commissioners (1901) abundantly shows that mortality due to privation is followed by further rise in mortality due to cholera, diarrhoea and fever owing to the reduced power of the people to resist infections. Though famines have now lost their rigour, drought and agricultural scarcity are accompanied by high death-rate and low birth-rate. Epidemics thus continue to play their important role in checking the population growth, the mortality from the main epidemic diseases in 1933 being 214,500, while fevers carried off about 3½ millions. In some congested districts in the United Provinces the trend of vital statistics over a period of 60 years indicates that the damage done by epidemics to these populations is severer than elsewhere. A more significant

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phenomenon discernible is a slackening of birth-rate after a district's saturation density is overstepped. The absence of an agricultural surplus swept away by increased numbers and malnutrition, affecting especially women and children, lower the birth-rate temporarily and alter the age and sex distribution for a long period to the long run detriment of birth-rate.

A state of chronic food shortage, punctuated by spells of unfavourable seasons, particularly affects the very young and old and women, especially those in the child-bearing age, when the ancient practices of infanticide, abortion and abstinence from intercourse have been largely discarded. The result of this are high infantile and maternal mortality. The reduction of the number of women at the reproductive period worn out by a long struggle with food deficiency and by frequent child-bearing is one of the demological causes of the slackening of the birth-rate in the heavily congested plains of India.

Slackening Birth-rate and Vulnerability

The violent fluctuations in the birth and death rates in close correspondence with harvest conditions, marked in many parts of India, represent accordingly an unhealthy demological symptom indicating not only the absence of an agricultural surplus but also the vulnerability of population due to overstepping an equilibrium density. Reproductive powers may also be directly impaired in the case of the lower economic strata as a result of chronic malnutrition, or deprivation of certain vitamins in wheat, which is superseded by millets, and in milk and vegetables discarded in unfavourable years. A variety of biological factors contributes directly and indirectly to lower fertility. These are analysable, and not 'immutable forces of Nature', as assumed in Pearl's somewhat mystical hypothesis.

That birth-rate declines if the population continues for long above its average abundance along with diminution of resistance to epidemics was not anticipated by Malthus, though this is best evidence of the reality of the Malthusian positive checks in India even though war, epidemic and famine no longer scourge back population to a suitable or equilibrium density as before. The

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annual average death-rate has been amazingly reduced in the United Provinces and Bihar from 40 and 37 to 26 *per mille* between 1921 and 1931 but such reduction is due to the absence of epidemics of diseases which will now, it is expected, raise a heavier toll than before due to lower resistance of the population. In Bengal also the average death-rate of 31.1 for 1911-1920 was reduced to 15.3 for 1921-30. But this, again, is due to absence of a serious epipemic, the population becoming accustomed to the scourge of malaria.

Low Average Longevity

The expectation of life is now considered as a suitable criterion for optimum density. Actuarial examination indicates that on the whole during the last 50 years the expectation enjoyed by both males and females in India does not show an uninterrupted increase, as in most countries in the world. In Bengal and the Punjab the enjoyed expectation for females has actually declined.

In Australia in a period of 35½ years the expectation of life for men increased 12 years, and that for women 12½ years. In Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Holland and Switzerland the expectation of life at birth per man is 55. In New Zealand life-span has reached 62 years. "India with an expectation of life of 23 years" (now increased to 26½ years), observes Ross, "is a bench mark from which ascent can be measured."

Effects of Agricultural Boom and Depression on Population

Recent movements of prices, especially of agricultural produce, have compelled and will compel more and more of even the well-to-do peasants to reduce their standard of living. There had been a marked rise of prices of all commodities in India from 1917, rice and wheat prices showing an increase of 58 and 39 per cent., respectively. But prices began to fall about the time when the last decade opened. The main characteristic of the Indian price index numbers during the whole of the last inter-censal period was the larger fall in industrial prices as compared with agricultural prices. As a result the agriculturist was better off than the wage-earner, the artisan or the employee and, since he forms

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the most considerable majority in all provinces, a rapid increase of population was not accompanied by economic stress. But agricultural commodities did not continue indefinitely to command prices relatively higher than manufactured goods. As a matter of fact during the last few years quite the reverse tendency is shown by price indices, *viz.*, the larger fall in agricultural prices as compared with industrial prices. Between 1928 and 1930 wheat declined by 24 per cent. and rice by 33 per cent. In 1930 the heaviest declines in prices were shown by wheat (47 per cent. on the basis of September 1929) and oil-seeds (43 per cent.), along with cotton and jute and in the next three years, 1931-1933, rice uniformly showed heaviest falls going down by 58 per cent. Such a fall in prices of the chief cereals has led to a shrinkage of agricultural income in India by nearly a half in 1931-32 as compared with 1928-29. This must tell heavily on the provinces that have added heavily to their commitments in the shape of extra mouths to feed. Economic prophecies, especially of a dismal kind, are risky and thankless, but in this case it is not difficult to forecaste that a definite decline in the standard of living is to be expected in the provinces which show the largest disparity between population increase and value of agricultural production. A decline in the present low standard of living in any province cannot be thought of without grave apprehensions as the population as it now stands appears to be exceptionally vulnerable, its natality and mortality showing a close correspondence with agricultural conditions. Now the latter have not been unfavourable in India as a whole during the past few years. When a famine comes or a virulent epidemic sweeps over the country, the Malthusian equilibrium will be re-established through Nature's cruel and haphazard methods.

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	Mean Density per square mile.	Acreage under food-grains per capita.			Increase or decrease of population 1921-31 per cent	Order according to population increase	Decrease of value of total production of the principal crops in 1928-1929.	Order according to decrease in agricultural income.
		1921	1931	Increase or decrease per cent.				
Punjab	208	1.2	1.03	-14	+14	I	36.8	VI
United Provinces	442	1.3	1.3	Nil	-6.7	VII	35.2	VII
Bihar & Orissa	359	1.3	1.5	+16.6	+10.3	III	58.2	II
Bengal	616	2.8	2.1	-58.3	+8.3	VI	61.1	I
Central Provinces and Berar.	137	.9	.7	-16.3	+12.6	II	48.5	IV
Bombay	174	.9	.9	Nil	-1.8	VIII	30.4	VIII
Madras	329	1.4	1.6	+16.6	-8.5	V	45.0	V
Burma	63	1.01	1.01	Nil	+11.1	IV	55.5	III
India	195	.58	.69	+9.2	+10.5	...	47.5	...

The phenomenal multiplication of population between 1930 and 1935 in the midst of the agricultural depression could be explained largely by the proportionate increase of births towards the end of the last census decade, and hence of persons now in the reproductive age. The number of married females increased by 2 to 4 *per mille* between 1921-1931 in the principal provinces. This increase was due to the agricultural boom between 1917 and 1927 and the sudden and even astonishing recovery in the birth-rate in some provinces after the influenza epidemic. Even without any calamities like famine or a serious epidemic population pressure normally leads to an outward flow of emigration but industrial depression in the country and the slump in rubber, tea and mining production in Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies has discouraged population movements both inter-provincial and overseas.

Migration in recent years has been much reduced and overseas emigration is now negligible. The total number of emigrants from the United Provinces was reduced from 15 lakhs in

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the decade 1901-1911 to 9·7 lakhs in the decade 1911-21 and 10 lakhs in the decade 1921-31. In Bihar and Orissa also the number of emigrants was reduced from 15 lakhs in 1901-11 to about 13 lakhs in 1921-1931. It was only in Madras that the number increased from 6 lakhs in 1901-1911 to 7 lakhs in 1911-1921 and to about 9 lakhs in 1921-1931. Recently, however, the decline in the planting industry has resulted in large numbers of returns. Bengal in spite of her high rural density receives a considerable number of immigrants from the upcountry and Madras who flock especially to her mill towns and cities. The social circumstances which account for a considerable volume of immigration that, however, shows progressive decrease during the last two decades are peculiar. We may conclude generally that the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Madras have all overstepped an equilibrium density and it is the heavy and differential population pressure which explains emigration from these areas to the less thickly populated provinces. Amongst these Assam, Burma, Central Provinces and the N.-W. F. Province may be said to be under-populated although an optimum density may have been outstripped even in some under-populated provinces.

Industrial development in India as a whole is still exceedingly tardy. Only 5 millions may be taken as the figure of organized labour out of about 154 million workers in India. The daily average number of hands employed by establishments to which the Factories Act applies is only 1½ millions. In Madras the number of operatives in factories is only 101,655 out of a total of about 29 million workers. Out of 23½ million workers only a lakh (i.e., 5 per cent) are employed in organized industries in the United Provinces. Even in Bombay which is the most industrialized of the provinces the present slump has in no small measure retarded industrial expansion. It has not merely resulted in a decline of the population of Bombay City due to large numbers having been forced back on to the land, but has thrown upon agriculture a greater burden than ever. Fruit growing and market gardening which may solve the problem of uneconomic holdings, cultivated as these may be by the spade rather than the plough on gardening lines, are yet in the region of possibilities in India. Cattle breeding and dairying in association with small-scale

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farming have developed only in the canal colonies of the Punjab, the Ganges Doab and North Gujerat. Small-scale trade and rural industries are found as excellent substitutes to agriculture or as supplementary to it only in the hydro-electric zones in the Punjab, United Provinces, Madras and Bombay. Meanwhile the peasantry in the absence of epidemics multiply heedlessly. More mouths to feed also accompany more hands to work, but the hands are idle. The ancient traditions of forbearance and self-control, Malthus's moral restraints, are inoperative amongst the masses. Malthus emphasized the postponement of the age of marriage accompanied by strict continence. In India one of the significant factors in the population problem is the social sanction and encouragement of child marriage.

The Small Family Habit

In the past India had developed the planned family system and the small family was the general rule. As in China or Japan in the past, the limited family habit depended upon innumerable social canons and regulations, which governed daily life and practice including conjugal relationship. Such customs included the postponement of marriage for large sections of the population and prolonged abstinence from intercourse for married persons who were bound to conform to certain religious injunctions in this regard. Hypergamy, a heavy bride-price and an expensive and elaborate marriage ceremony also contributed towards less frequent marriages. A large section of the population again, lived a single life in *maths*, monasteries and convents. The greater the number of these in a period of religious revival in India the smaller was the number of births. Infanticide, especially the exposure of female babies, was also a common practice in India among the castes who practised hypergamy. Prostitution, which also Malthus regards as a check on the growth of numbers, has been associated in South and Western India with temple girls forming an honoured priesthood, devoting itself to devotional song and dance. Early abortion was also not uncommon and there is also evidence that in the villages some crude and casually-found methods of birth control are in use among the women. While birth control is adopted in the higher social circles in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, it is not unknown in some rural areas. Contraception of a crude kind has,

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for instance, been observed among the Goundans of Salem apparently in order to prevent the undue growth of families and consequent fragmentation of holdings and weakening of the joint family system and influence* The small family tradition, the postponement of marriage and religious emphasis of celibacy checked unrestricted increase of numbers. The results of the Muslim conquest proved, however, disastrous for the small family system in India. Infant marriage which was unknown in the epic and Buddhist literature and did not play any part until the Gupta period, began to prevail and to be widely adopted especially in the central areas which were most powerfully affected by the Muslim influences, touching on one side or the other a line drawn from Sind to Rajmahal. Infant marriage was promoted by the desire of the family to get its girls safely mated to suitable husbands in an age when there was danger of an improper alliance due to the Muslim contact. But since then child marriage is practised most by the lower social strata, the Brahmins, Kayasthas and the intermediate castes being less addicted to this practice, except in the Central India Agency and Hyderabad. Since it is these lower castes who also allow their widows to marry again, the result has been an unrestricted multiplication in their case. As the industrial revolution promoted population increase in Europe in the 19th century and in Japan in the 20th, the continued sub-division of holdings making agriculture less and less remunerative and de-industrialization due to the decline of cottage industries and handicrafts, are to-day discouraging thrift or home-spun prudence and promoting multiplication. Climate also is a factor in overpopulation by reducing the age of puberty. In India girls attain puberty between 12 and 15 years and reproduction has not been unusual at 13. Due to the practice of infant marriage pre-puberty consummations and violations of the Law of Consent are not unusual. "Cases are not uncommon," says a witness before the Age of Consent Committee, "in which girls bring forth six or seven children before they attain their eighteenth year." The period of lactation also appears to be reduced and there are shorter intervals between child births among low castes than among high castes. Social customs and taboos do not adequately protect the Indian mother against the demands of the house, the field, and the cattle-shed. Though child-bearing is

*Census Report of Madras, 1931, p. 46

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frequent, the woman is not relieved from toil and drudgery. "Enquiries into a large number of cases," observes the Age of Consent Committee, "show that when the marriage of young people is consummated at an early age, say, when the boy is not more than 16 years or the girl is 12 or 13, a fairly large percentage of wives die of phthisis or some other disease of the respiratory organs or from some ovarian complication within 10 years of the consummation of marriage."

Need of Population Restriction

As a matter of fact, apart from the neglect of female children, too early and frequent maternity, ignorant midwifery, dangers of child birth and disorders and diseases continuing as a result of subsequently bearing too many and too frequent children have all contributed, in the absence of selective epidemic diseases, towards a higher death-rate amongst females than amongst males in India especially in the reproductive ages. The risk which the Indian woman runs at her first child-bearing is aggravated later when her strength has been broken by her having borne too many children at too short intervals. The net result is a deficiency of females in India as a whole and in the higher castes in particular which is on the increase. It is because early marriage and maternity are so widespread and their effects are so disastrous upon health, mortality and the biological condition of the population that appropriate and cheap devices of birth control derived by the rural population from materials in its own domestic surroundings are necessary so that contraception may be applied until the man has attained the age of say 21 or 23 and the woman the age of 20 or 22 in India.

It is sometimes suggested, and that on the basis of historical experience, that there is only one way in which we can seriously reduce the Indian birth-rate, by raising the standard of living. If under the term "the standard of living," man's family and marriage habits and social tradition connected with the increase of his family are included, the suggestion is not wide of the mark. But with a mere economic conception of the standard of living, to depend upon an uplift of the standard of living for an automatic decrease of the birth-rate is putting the cart before the horse. The introduction of improved seeds, fertilizers and implements,

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change in marketing methods or even a reform of land tenure, these are all thwarted in India by the fractionalization of holdings and cheap and inefficient labour in the countryside which are the indirect results of population increase. The offensive against illiteracy is similarly baffled because population outruns the capacity of education. The dead weight of illiteracy among the backward castes and the Muslims of India makes the problem of its removal a formidable one both from financial and administrative points of view. As population outruns faster the educational facilities that may be provided it is clear that the pressure of population cannot be viewed merely in relation to the food supply. As a matter of fact in India the present attitude of most provincial Governments in deferring schemes of village education and sanitation, amelioration and uplift and in lowering for the time being the accepted standard is entirely due to an expanding population which makes readjustments more and more difficult. A rational family planning and education of the masses in birth control must be accepted as one of the important means, though not the only means of combating population increase. The small family system, deliberately planned and integrated with other habits and traditions which regulate different sides of domestic life, must now be adopted in India as the social and ethical norm and such a custom as polygamy, which by encouraging a large family, has become an obvious economic misfit must be declared illegal. At the same time without better farming, an increase of the agriculturists' income, industrialization and absorption of farm hands and casual labourers in small industries and workshops, an improvement of the standard of living of the masses cannot be effected which alone can create the mental attitude that is the sole bulwark of the small family habit. Birth control is after all a special measure. It could effectively regulate population increase and help towards a solution of the population problem in India only when the customs and attitudes of the masses towards the family support it. Why should Indian peasant women, who will obtain education leisure and a few luxuries of life in the future, and lose only, say, 5 or 10 per cent. of their infants in the first year bear in the same rate as now when they lose 20 or 30? The present spawning accompanies mud hovels shared with cattle and goats, one-third of the babies dying in infancy, thin gruel and loin cloth for the survivors, widespread abortion and appalling maternal mortality. As there is desire for better food and higher

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standard of living, and for giving the children better opportunity for advancement, as women gain in enlightenment and self-consciousness and as men rid themselves from the over-awing authority of religious injunctions which were the outcome of remote spacious times and which have now become obvious misfits, the prejudices against "interference with nature" will yield to economic necessity. Modern education, medicine and public hygiene have reached the Indian village, and as these spread more, birth-control will shock the people less and what Ross calls "an adaptive fertility" will relieve the present heavy population pressure. Nothing is more important than this adaptive fertility for securing in India the economy of reproduction, the absence of which has made it more and more difficult to raise the standards of farming and living, led to chronic unemployment in the fields and in the cities and brought about an appalling waste of life spilling on all sides. On the other hand, it is only when the fertility of India's work-a-day millions becomes somehow adapted to the present situation of definite and increasing food shortage through their forethought and new attitude in the matter of the family, that India can look for a fresh advance of improved agriculture, education and mass sanitation in her villages. These will be followed up as in the West by a reduction of mortality and increase of average longevity and thus as more and more of human fertility is left to lie fallow, there will be an enrichment of life, its equipment and experience from all sides.

(This address was delivered by Dr. Mukerjee, as its Convener, to the First All India Population Conference, 1956, held in Lucknow)

EDUCATING YOUNG INDIA

[BY M. S. RANDHAWA]

NOTHING has helped man to master his environment as much, as the discovery of paper and writing. It liberated human mind which was pegged to its immediate surroundings. The experience of ages could be handed over to succeeding generations in the form of books. Human tradition became cumulative, and in fact mankind created a new environment for its children. The necessity of educating the masses is contested only by fools or diehards: sensible thinking people take it almost for granted. Even illiterate peasants who are a frequent prey of dishonest money-lenders, and zamindars, feel the necessity of literacy, if only to understand properly their accounts, and to decipher receipts.

Aims of Universal Education

Having realized the necessity of Universal mass education, we should discuss the aims and ideals, we should keep before us in imparting education to the masses. In discussing the question of, what knowledge is most worth, Herbert Spencer gives the first place to that knowledge which prepares a man for self-preservation. However, this knowledge can only be imparted, if the people are made literate first of all. Hence arises the necessity of Primary Mass Education, and for this purpose the teaching of "reading and writing in the local vernaculars", is essential. However our efforts should not end here, for Literacy is a means to an end, and the end is education of the masses. It is this latter side of the problem, which has been entirely neglected so far, and to this may be attributed the negative results which have been achieved. The so-called three R's. *viz.*, "Reading, writing and Arithmetic" were thought to be sufficient, and with their teaching being imparted to the people, it was thought that enough had been done. By the knowledge which prepares a man for self-preservation, Herbert Spencer means a knowledge of the principles of Hygiene, Physiology, General Biology and Agriculture, which

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make a person fit for the struggle for existence, which faces him. So far we have done practically nothing in this direction. Our educationists deplore the apathy of the village people towards schools, but have they ever tried to think if the sort of education which we give them in our schools does them any good.

The second aim of educating the masses is to prepare them for the proper exercise of the rights of citizenship. The Council and Assembly elections are already creating an interest among the people, as to how they are governed, and with the delegation of greater responsibility to the Provincial Councils, the necessity of preparing a literate electorate capable of exercising an intelligent vote, has become altogether too apparent. At present the custom of bribing and treating the electors is prevalent everywhere, and for an illiterate voter the appeal of Mammon is stronger than that of commonsense. However with the extension of franchise and the consequent increase in the number of voters, the practice of bribing and treating is bound to decrease, for the number of voters will become too numerous to be bribed even by the very rich candidates. The people will have to send to the Legislatures their real representatives, and we must prepare them for the proper exercise of their rights.

A New Curriculum for our Primary Schools

The present curriculum of our primary schools is in strong need of revision. At present only reading and writing in the local vernacular language, Arithmetic, Geography and History are taught in our primary schools. An elementary knowledge of Hygiene and Physiology ought to be imparted in all the schools. The importance of these subjects cannot be over-emphasized in face of the fact that the crying need of our towns and villages is better sanitation and cleanliness. Natural History is another neglected subject, and the boy of the farmer ought to be taught the life-histories of common plants, birds, and insects, so that he may begin to take a living interest in his environment. Civics and Sociology are other subjects which in a very elementary form ought to be introduced into the curriculum.

We should not ignore Physical Education at the same time. Mass drill and Physical Culture ought to be made

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compulsory for all students. In this matter we in India are particularly backward, and that is why we are becoming a nation of weaklings. In Europe Physical culture and mass gymnastics have become a craze with the younger generation. Nothing has impressed me so much as seeing thousands of German students assembled in big open-air gymnasiums performing Swedish drill and other forms of Gymnastics. We ought to develop a strong and disciplined nation and for this purpose nothing can be so useful as Mass drill and Physical Culture.

Relapse into Illiteracy

It is a common experience in our villages to see boys who have been to a primary school for a few years, slowly forgetting what they had learnt in their early years, when they have entered into their father's occupation. This can only be counteracted by the establishment of Village Libraries, where the literate people may have an opportunity of reading books and newspapers. These Village Libraries need not be housed in very expensive buildings, in fact single rooms in the village school building can serve the purpose and the village schoolmaster can be made responsible for their management.

Beautifying the School and the Countryside

Village schools in most parts of India are incredibly dirty, and are mostly housed in straw-roofed mud-walled cottages. There is nothing about them, which can excite the love or admiration of the farmers or their sons. The schoolmaster also in most cases is a spiritless, sleepy-looking individual, who has little interest in his work, and no sympathy with his environment. The school can be improved a good deal, if the school-master is energetic, and leads the boys in doing things. Flower-beds should be planted in the recess time by the boys, who should be taught to appreciate flowers and other beautiful things. For the first year it will mean some expense to the Education Department in supplying flower-seeds to the various schools, but after that the schools will have enough seed of their own. With such a generous climate as ours, when nothing more is required except digging the earth and placing seed in it, it is a shame that we have done nothing so far in this

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matter. In two years we can change the face of our countryside and make it colourful and pretty. This will also go a long way in developing an æsthetic sense among our people, which they so sadly lack at present.

Compulsion Essential to Achieve Universal Education

Since the introduction of Mr. Gokhale's Bill on Compulsory Education, the public opinion in India has been clamouring for introduction of compulsion for achieving universal education. Nearly all the Provincial Legislatures in British India have accepted compulsion as a principle. One of the chief objections raised against the extension of self-government in India is the illiteracy of the 80 per cent. of her people. It will be a great day in the history of India, when a decree will be passed by the State for liquidating illiteracy. If a determined effort is made by the State and the people, it will not be an object difficult to achieve, nor does it require a long period of time. Within a decade we can create a new India, educated, enlightened, and progressive. What is required is determination and will to achieve, and if we have plenty of it, we shall succeed.

Vocational and General Education

The ideal is that vocational training should begin only after the pupil has attained a complete general education. But in India, where there is so much poverty and economic stagnation all ideals require to be relaxed. We admit that for the first eight years in the Primary and the Middle school, our aim is to make the pupil literate, and thus capable of reading, writing and understanding things, but vocational education must begin soon after eight years of schooling.

Vocational type of Agricultural schools for boys of farmers have been tried in Bombay. The students are admitted after they have acquired literacy in a Primary school, and are taught practical farming for two years in the Agricultural school. A farm is attached to the school, which is managed by the students themselves, who are also taught the use of modern agricultural implements and animal husbandry.

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The type of education described above would be included in the term "Polytechnic Education," which means the teaching of the general principles of all the processes of production, along with a practical training in the use of simple tools of all industries. It is no use imparting instruction to the village people in vocational Agricultural Education only. There are already far too many people on the land. There is a vast number of people in our villages who are wholly unemployed, and live useless lives taking advantage of the generosity and affection of their brothers and parents. The Famine Commission of 1880 observed "That the numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of which is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land." Since the observations of the Famine Commission, the pressure on soil has greatly increased, and the problem of rural unemployment has become more acute. The numbers of the unemployed in our villages have been conjectured to be not less than 5—10 crores, which is roughly one-third of the total population.

So we have realized that if we adopt the policy of educating the village people in agriculture only and sending them back to the soil, it will meet with indifferent success. Industrial education imparting a knowledge of Electrical, Chemical and Mechanical sciences ought to be imparted to willing students from the villages. The schools should be equipped with workshops, which should be co-ordinated with big industrial factories. This will make available to the factories skilled labour of which at present there is so much shortage, and will also relieve to some extent the distress in agricultural areas.

University Education.

With the vast increase in the numbers of graduates, most of whom have no chance of employment under the existing circumstances, the question as to which section of our young men be given University Education has become very important. Most of the students who drift into our colleges, quite unaware of the important question as to with what aim in view have they come to the college, are the sons of middle-class government employees and well-to-do peasants. The parents of most of them get them

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educated in colleges at great personal sacrifice by scraping together every available Rupee, and denying themselves the ordinary comforts of daily life. On the other hand most of these students are quite ungrateful and waste their parents' money recklessly in buying expensive clothes and indulging in the luxuries of cigarettes and alcohol. To counteract the evil we suggest two remedies. Firstly the number of scholarships be increased to four times their present number, so that only those poor scholars may be able to get higher education who are really clever. Secondly the fees in colleges should be doubled, so that only rich people who care for education only for its own sake, may come in the Universities. In this way we will be able to reduce that undesirable element, which goes to the colleges for a loafing holiday at the expense of their parents.

What is Wrong with Our University Education

I have often noticed with surprise that more than 80 per cent. of our so-called educated people are affected with the virus of communalism, and this percentage is higher still in the case of people who had only a classical education. I have seen no greater fanatics than the graduates in Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. While the former believe that the whole of the world will come within the fold of Islam, the latter have a profound conviction that the flag of Vedic Dharma will fly over all countries in the world. Their school and college education in the classical languages has so much narrowed their outlook, that it is quite impossible for these Moulvies and Mahashas to look beyond their noses, at the World and the Universe, except through communal blinkers. Their prejudices are reinforced by the narrow history which they are taught, and they look back with longing eyes to the legendary Vedic times, and the imaginary glories of Afghans and Moguls, as their Golden Age.

These fanatics do not realize that Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism were great revolutionary movements of their times which achieved some results according to the needs of the age when they originated, and in modern times they are nothing but spent forces. The fury which these religions show is simply like the hectic flush on the face of a dying patient ; a sort of flicker, before the flame

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is finally extinguished. They are quite ignorant of the new forces which have been released by science, and which will sweep before them all old religions and ancient superstitions which masquerade as religion.

Wanted a General Scientific Education in our Universities

The greatest need of India, and also of the whole world, is an education based upon broad principles of General Science, especially General Biology. If Adolf Hitler had learnt the fundamental and main principles of General Biology, there would have been no Nazi movement in Germany, and no half-baked race theories might have been forced down the throat of six million of Germans. The Nazis of Germany and Communalists of India have quite a lot in common, for both of them appeal to the element of irrational hatred, which lies dormant in all of us, thus obscuring the real issues under a cloud of hate and suspicion. Our own country is being misguided by a horde of badly-educated politicians and so-called leaders, who are incapable of looking beyond the interest of their own little cliques and communities. The mad dreams and delusions of Pakistan can only germinate in minds which have become putrescent due to so-called classical education, and which have carefully shut out the fresh breeze of scientific ideas.

Let us educate our young men in a new way. Let us tell them how the solar system evolved, how the Earth was formed, how life began in the primæval mud, how it progressed from Amœba to man, how the ideas of gods and religion came to the Primitive Man, how the modern Monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam came into being, and how these may again disappear, and some other religion based upon ideas of Rationalism and service of Mankind may come into being spontaneously, all over the world, in the minds of thinking young people and they will no longer be fanatics and bigots.

We should supplement these ideas with a teaching of World History from the point of view of Mankind as a whole, as attempted by H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History*. As a finishing touch Politics and General Economics should also be

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taught, for only then our young students will be able to understand the significance of world movements like Socialism and Facism. When our young men will realize the common sense of an evolved world as compared with a created one, and understand Man's place in Nature and the Universe, they will never become communalists, for religious fanaticism and the principle of Evolution cannot exist side by side in the same cranium.

In our so-called religious, superstitious, and ignorant country we want the light of science and still more of it. The theory of Evolution was established by Charles Darwin in 1857, though it was discovered by the famous French biologist Jean Lamarek long before Darwin. Since then the sciences of Geology, Botany and Zoology have piled fact after fact, till the theory of Evolution has become one of the thoroughly well-established facts known to science. Still we find people in this country who have never heard anything about Evolution. To most of so-called educated people Evolution is nothing but the funny idea of Man having been suddenly transformed out of monkeys as an example we might cite the oft-quoted verse of Akbar the Urdu poet, where he tries to ridicule Darwin, but only ends by exposing his own ignorance.

کہا منصور نے خدا ہوں میں
ڈارون بولا بوزنہ ہوں میں

Such people have scarcely realized the grandeur of the idea of Evolution, its magnitude, and its all-embracing sweep. Unless we make General Biology a compulsory subject in our schools and colleges, there is no hope of rescuing the intellect of the younger generation from the communal poison.

At the risk of repetition, we may summarize our views as to the curriculum necessary for the sound education of a young man, as follows :—

1. *General Principles of Astronomy*.—This will give an idea to the young student, of the immenseness of the Universe, and the position of Earth as a speck of dust in the Sahara of space. Young people who have course of lectures in Astronomy, cannot be expected to believe in "Seven Tabaqas" or "Akash and Patal," ideas of Islam and Hinduism.

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2. *General Principles of Geology*.—These may be taught to place the "Evidence of the Rocks" in support of the theory of Evolution before the student. The immense length of geological time as compared with the few centuries known to history, teaches us as to how brief the human drama has been upon the surface of the Earth.

3. *General Biology*.—This should include a brief study of types from the Animal and Plant life. This should be followed by a series of popular lectures on Evolution, Heredity, and Human Physiology. The student will realize, that Man is no longer the centre of the Universe, but is a mere Mammal, taking his place slightly above the Anthropoid Apes.

4. *An Outline of Anthropology*.—There is nothing more interesting than the slow evolution of the beast into Man. The study of Anthropology also throws a critical light upon the sacrosanct institutions of Marriage, Religion, and Property. It also shows that the monkey in us is not wholly metamorphosed into man, and shows its native animal ferocity, when whole nations prepare for mutual destruction, euphemistically called War.

5. *An Outline of Human History*.—This should not deal with the fortunes of Kings and adventures but should tell us about the general change of conditions affecting the common Man, the mere John Smith, Ram or Sham. It should tell us about the wanderings of the various tribes of Mankind, how they settled, developed cultures and civilizations, and how we are moving towards a Common World Culture. It should also show that the so-called differences between the so-called East and West are imaginary, and arbitrary and manufactured by people with a narrow outlook and with an erroneous mental background of history.

6. *General Principles of Economics and Politics*.—The muddle into which the so-called leaders of modern politics and finance have landed us all should be made clear to all thinking men. They should be told how science by perfecting the Machine has provided us with a powerful means of production, in fact so great that we can clothe and feed the entire population of the

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Earth, and still we see starvation and nakedness all about us. We can provide leisure for cultural development to every human being and still we see sweating and drudgery on one side and idleness on the other. The student can understand this paradox of starvation amidst plenty only by a thorough study of the general principles of Economics and Politics. Books like G.D.H. Coles, *An Intelligent Man's Guide to World Chaos* can serve a very useful purpose for introducing the subject to our young men.

Before concluding we must express our sincere conviction that only a general scientific education, on the lines indicated above, can bring to a close the reign of superstition and stupidity, in our country.

INDIA AND THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT

[THE SECRETARY, INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE]

AT the outset the Committee would like to examine the circumstances under which the Ottawa Agreement was entered into in 1932, the purport of the Agreement and the beneficent results that India was expected to derive as a result of the working of the Agreement. The present world-wide depression which began in 1930 and which affected the foreign trade of both the United Kingdom and India in common with other countries coupled with the widespread abandonment of the *laissez faire* policy in trade and commerce, was the chief motive in the development of the idea of an Empire Trade Agreement in the British Commonwealth. The United Kingdom was already losing her commercial supremacy owing to serious competition, and this, along with other economic factors, brought about a precipitate fall in the export trade of the United Kingdom, forcing her to explore ways and means of capturing her lost markets and also finding out new ones for exporting her manufactured articles. In order to rehabilitate her economic prosperity, His Majesty's Government adopted various devices, such as the imposition of the McKenna Duties, the passing of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, and subsequently the abandonment of the Gold Standard in 1931, but in spite of all these emergency measures, the achievement of the goal seemed to be remote. In 1932, the Import Duties Act was passed by the British Parliament imposing with effect from the 1st March, 1932, a general duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods imported into the United Kingdom with certain exceptions, and also empowering His Majesty's Government to impose additional duties on the recommendation of an Advisory Committee. Under the provisions of the Act, goods produced or manufactured in the Dominions and India were, until 15th November, 1932, to be free of the general duty of 10 per cent. and also of any additional duty which might be imposed. Dominions and Indian products had thus been given free entry into the United Kingdom for a period of eight and a half months and the object of this provision was to give an

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opportunity to each country in the British Empire, if it so wished, to enter into a trade agreement with the United Kingdom. If no such Agreement was made with India, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were free, after the date mentioned above to impose on all imports from India any duty authorised by the Act.

So far as India was concerned, her conditions of trade and industry were also in an unfortunate plight, and the Government were faced with the phenomenon of falling revenues and deficit budgets at the time when the idea of an Empire Trade Agreement was mooted. As regards her foreign trade, the total export from India to foreign countries, which was about Rs. 263 crores in 1929-30 fell to Rs. 235 and Rs. 200 crores in 1930-31 and 1931-32, respectively, while the imports into India from various foreign countries fell from Rs. 189 crores in 1929-30 to Rs. 157 and Rs. 143 crores in 1930-31 and 1931-32, respectively. On an analysis of India's trade with the United Kingdom and foreign countries, the Committee find that the value of imports from the United Kingdom in 1929-30 was Rs. 103 crores in 1930-31, Rs. 61 crores and in 1931-32, Rs. 45 crores, while the respective figures for imports from foreign countries were Rs. 116, Rs. 89 and Rs. 70 crores. As regards India's exports to the United Kingdom and foreign countries, the figures were Rs. 69, Rs. 54 and Rs. 45 crores for the former and Rs. 204, Rs. 136.5 and Rs. 89.5 crores for the latter in the years 1929-30, 1930-31, and 1931-32, respectively. It would also be pertinent to examine the nature of the trade of India with the United Kingdom in this connection. It is a well-known fact that out of the total export trade of India as much as 70 per cent. consists of articles which come under the classification of "food, drink and tobacco" and "raw materials and produce, and articles mainly unmanufactured." As regards her imports also, about the same percentage of the total represents "articles wholly or mainly manufactured." The effects of the depression were felt by India more keenly owing to the greater fall in prices of agricultural products and raw materials, which constitute the bulk of the export trade of India as compared with manufactured articles, the fall in whose prices were comparatively smaller. The extent of the fall in prices of raw materials and manufactured articles can be clearly seen from a

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study of the Index Numbers of prices of articles of Export and Import in India. Taking the year 1873 as the basis for Index Number (100), in September, 1929, the index number for exported and imported articles in India was 217 and 167, respectively, whereas in December, 1931, the numbers fell to 123 and 145, respectively, thus indicating that the fall in prices of agricultural and raw products which mainly comprise the export trade of India was over 40 per cent. whereas that of the manufactured articles, which India imported, was only about 13 per cent. The result of this greater fall in raw products as compared to manufactured articles was severely felt by the agriculturists in India.

In their letter No. 752-T (4), dated New Delhi, the 6th April, 1932 to the Chamber, the Government of India stated *inter alia* (in para. 4) ".....the Government of India considered that it was clearly in the interests of the country that the offer made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom should be accepted in order that the possibilities of a special trade agreement might be discussed by representatives of the two Governments in connection with the forthcoming Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa." At that time, the Indian Delegation also maintained that "if India is to retain her trade in new directions in accordance with variations in world demand, she must see to it that outlets for her produce, which has hitherto been open to her, are not closed against her." It was further emphasized that by such an agreement, not only would the existing state of India's foreign trade be preserved, but a definite expansion of exports to Empire countries would also result. Hopes were held out that Indian agriculture would be materially assisted by the Agreement on account of the assured markets and that production in India would consequently increase. In order to realize these advantages, the Ottawa Agreement was entered into, which inaugurated a system of Reciprocal Preferential Tariff Regime between India and the United Kingdom. Under the Ottawa Agreement, India was asked to give preferential customs duties to certain articles of manufacture, imported into India from the United Kingdom, in return for her enjoying the right of a reciprocal tariff concession in the United Kingdom on some of her important exportable commodities which chiefly consist of raw materials and agricultural produce.

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When negotiations for an agreement were being carried on, at the time when the Agreement was concluded, as also subsequently, the Indian commercial community in India raised strong protests against this Agreement, which, although bearing the label of *Imperial Reciprocity*, is in reality nothing short of *Imperial Preference*,—a principle which was totally rejected as far back as 1903 by Lord Curzon's Government, on the following grounds :—

- (1) That without any system of tariff preference India already enjoyed a large measure of the advantages of the exchange of imports and exports ;
- (2) That India had not very much to offer to the Empire ;
- (3) That Government would not be justified in embarking on a new policy which might involve reprisals by foreign nations, unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which at that time presented themselves.

The Committee of the Chamber also stated in their letter, dated 22nd April 1932 (No. F. 9232) to the Government of India, *inter alia*, that they were also opposed to the grant of Imperial Preference in the past, and reiterated that after a due consideration of all the relevant facts in this connection, they saw no justification for India then entering into any Tariff Agreement with Great Britain embodying a reciprocal preferential regime. It seems to the Committee that even though the first two considerations which weighed with Lord Curzon's Government in 1903, may not hold good in India to-day owing to the operation of various economic forces, the third consideration, however, still remains substantially correct and unchanged in a World where the spirit of retaliation persists. The Committee are, therefore, of the opinion that a Trade Agreement could be considered advantageous to India only if it does not endanger the prospects of her trade with customers other than the United Kingdom, and also does not expose her to the risk of retaliation from those countries with whom India has had a favourable balance of trade. If this view of the utility of an Agreement does not find favour with the Government, the Committee would

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suggest another criterion by which the success of a Trade Agreement may be gauged, *viz.*, the net expansion caused in the country's foreign trade as a result of such Agreement with the United Kingdom. But on an examination of the trade of India with the United Kingdom as a result of the working of the Ottawa Preference Scheme, the Committee find that there is no such net expansion of India's trade with the United Kingdom. The Committee would also like to point out here that the Indian delegation was not justified when it viewed India's case at the time of entering into the Agreement, *not so much in the perspective of what India stood to gain, but on what India stood to lose if she refused to enter into the Ottawa Agreement.*

Adverting to the report issued by the Government in October, 1935, on the working of the Ottawa Scheme of Preferences, the Committee, after a careful and detailed study of the Report and the working of the Scheme of Preferences during all these years, find no reason to conclude that the agreement has been a success from the view-point of the Indian interests. It is a well-known fact that the Government of India, at the time of entering into the Agreement, stated that they were very anxious to seize the opportunity afforded by the Ottawa Conference for maintaining, and if possible, improving India's export trade. Nevertheless, the Committee find that curiously enough the figures of India's export trade for 1932-33 indicate a different position, *viz.*, instead of showing an improvement just after the conclusion of the Agreement, the total exports from India have actually registered a decline in value. This is evident from the fact that while the total export trade of India as revealed in the Official Report, in 1931-32 amounted to Rs. 161 crores, it fell to Rs. 136 crores in 1932-33. Even viewing the results from the stand-point of India's exports to the United Kingdom, the Committee find that while the exports to the United Kingdom from India in 1931-32 amounted to Rs. 45 crores, there was actually a fall to Rs. 38 crores in 1932-33. Or again, taking the exports from India of articles enjoying preference, the fall in exports was from Rs. 33 crores to Rs. 29.7 crores in the respective years. It might be argued with some plausibility that in the face of a general depression in the World Trade, the fall in the export trade of India was inevitable, and that the Ottawa Agreement cannot

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therefore be held mainly or strictly responsible for the dwindling export trade of India. But an examination of the import trade of India during the same period falsifies the above contention. If the fall in the export trade of India were to be ascribed to world economic factors, then those very factors ought to have caused a decline in the import trade of India also during the period under review. On the contrary, the figures of import trade of India reveal a different position, for while in 1931-32, the total import into India amounted to Rs. 126 crores, it *increased to Rs. 133 crores in 1932-33*. Again taking the share of the United Kingdom in the import trade of India as compared with other countries, the figures for 1931-32 were Rs. 45 crores for the United Kingdom and Rs. 81 crores for other countries, whereas in 1932-33, the corresponding figures were Rs. 49 and Rs. 83 crores, the percentage increase being *about 9% in the case of the United Kingdom as compared with only about 2.5% in the case of other countries*. The net result of India's trade with the United Kingdom immediately after the conclusion of the Ottawa Agreement was that while her balance of trade with reference to the United Kingdom was actually *nil in 1932-33*, it resulted in an adverse balance of Rs. 11 crores in 1932-33. This result has a two-fold significance. For while, the United Kingdom has been able to reap the benefits of the Ottawa Agreement, in the case India, there has not only *not been an increase in her share of export trade to the United Kingdom nor did she even maintain her status quo, but there has been actually a fall in her export trade in general, and to the United Kingdom in particular*. Let us now examine the figures further. The following table indicates the import and export trade of India with the United Kingdom and other countries from 1932-33 up to 1934-35 :-

TABLE NO. 1.
Trade of British India (in crores of Rs.)

Year.	Exports			Imports.			Balance of trade.		
	U. K.	Others.	Total.	U. K.	Others.	Total.	U. K.	Others.	Total.
1932-33	38	58	136	49	83	132	- 11	+15	+ 4
1933-34	48	102	150	48	67	115	...	+35	+35
1934-35	49	105	154	54	78	132	- 5	+27	+22

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The net results as revealed in the last column of the table on the previous page do not show any appreciable progress; because the normally favourable course of the balance of trade of India with countries other than the United Kingdom has been disturbed. While in 1931-32, the balance of trade of India with countries other than the United Kingdom has been Rs. 35 crores in her favour, in 1932-33, there has been a fall of Rs. 20 crores, while in 1933-34, the fall was made up, again in 1934-35, there has been a fall of Rs. 8 crores. But the result of India's trade with the United Kingdom either indicates an even balance as in 1931-32 and 1933-34, or shows a balance in favour of the United Kingdom to the extent of Rs. 11 and Rs. 5 crores in 1932-33 and 1934-35, respectively. The following table would also help to show the percentage increase of the import and export trade of India with the United Kingdom during these years:—

TABLE NO. II.

Trade of British India with the United Kingdom.

Year.	India's Exports to the U. K.		India's Imports from U. K.	
	Value in crores of Rs.	increase (+) decrease (-)	Value in crores of Rs.	increase (+) decrease (-)
1931-32 ...	45	- 15.5	45	+ 9
1932-33 ...	38		49	
1933-34 ...	48	+ 26	48	- 2
1934-35 ...	49	+ 2	54	+ 12.5

The actual result in 1934-35 as compared with 1931-32 is that India's imports were larger by Rs. 5 crores than her exports to the United Kingdom and the ultimate percentage increase of her import and export figures in 1934-35 over that of 1932, works out to Rs. 20 per cent. and 9 per cent., respectively.

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Let us again proceed to examine the figures of export and import of India to the United Kingdom in regard to Preferred and Non-Preferred articles from 1932-33 to 1934-35, in order to assess the benefit that India has derived in return for the benefit she enjoys in the United Kingdom market.

TABLE NO. III
India's Export to U. K.

YEAR.	Articles of export.			
	Preferred (in lakhs of Rs.)	% increase	Non- preferred (in lakhs of Rs.)	% increase
1932-33	29,73	22.7	7,09	51
1933-34	36,48		10,73	
1934-35	36,71	6.3	11,36	5.9

The results as revealed in the above table are significant. If articles enjoying preference in the United Kingdom market were chosen really with a view to expand the demand for India's commodities in the U. K. market, the rate of expansion in the case of preferred articles should naturally have been greater than in the case of non-preferred articles. But the Committee find that whereas the percentage increase in preferred articles was 22.7 per cent. between 1932-33 and 1934-35, and only 6.3% between 1933-34 and 1934-35, the corresponding figures for *non-preferred articles were* 51 per cent. and 5.9 per cent. In the face of such startling figures, the Committee are naturally led to conclude that the preference enjoyed by articles in the Preference List has been comparatively of lesser benefit to India inasmuch as the rate of increase in Non-preferred articles has greatly exceeded that of the preferred articles during the operation of the Ottawa Agreement. In other words, in any revival of trade and industry in the United Kingdom the demand for non-preferred commodities of India is greater than that of the preferred commodities, and to that extent, the

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preference enjoyed by India in the United Kingdom market is valueless.

Let us now investigate the import statistics. The following table gives the import trade of India with U. K. in Preferred and Non-Preferred articles from 1932-33 to 1934-35 :—

TABLE No. IV
India's Import from U. K.

YEAR.	ARTICLES OF IMPORT			
	Preferred articles (in lakhs of Rs.)	% increase.	Non-Preferred articles (in lakhs of Rs.)	% increase (+) decrease (-)
1932-33 ...	13,27		35,53	
1933-34 ...	14,91	+ 12'4	32,58	- 8
1934-35 ...	16,90	+ 13'3	36,95	+12'8

This illustrates how the United Kingdom has been the recipient of a direct and substantial benefit out of the Agreement. For, while the percentage increase in the case of Preferred articles imported into India from U. K. during 1932-33 and 1933-34 was *12'4 per cent.* there had actually been a fall in the case of non-preferred articles during the same period, *viz.*, *-8 per cent.* whereas the corresponding figures for 1933-34 and 1934-35 were *13'3 per cent.* and *12'8 per cent.* thereby showing that the preference enjoyed by U. K. articles has been of great benefit to her in expanding her trade in these articles in the Indian market. This fact has also been admitted by Sir Thomas Ainscough, the Senior Trade Commissioner in India, who observed in his report for 1933-34, that the Preferences granted by India to certain articles of the United Kingdom proved greatly beneficial to the latter and that "it is most encouraging to note that where the Ottawa preferences have operated, the United Kingdom's relative position has been improved, and in many cases, shipments of United Kingdom's goods have actually increased in face of a greatly reduced trade."

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At this stage, the Committee would like to examine some of the statements contained in the Report of the Government for the Year 1934-35. The Committee are glad to find that the Government Report admits that "the main difficulty of such an examination (of the Ottawa Agreement) is to isolate the phenomena in order to study the effects of preference as distinct from other economic causes. This difficulty exists in most economic analyses, but is particularly important when *the new factor the effects of which are being studied, is comparatively small in relation to the other operating causes.*" (Italics ours.) It is also true that the time in which the preferential scheme has worked is far from normal. It must be acknowledged that since the conclusion of the Ottawa Trade Agreement, there has been a slow steady and distinct undercurrent of recovery in world Trade, and it is natural that India should automatically have had a share in this recovery so that her export position to the United Kingdom as well as to other countries should have registered a steady improvement. Under such conditions, it seems to the Committee that the Ottawa Agreement can be deemed to have conferred a real benefit to India if and only when it can be shown that the expansion of the export trade of India in the United Kingdom market has been so substantial as to have outweighed the loss of India's export trade with non-Empire countries, and thus conferred an additional benefit in her export position in the United Kingdom's market. But statistics reveal a different position. The following table purports to give an analytical study of the export trade of India to the U. K. and foreign countries in the case of commodities enjoying preference :—

TABLE No. V.
India's export of commodities enjoying Preference

YEAR.		U. K. (in lakhs of Rs.)	increase	Other countries (in lakhs of Rs.)	% decrease
1932-33	...	29,73		65,31	
1933-34	...	36,48	+ 23	62,86	- 3.75
1934-35	...	36,71	+ 63	57,70	- 8

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On a first impression, one may be inclined to conclude that the rate of increase in 1933-34 in the U. K. market has been so great, (*viz.*, 23 per cent.), as not only to compensate the loss in other markets (*viz.*, - 3.75 per cent.) but that it had resulted in a net expansion of about 20 per cent. in India's export trade with the United Kingdom in the articles enjoying preference. If this be true, the same phenomenon ought to have continued to a greater or a similar extent in the subsequent year also ; but the Committee regret to find that the rate of expansion in the U. K. market has been reduced to the insignificant figure of '63 per cent. in 1934-35. The Committee are inclined to hold that the sudden increase in the export trade to the U. K. in 1933-34 is attributable to a large extent, to the increased industrial activities in the United Kingdom, as will be evident from the statistics relating to her foreign trade and industrial production. That there has been much greater industrial activity in U. K. in 1933 than in 1932 is illustrated by the fact that while the total imports of U. K. in 1933 record a decrease of about Rs. 23 millions (the figures being £701.67 and £678.85 millions, respectively for the two years), the import of raw materials and articles wholly unmanufactured increased by about £15 millions (the figures being £164.61 millions and £180.36 millions in 1932 and 1933, respectively). In addition to this, the Committee find that the exports of British manufactured goods recorded an increase of £5 millions, the index of production in manufacturing industries rose from 97.2 to 103.5 (as compared with 1924=100). Besides on a perusal of the detailed statistics of the import and export trade of India given by Dr. D. B. Meek in his report on the working of the Ottawa Agreement in the year 1934, it will be seen that India was not the only country to share the benefit of increased industrial activity in the United Kingdom and that several other countries both within the Empire and outside have also benefited to a greater or smaller extent from the revival of economic conditions in the United Kingdom.

The Government Report states that "If India has improved her relative position in the United Kingdom as disclosed by her percentage share in the total United Kingdom imports, then other things being equal, preference must *prima facie*, be deemed valuable." This, in the opinion of the Committee, amounts to no more than viewing an essentially economic proposition from a wrong angle. It seems to the Committee that

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in any scheme of *reciprocal preferences*, the sole criterion of judging the value of such preferences should consist, *not merely in being content with a relative increase in one's position, but also in the acquisition of a net balance of advantage arising out of such reciprocal preferences*. Otherwise the term Reciprocity is meaningless. The Committee would further point out that, if India has improved her relative position in the United Kingdom, so also the United Kingdom has improved her relative position in the Indian market, *perhaps to a greater degree*, at the expense of India's other valuable customers. While the Committee admit that India's share of export trade to the United Kingdom has increased, they regret to find that the percentage increase in her share of export to the United Kingdom is not commensurate with the percentage increase of her imports from the United Kingdom; and viewed from this standpoint, the absence of even a *quid pro quo* (not to speak of a resulting net advantage), conferring equal benefits both on India and the United Kingdom is patently manifest in the Ottawa Agreement, which is ardently advocated on a reciprocity basis. That this observation of the Committee is substantially correct will be verified from a glance at the following table which states the comparative position of the value of Exports and Imports of articles enjoying preference both in the United Kingdom and India under the Ottawa Agreement :—

TABLE No. VI
Articles Enjoying Preference in India and the United Kingdom.

YEAR.	Exports to U. K.		Imports from U. K.	
	Value in lakhs of Rs.	Index No.	Value in lakhs of Rs.	Index No.
1931-32	33,30	100	12,61	100
1932-33	29,73	89'3	13,27	105
1933-34	36,48	109'5	14,91	118
1934-35	36,71	110 2	16,90	134

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The above figures extracted from the Govenment Report, clearly indicate that while the increase of India's export trade to U. K. even on articles enjoying preference during these years has been halting, U. K. has succeeded year after year in increasing her exports of articles enjoying preference in the Indian market. Even comparing the ultimate result in 1934-35 with that of 1931-32, and taking the year 1931-32 as the base of index, India has been able to advance her exports *to the United Kingdom by only 10 points*, whereas U. K. has, during the same period, increased her share of imports into India by *34 points*. Thus the disparity in the rate of benefit is clarly about 24 points in favour of U. K., which proves the contention of the Committee of this Chamber that the Ottawa Scheme of Preferences has not been beneficial to India to the same extent as it has been to the United Kingdom, which has achieved a direct and substantial advantage in the Indian market.

The Committee have so far dealt with the effects of the working of the Ottawa Agreement both on India and the United Kingdom and have arrived at the conclusion that, of the two countries, U. K. has derived a definitely greater, direct and tangible advantage from the working of the Scheme of Preferences as compared to India. The Committee would now like to examine the direction of India's foreign trade in order to ascertain whether the Ottawa Agreement has been responsible for the loss of India's customers and the extent to which India's foreign trade has been diverted and prejudicially affected by the Scheme of Preferences. In this connection, the Committee would reiterate their views expressed in the course of their letter No. F. 598, dated 7th September, 1934, to the Government on the report of Dr. Meek, on the working of Ottawa Agreement last year :—

“ The grant of preferences to our exports in the United Kingdom have, it must also be observed, resulted in a policy of retaliation from several other countries with whom India has had trade relations for a very long time. Owing to the preferences, Indian trade was diverted from those countries and her relations with some of them are not as cordial as before. A tendency is visible in the various countries for purchashing their requirements only from those countries which purchase from them.”

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On a close scrutiny of the Report; (1934-35) issued by the Government, the Committee find no reason to change these views. The following table gives the percentage figures of the import trade of India with U. K., as compared with some of the principal foreign countries from 1931-32 to 1934-35.

TABLE No. VII.
Import trade of India with foreign countries.

COUNTRIES.			1931-32 per cent.	1932-33 per cent.	1933-34 per cent.	1934-35 per cent.
U. K.	...	...	35.5	36.8	41.3	40.6
Germany	...	...	8.1	7.8	7.7	7.6
Japan	...	...	10.6	15.4	14.2	15.7
U. S. A.	...	...	10.2	8.5	6.2	6.4
Belgium	...	...	2.4	2.6	2.3	1.6
Italy	...	...	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.3

It will be obvious that with the exception of Japan all other countries have been losing ground in the Indian market, whereas the United Kingdom has been steadily advancing and has regained her hold in India as a major contributor to India's import trade. Let us now examine the effect of such reduced share of India's import trade with countries other than U. K. on her export trade to those countries. The following table will serve to show the percentage exports from India to the countries referred to in the previous table.

TABLE No. VIII.
Export trade of India with foreign countries.

COUNTRIES.			1931-32 per cent.	1932-33 per cent.	1933-34 per cent.	1934-35 per cent.
U. K.	...	...	27.9	28.0	32.2	31.6
Germany	6.3	6.5	6.1	4.6
Japan	8.7	10.3	8.5	15.9
U. S. A.	8.9	7.4	9.6	8.5
Belgium	2.8	3.3	3.0	2.8
Italy	3.4	3.5	3.8	3.9

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Excepting Japan (and to a slight extent Italy), all other, Non-Empire countries have reduced their share of the export trade from India inasmuch as India's import trade with them has been restricted and the share of these countries is decreasing year by year. That the spirit of retaliation was engendered by the Ottawa Agreement is thus illustrated clearly and convincingly ; and the Committee of the Chamber would further invite the attention of the Government to the various restrictions which have been imposed during the last two years in several European countries ; *e.g.*, System of Licensing and quotas in France ; Prohibitions, control, Licensing and restrictions in Germany ; Quotas in Spain ; Import restrictions in Greece, Belgium and Netherlands ; Quotas in Turkey ; Exchange dumping duty in Union of S. Africa, etc. After a careful study of these artificial controls, manipulations, etc., on the part of various other countries in regard to the imports of Indian goods in those countries, the Committee cannot help feeling that the Ottawa Agreement, which aimed at diverting the flow of a country's trade from its natural channels to the Empire route, was largely responsible for the adoption of these various import restrictions and quotas on the part of Non-Empire countries.

As an instance in point, the Committee would like to examine the case of Germany, which was one of the best customers of India, and with which India, until lately, maintained a favourable balance of trade. The views of the Committee in regard to this aspect of the quotas are verified by no less an authority than the Indian Government Trade Commissioner at Hamburg, who states in his report for 1934-35, *inter alia* that Germany "is now obtaining large quantities of raw materials, which she formerly bought from India, from countries with whom she has clearing agreements..... If then Germany continues for ten years to purchase from other countries raw materials which she had in the past bought from India, she will become accustomed to these new sources of supply. When normal conditions eventually reappear in Germany it is extremely problematical whether she will return to her old customers and purchase from them to the same extent as she did in the past. This is a very serious danger and one which must receive due consideration." The Committee would also commend the following observations

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made by the Government Trade Commissioner at Hamburg to the attention of the Government :—

“..... compensation trade between Germany and the non-agreement countries developed to such an extent that it can safely be stated that the trade between India and Germany has since October, 1934, been almost exclusively on the barter basis The natural course of trade between Germany and India has in the past, both pre-war and post-war, always been that Germany has bought far more from India than she has sold to India. The German statistics for the period of October-December, 1934, showed, for the first time in the history of Indo-German trade, a trade balance unfavourable to India; and for the quarter of January-March, 1935 imports into Germany from India and exports from Germany to India just balanced. This balance of exports and imports is, of course, the result of compensation trade between the two countries. But the danger to India in the present developments in Germany arises from two trends. In the first place, the equilibrium achieved in the exports to and imports from India has been at the expense mostly of imports from India. The second danger, which is more sinister from the view-point of the future, is that Germany as a result of compensation trade and clearing agreements, is obtaining large quantities of raw materials, which she formerly bought from India.”

The report adds :

“ During the period of January—December, 1934, imports from British India to Germany amounted to 134,700,000 marks and exports during the same period to British India totalled 94,400,000 marks, leaving a balance of 40,300,000 marks in favour of India, as compared with imports from British India of 153,917,000 marks exports to British India of 86,847,000 marks and a balance in favour of India of 67,070,000 marks during the same period in the previous year.”

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On a perusal of these statements, no one could afford to look with equanimity upon the loss of one of India's best customers, and if the German experiments succeed, as seems probable, other non-Empire countries will follow suit, and this will be very detrimental to India's export trade. The Committee have already shown how the United Kingdom has not increased her offtake of India's exports in such a large proportion as would compensate India for her loss of trade with her other customers. Thus, on the one hand, India is denied the opportunity of expanding her trade along natural lines due to the diversion of her trade along Empire channels, while on the other, the United Kingdom and Empire countries do not offer India any very great scope for expansion in order to compensate for her loss of export trade with Non-Empire countries. Another very significant, although indirect result of the Ottawa Agreement has been that it has pioneered the movement for economic isolation, self-sufficiency, and clearing agreements among Non-Empire countries, and this has also resulted in demand for quotas and other forms of artificial restrictions, which are in vogue to-day in various countries, and which are hindering the progress of international trade.

The Committee would now pass on to a review of the progress of some of the important items in the articles of import from the United Kingdom enjoying a preference in the Indian market during the period under review. The following table indicates some of those items in which the beneficent influence of the Ottawa Trade Agreement on the trade of the United Kingdom with India is noticeable :—

TABLE No. IX.
Trend of India's Import Trade.
(Value in lakhs of Rs.)

Articles enjoying preference.	1931-32.	1932-33.	1933-34.	1934-35.
1. Building materials	32.7	23.6	20.9	24.7
2. Brushes	3	3.9	4.7	6.7*
3. Chemicals and Chemical preparations	140.8	140	149	163.5

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Articles enjoying preferenec.				1931-32.	1932-33.	1933-34.	1934-35.
4.	Cutlery	4'8	5'3	6'4	6'8
5.	Drugs and Medicines	...	...	56'7	51'1	58'1	60'4
6.	Furniture and Cabinet	...	...	8'1	6'2	8'7	10'6
7.	Hardware	...	...	91	85	92	96'3
8.	Instruments, apparatus and appliances and parts thereof	...	...	183'3	194'3	206'3	247'1*
9.	Liquors	...	...	60'5	61'1	60'3	61'6
10.	Metals and Ores	...	...	72'6	98'1	116'5	143'8*
11.	Paints and Painters' materials	...	...	39'7	41'5	45'5	47'6*
12.	Paper and Pasteboard	...	...	19'7	19'6	28'1	29'9*
13.	Provisions and Oilman's Stores, etc.	...	...	63'3	57'8	58'3	66'9
14.	Rubber manufactures	...	...	69'3	80'2	116'2	139'7*
15.	Soaps, Toilet	...	...	21'4	24'7	23'8	24'6
16.	Wool and woollen manufactures	...	...	39'7	70'9	77'5	98'3*
17.	Toilet requisites, etc.	...	...	18'1	20'7	22'2	24'8*
18.	Vehicles :—						
	(i) Cycles (other than Motor Cycles)			17	18'5	23'1	28'2*
	(ii) Parts of Cycles and accessories			26'4	33'4	39'5	42'1*
	(iii) Motor Cars	...	..	50'4	80'1	106'2	123'6*
	(iv) Motor Omnibuses			14'4	9'9	12'4	25'6*
	(v) Parts of mechanically propelled vehicles and accessories	22'5	22'5	32'7	35'9*

* Item showing a very rapid increase

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While the general trend of trade in all these articles with the exception of the first item, is progressive, the imports of metal ores, rubber manufactures, motor-cars and motor omnibuses, in 1934-35 have almost doubled themselves as compared to those of 1931-32. In the case of wool and woollen manufactures the increase is nearly 2½ times during the same period.

Let us now scrutinize the effects of the preferences on the exports from India, which are mainly raw materials, and in regard to which it was stated at the time of the conclusion of the Ottawa Agreement, that the agricultural interests in the country would materially gain as a result of the scheme of Preferences. But the Indian commercial community had their own apprehensions in this respect and contended that other Dominions like Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, would also compete with India in the United Kingdom market under the impetus of the same preferential scheme. A study of the following table will show the course of India's export trade from 1931-32 to 1934-35 in the United Kingdom on almost all articles enjoying preference in the United Kingdom under the Ottawa Agreement:—

TABLE No. X.
Trend of India's Export Trade.
(Value in lakhs of Rs.)

Articles enjoying preference.		1931-32.	1932-33.	1933-34.	1934-35.
1.	Wheat	10'1	...	...	7'1
2.	Rice not in husk	27'4	33'6	30'1	87'1(a)
3.	Vegetable Oils	14'9	23'3	16'8	10'7
4.	Linseed	16'5	16'5	101'2	128'0(a)
5.	Coffee	27'9	33'9	30'3	21'4
6.	Tea	1,692'8	1,478'5	1,756'6	1,814'6(a)
7.	Coir yarn and Coir manufactures, etc.	98'8	53'5	62'8	60'3
8.	Cotton manufactures	16'8	29'5	12'7	5'7
9.	Hides, tanned	208'2	159'3	238'3	194'5
10.	Skins, tanned	276'8	277'0	291'8	291'2(a)

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TABLE No. X.—*Contd.*

Trend of India's Export Trade.

(Value in lakhs of Rs.)

Articles enjoying preference.			1931-32.	1932-33.	1933-34	1934-35.
11.	Jute manufactures	... ..	186'4	174'6	160'2	159'7
12.	Oil-seed cake	... ..	72'5	72'4	86'1	116'2(a)
13.	Paraffin Wax	... ..	76'1	36'7	54'7	46'8
14.	Teak and other hard woods	... ..	34'3	28'4	39'9	65'5(z)
15.	Woollen carpets and rugs	... ..	40'6	44'6	56'5	73'9(a)
16.	Bran and pollard and rice meals and dust.	... ..	48'2	54'0	38'0	64'8(z)
17.	Tobacco	... ..	39'5	36'8	47'4	34'7
18.	Castor Seed	... ..	33'6	35'7	35'5	31'8
19.	Groundnuts	... ..	114'7	57'7	61'5	170'1(z)
20.	Pulses	... ..	12'1	25'9	17'0	31'6(z)
21.	Lead	... ..	105'2	119'0	129'8	89'0
22.	Manures and Bones	... ..	3'4	5'8	8'3	11'3(a)
23.	Goat skins, raw	... ..	43'3	49'7	77'1	40'0
	Others	... ..	102'0	99	168	81

The growth of the export trade of India in the United Kingdom as revealed in the above table, when compared with the previous one, is not altogether encouraging. With the exception of four items marked (a), the rest of the items do not indicate any uninterrupted progress. Items marked (z) show an ultimate

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increase and those without any mark represent an ultimate decrease, in the value of exports to U. K. after undergoing fluctuations during the period under review.

Thus after a careful and detailed survey of working of the Ottawa Agreement in the light of available statistics of the import and export trade of India with the United Kingdom the Committee have come to the conclusion that there is very little justification for continuing the Ottawa Agreement, which has not as yet conferred any very great benefit to India, and they adhere to following views expressed in their letter No. F. 598, dated 7th September, 1934, to the Government of India :—

“ In conclusion, the Committee of the Indian Chamber wish to observe that while the Ottawa Preferences have conferred a clearly visible and substantial benefit on the United Kingdom, the advantage received by India, if at all, in the case of most of her exports is negligible, in the case of some, problematical and is fraught with the danger of retaliation from other countries, which would doubtless operate to India's disadvantage.”

While, thus, the Ottawa Agreement itself is proving of doubtful advantage to India and is being condemned outright by all responsible Indian commercial and public opinion in the country, the Committee regret to find that on the 9th January, 1935, the Government of India concluded a Supplementary Agreement, better known as the Indo-British Agreement, with His Majesty's Government, without consulting either the Indian commercial community or the public. This agreement which was concluded behind the back of Indians, and which was rightly turned down by the Legislature in its Sessions at Delhi in January, 1935 is in the opinion of the Committee nothing short of an outrage upon Indian commercial and public opinion. Whereas the Ottawa Agreement has diverted the trade of India from its natural course to Empire countries without conferring any substantial advantage on India, the Indo-British Agreement is calculated to hamper the growth of India's industries, by fettering the right of the Government of India to pursue a policy of vigorous protection to indigenous industries. Even as far back as 1932, just before the

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conclusion of the Ottawa Agreement, the Committee stated (*Vide* their letter, dated 22nd April 1932) that "they are also apprehensive that a policy of preference would diminish the benefits, of full protection which might be given to any Indian industry for its development." In their letter No. F. 598, dated 7th September 1934, the Committee made the following very significant observations :—

" The Committee are also afraid that the grant of Imperial Preference is becoming a *sine qua non* for the grant of protection to industries in India. Recently, this was witnessed in case of the Cotton Textile Industry and the Steel Industry. The Committee are thus very apprehensive that notwithstanding the utterances of the Government Officers to the contrary, Imperial Preference is becoming an indispensable preliminary condition which must be satisfied before Government would come to the assistance of any industry."

Hardly three months have elapsed since this statement was made, when the worst apprehensions of the Committee came true, in the emergence of the Indo-British Agreement, which incorporates substantially the above principles, thereby frustrating the so-called Fiscal Autonomy Convention, and affecting adversely the industrial development of India. The Committee are, therefore, emphatically of the opinion that the Ottawa Agreement, and its sequel, the Indo-British Agreement, should both be terminated without any delay, inasmuch as they have not only *not proved beneficial to India, but are positively endangering the normal development of India's trade, commerce and industries*. After a very careful consideration of the effects of the working of these agreements, the Committee cannot help feeling that the agreements are fundamentally unsound and distinctly disadvantageous to India. The Committee have no doubt that in the ensuing Budget Sessions of the Assembly, when the Report of the working of the Ottawa Agreement will come up for discussion, the verdict of the people will be unequivocally recorded against the continuance of the agreement. If, in the face of such universal condemnation, the Government of India still continue the agreement, they will, no doubt, by exposing India to a grave risk, as it would doubtless

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dislocate her trade and impose a great handicap on her national Economy.

The Committee would also like to take this opportunity of impressing upon the Government of India the utility of ending into bilateral trade agreements since the conclusion of such agreements seems to offer the best solution for remedying the adverse effects of trade restrictions. The Committee has already stated above how compensation trade treaties between Germany and other individual countries have been entered into by Germany with a view to advance the trade of Germany, and how India in the absence of such a trade treaty has stood to lose in recent months in the German market. It is natural that non-Empire countries whose interest in India consists mainly in increasing their imports into India should seek to restrict their off-take of India's export of raw materials by means of quotas and other artificial forms of restrictions, in the absence of any reciprocal trade agreements with them. The Committee would point out that it would be advantageous to India if she were to enter into bilateral trade treaties with all those countries with whom she has a fairly responsible prospects of expansion of her export trade, and any such trade agreement should be on the basis of tariff concessions mutually beneficial to each other, and also on the basis of the most-favoured nation treatment, which means that "any favour or privilege which may, hereafter, be granted either in virtue of autonomous measures or in virtue of commercial conventions in respect of the commodities or any third state whatsoever, shall be extended to the like or similar commodities of the other contracting party." In any scheme of bilateral trade agreements, while the peculiar position of India as an importer of manufactured goods and an exporter of raw and agricultural products should be taken into consideration, the policy of discriminating protection which the Government of India has been pursuing since 1923 and the need for industrialization of the country should also be kept in view, since the articles chosen for tariff concessions should be such as would not be required by any of her protected industries. For instance, the encouragement of the export of some of her raw materials might have an adverse effect on some of India's indigenous industries, which might be dependent on the raw materials produced in India. If such

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raw materials were to be exported to foreign countries under the impetus of tariff concessions, then India's indigenous industries might necessarily be handicapped. Similarly, India should not offer any tariff preference to those manufactured articles imported into India which compete and would tend to compete with the products of indigenous industries, and thus reduce or eliminate possibilities of the development of India's industries. The foreign trade position of India, is, in its essence, a peculiar one, and consequently any trade agreement with other countries individually should be preceded by a careful and thorough examination of the nature of her import and export trade with that country, and the offer of concessions, by means of tariff arrangements or otherwise, should be mutually advantageous to one another. The Committee are of opinion that such trade agreements would succeed in rehabilitating the trade of India with many of her valuable customers like Germany and thus ensure her a stable position in those markets.

It is noteworthy that recently the Director of Public Information, Delhi, has issued a series of Press notes dealing with certain aspects of the Ottawa Agreement in order to demonstrate that some of the adverse effects ascribed to the Ottawa Pact are not really due to the Pact, but that other extraneous world economic forces have been responsible for such effects. The first article surveys the main events leading up to the Ottawa Agreement; the second one examines the main features of India's export trade after the Ottawa Agreement, the third attempts to make a comparison of India's export trade with the United Kingdom and other foreign countries; the fourth tries to refute the contention that the recent improvement in India's export to the United Kingdom is merely a diversion of trade resulting from the Ottawa Pact; and the remaining articles are mainly devoted to show how the contention that foreign countries have retaliated against India, is incorrect. The Committee do not at present wish to deal at length with the special pleadings and arguments employed in these articles. But after a careful study of these articles, the Committee are not convinced of the reasonings put forward by the Director of Public Information in support of the Ottawa Pact. At the same time, the Committee cannot help expressing the feeling that in studying the effects of the Ottawa Agreement,

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it is rather incongruous to seek the aid of the operation of world-wide causes to prove that "the period during which the Agreement has been in operation has been far from normal"; for it was obviously to tide over the effects of such abnormal situation in Empire and World Trade, that the Ottawa Agreement was ostensibly entered into, and the Committee have already shown how the hopes held out by the advocates of the Pact have not been realized. If the Ottawa Agreement has not, during all **these** years, succeeded in combating these extraneous forces, **which** was clearly one of its aims, then the Committee are inclined to characterize the Agreement as valueless so far as India is concerned, and consequently India should not continue to be a party to such an agreement.

Another very significant omission which the Committee have noted in the course of these Press Notes is **that** the Government have not thrown sufficient light on the improvement of the United Kingdom's share in the Indian market as compared with other countries. In any examination of the effects of a Scheme of *Reciprocal Preferences* it is obviously not fair to exhibit only one side of the picture. There can at least be two parties to an Agreement, and to assess the result of the Ottawa Pact from the point of view of India's export to United Kingdom is to say the least one-sided and unjust. If India has increased her exports to the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom has also increased her exports to India. This aspect of the Agreement entails a comparative study of the export trade of India with the United Kingdom and *vice versa*, and the Committee have already shown in paragraphs 13 and 14 how the Ottawa Agreement, judged from the standpoint of offering a *quid pro quo*, falls far short of the essentials of a *Reciprocal Preferential Trade Agreement*.

The Committee note that the Director of Public Information has taken some pains to show that the Ottawa Agreement is not responsible for India being retaliated against by foreign countries, and "that where foreign countries which compete with the United Kingdom for the Indian market have adopted restrictive measures, they have done so for reasons of domestic policy, and not with the intention of retaliating against India." The Committee cannot agree that foreign countries which compete

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with the United Kingdom in the Indian market have not adopted restrictive measures in a retaliatory spirit; for it is evident that an independent country which is discriminated against by another through preferential tariffs, would naturally retaliate against the country which makes the discrimination. It may be that some of the restrictions on the part of non-Empire countries may have been due to reasons of domestic policy, but the Ottawa Agreement cannot clearly escape responsibility for engendering a spirit of retaliation among those countries.

It is further stated in one of the Press Notes of the Director of Information that "the fact is that the quantitative regulation of imports, in the various forms in which it is in operation in different parts of the world, has unfortunately come to be regarded by many countries as the most effective device in present conditions for maintaining their commercial and financial stability." The Committee are naturally anxious to know what steps the Government of India have taken to meet such an abnormal and exceptional situation in international trade. In the opinion of the Committee the solution seems to lie in the conclusion of separate commercial treaties with all those countries with whom India has a chance of improving her trade relations. But the Government of India seem to discount the value of such Bilateral Trade Agreements as will be evident from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Associated Chambers of Commerce on the 16th of December, 1936, in the course of which he observed:—

"These problems to which I have referred have been receiving the careful consideration of my Government and, in particular, it has been their concern to examine whether the time has yet come to abandon India's traditional foreign trade policy, based as it is on reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment in favour of the now popular method of bilateral negotiation.... but I would affirm that nothing in the study of world economic conditions in the past few years, or in India's present circumstances, has shown that any departure from our accepted policy is necessary."

While the Government of India admit that as a result of world-wide depression, several countries have adopted restrictive measures

India and the Ottawa Agreement

and clearing agreements for the improvement of their respective trade positions, it is surprising that they refuse to make any departure from their accepted policy at the present juncture. The surprise is greater as a Resolution passed at Geneva in September last also urged that the recovery of international trade would be greatly assisted by the conclusion, by as many countries as possible, of bilateral agreements having for their object the application of a more liberal economic policy and recommended that the Governments should endeavour to encourage freer trade by the conclusion of bilateral agreements. The conclusion of bilateral trade agreements has also been a part of the economic programme of the National Government in England since its inception. Great Britain has now concluded bilateral trade agreements with nineteen countries, *viz.*, Argentine, Brazil, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, France, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Rumania, Sweden, Turkey, Soviet Russia, Poland, and Uruguay. In making these agreements the United Kingdom Government have aimed at certain definite objectives such as the reduction of foreign tariffs, fair quotas for the United Kingdom exports, etc. In most of the agreements made with European countries, and in the Agreement with Argentine, guarantees were also given for the increased purchase of coal and other important United Kingdom exports. In the case of agreements with Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, there are also special references to arrangements made directly between industrialists in the countries concerned in order to facilitate the sale of United Kingdom goods. When the Government in Great Britain have accepted the policy of concluding bilateral trade agreements and have found it advantageous, the Committee see no justification on the part of the Government of India to pursue the present policy and they are of opinion that it is the duty of the Government of India to explore the possibilities of concluding bilateral trade agreements with other countries with a view to achieve the object of increasing India's export trade by fair quotas, most-favoured-nation treatment, etc.

In summarizing the results of the working of the Ottawa Scheme of Preferences, the Committee would draw the attention of the Government to the following significant points :—

- (i) Of the two countries India and the United Kingdom,

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India has not derived anything like the benefit in the United Kingdom Market, as the latter has been admittedly able to derive in India, as a result of the working of the Ottawa Agreement.

- (ii) India's export trade with the United Kingdom has not expanded to a large extent, because she has had to face competition from other Empire countries which export their products to the United Kingdom, under the impetus of similar preferential lower duties.
- (iii) Since the Ottawa Agreement tended to restrict the import trade of India with non-Empire countries, India's export trade to those countries has also been restricted, due to restrictive policies from those countries.
- (iv) The existence of the Ottawa Agreement made it possible for the conclusion of the Indo-British Agreement which introduced in the fiscal policy of India the principle of differential rates of duty on the United Kingdom products, many scheme of protection to India's indigenous industries.

In view of these important considerations, the Committee of the Chamber urge that the Ottawa Agreement should be terminated without delay. The Committee would also suggest that the Government should immediately examine the trend of the trade of India with various other important countries including the United Kingdom, and investigate the possibility of entering into bilateral trade treaties with them, whenever possible, in order to bring about an expansion of the export trade of India in these markets.

The Committee earnestly hope that the Government of India would give their careful consideration to the observations made by them in the course of this memorandum, and take suitable steps for the improvement of India's trade and commerce.

This is the text of an open letter addressed by the Secretary of the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department, New Delhi.

THE DIVINE COMEDY OF MODERN INDIA

AN EVALUATION OF IQBAL

[BY ABDUL GHAFAR]

LA DIVINA COMMEDIA of Dante Alighieri captured the imagination of mediæval Europe with an amazing swiftness. Boccaccio and Petrarch, Chaucer and Rossetti—none could escape his genial influence. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal also could not help being touched by this most representative work of the Mediæval mind, the book which gave lead to all the vernacular literature of Europe and set the fashion of writing in the form and spirit which may appeal to the common man in the street, discarding the methods of the Latinists of the Scholastic School who had made learning the Forbidden fruit to the common people.

Dr. Iqbal has already written his "Message of the East" (پیغام مشرق) in reply to the Persian Divan of Goethe and this gained high praise from Dr. Nicholson of the Cambridge University. According to Dr. Nicholson, there are two notes of sweetest music in the poetry of Iqbal, one Indian and national, the other Islamic and international. In *Jawid Nama* or "the Book of Eternity," both the strains are comingled in an artistic union. Recent researches of Professor Asin of Madrid prove how far the Muslim traditions of the Ascension of the Prophet and the writings of Ibn-i-Arabi went in providing Dante with the general outline and the scheme of his great work. Hence the *Divine Comedy* had a fascination for Dr. Iqbal who drew inspiration from the same source. Both the poets have much in common. Dante wrote his book in exile from Florence which he had learnt to detest heartily by this time. But the bitterness of life had been milder for him because of the Beatific Vision of Beatrice who had fired him with an inspiration which was the moving spirit of the whole of his work. Iqbal lacks a Beatrice but in the conception of Irdia, he has found a source which adds a beauty to his delightful scenes and lends a

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withering sarcasm to his pen when he writes of the traitors to the motherland.

Jawid Nama is a symbol of the awakened spirit of independence and self-determination which is stirring the Asiatic nations to self-assertion in all domains—political, social, economic and literary.

“In the midst of our mortal life”, the poet finds no comrade or companion of the soul, and he escapes into the wilderness, and falls to singing rapturously an ode by the Persian mystic poet Rumi. As in Dante, “when a mountain foot I reached”, the Spirit of Rumi appears to him from behind a hillock. Like Beatrice in the Paradiso, the poet led by his celestial guide Rumi, enters the Sphere of the Moon. The uncanny silence of its wild mountains, the craggy rocks, the yawning caverns, the vapourless clouds and the tempestuous winds are painted, not only with broad and masterly touches the description is full of the zest and the enthusiasm of a real “child of the mountains”.

The guide takes the poet into the dark recesses of the caverns of the planet and emerges out into a plain, bathed in the cool and soothing light of—

That orb'd maiden, with white fire laden,

Whom mortals call the Moon.

There sits under the shade of a tree Wishwanath or Jahan Dost (the Friend of the Universe, the Guru of Ramchandra whom the poet has already celebrated in one of his poems. Sitting deep in meditation with a white dragon curled round him, he seems to have soared higher into a world where there are no Revolutions of the Time. Immutable and immovable he sits, a befitting symbol of the hitherto Unchanging East but below this calm exterior, his mighty soul is deeply stirred by the awakening of strange desires, new born thoughts and unfamiliar emotions. After an introduction to the poet in whose eyes the ancient sage discerns the signs of

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a New Life, the Persian sage ushers in the subject of the eternal conflict between the East and the West in a nutshell—

شرق حق را دید و عالم را ندید غرب د را عالم خرید از حق رمید

The East saw Truth but not Matter

The West was engrossed in Matter and ignored Truth."

The Indian sage strikes a note of hope and optimism and re-affirms his belief in a bright future for the East because—

بوش دیدم بر فراز قشمرود ز آسمان افرشته آمد فرود
از نگاہش ذوق دیدارے چکید جز بسوئے خاکدان ما ندید
گفتمش از محرمای رازے مپوش توچه بینی اندر آن خاک خموش

Last night I saw above the Lunar Mount

An angel lighting down from heaven above

There was ecstasy in his rapturous eyes

He had no eyes but for this continent

I said ' Don't keep a secret from thy friends

What see you in this lifeless piece of earth '.

The angel who is the harbinger of the New Era and the renaissance of the East said—

گفت هنگام طلوع خاور است آفتاب تازه او را در بر است
لعلها از سنگ ره آید بروں یوسفان او ز چه آید بروں
رستخیزے در کنارش دیده ام کرزه اندر کوہسارش دیده ام

اے خوش آن قومے که جاں او تپید از گل خود خویش را باز آفرید!
عرشیاں را صبح عید آن ساعتے چوں شود بیدار چشم ملتے!

Behold the dawn hath come over the East

It holds a brilliant sun in its embrace.

Its rubies have emerged out of the rocks

Its Josephs have appeared from the well

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I see a stormy tumult in the East
The tremors shaking deep its mountain range.

.....
Long live the valorous race whose soul hath stirred
Who regenerated stands out of decay,
It is a gala day for Seraphim
When nations wake, shaking off slumbers deep."

In the same Circle, the pilgrim comes across four Tablets of the Prophets, the first being the Tablet of Gautama on which is inscribed the episode of the Magdalen who repented at the hands of Buddha.

In the Sphere of Venus, the Spirit of Mahdi Sudani makes a rousing appeal to the Nations of Western Asia exhorting them to be the creators of a New Era —

اے جہان مومنان مشک فام از توحی آید مرا مشک دوام!
زندہ نی تا کجا بے ذوق سیر تا کجا تقدیر تو درست غیر!

O thou, the world of the swarthy race
Thou waft to me the everlasting scent
How long a life without the action's zest
How long thy destiny in alien hands.

In the Sphere of Saturn, Iqbal has placed the spirits who have betrayed their motherland and even Hell has rejected these wretches who proved a traitor to God and Man. The whole scene is depicted with the master-touches of a vivid imagination: thousands of angels urging on the planets on their impetuous course with whips of steel; a stormy sea of blood; venomous reptiles with jet-black hoods and snow white wings filling the oppressive atmosphere; the thundering of the surf against the shore; the crashing of the crags into the bloody water below—all strike awe and terror to the mind of the reader. Here, in a frail barge, left to the mercy of the storm, are rocking about two bedraggled and pale-faced wretches, the arch traitors to the cause of Indian

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independence and liberty. This terrible description is followed by a scene of the most exquisite beauty and grace where, the poet describes the Spirit of India descending from above—

پرده را از چهره خود برکشد	آسمان شق گشت و حور پاک زاد
در دو چشم او سرو و لایزال	در جبینش فارو نور لایزال
تار و پودش از رگ برگ کلاب	حله در بر سبک تر از سحاب
بر کب او فاکه هائے درد مند	با چنین خوبی نصیبش طوق و بند
از فغانش سوزها اندر جگر!	گفت رومی "روح هند است این نگر"

The heavens opened and a blessed hour
Removed the veil from her charming face
The eternal light and radiance glowed therein
Her eyes showed the rapture of eternal charm
Her garment lighter than the rainbow cloud
Their web and woof was made of tenderest rose
With all this beauty, she was bound in chains
And crying bitterly, then Rumi said
"Behold in her the spirit of India
Whose lamentations touch the heart of all."

Mother India gives expression to a rhapsody in which she inveighs against her teacherous sons. What she more laments than anything else is that the soul of a traitor always seeks re-birth in some new form. If a snake smiles, it is after all a snake; the presence of the traitor plits up the nation in two and the nations are cursed by it.

Among a distinguished group like Natzsche and the poet Ghani of Kashmir, amidst palaces and pavilions, the poet comes across his old favourite, the Sanskrit poet Bharatihari of the seventh century, poet, grammarian and the poet combined in one. Iqbal praises him as one whose glance could change a dewdrop and crystallize it into a pearl enriching the world like a spring cloud. Action and action is the dominant note of the message

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which the poet gives two Iqbal "Prayers without the zeal of action will lead us nowhere. Life is the name of activity whether good or bad."

The book ends with the advice of the poet to his young son in particular, and to the rising generation of the Indian youth in general, deploring their darkened minds, their spirit of Negation and Unbelief, the cult of Despair. Present education comes in for a severe condemnation, and its misguided savants who are imparting the training of the duckling, the waddler on earth, to the budding youth of the country who are the younglings of the royal eagle, who could scour the whole breadth of the sky with one mighty sweep of her noble wings. The whole is rounded up with a fervent appeal for virile action, self respect, noble principles and liberty of ideas, and once more teaches them to lead the life of the eagle (of whom he is as fond as Dante himself) and give up the habits of the carrion-eating vulture.

THE LEIPZIG FAIR

Its Importance for Indian Trade

"**NOTHING** succeeds like success" is a motto that may well be emblazoned over the portals of the Leipzig Fair. Success to the buyer, success to the exhibitor and, last but not least, success to the clever management of the Fair. But that is not all that it means and its term conveys. For, it has little in common with what is generally conceived in the popularly accepted sense of the term "Fair". The promotion of international intercourse and goodwill is one of its principal functions and it is amongst all the fairs and exhibitions in the world a distinct type of its own.

The goods exhibited there are not sold over the counter, they are merely samples placed on view for the merchants who deal in them, and quality alone decides their purchase value. It has a tradition of seven centuries to uphold as a meeting place for thousands of tradesmen from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Moldavia and Tartary as far back as those days when the Spanish and the Portuguese still held supremacy in world trade. In those times the Leipzig Fair supplied the European East and South East with manufactures from the West and with spices and raw materials from the Orient and the West Indies. This development brought about a steadily increasing attendance of traders from the various sports and manufacturing centres of Western Europe at a very early stage of its existence as an international market. A brisk exchange of political and religious ideas and philosophical thoughts was a logical outcome of the incessant flow of goods through the Fair and that exchange in turn made Leipzig the trade centre not only of Germany but of a considerable portion of the whole civilized world, a position it still holds to this day, especially in respect of India's vast trade with European countries. The huge population of that grand old

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country has thousands of material needs and requirements that can be and are met through the instrumentality of the Leipzig Fair in exchange for its enormous wealth in raw materials and finished products.

In the 18th century Leipzig bankers financed exhibitions on an imposing scale and for nearly 700 years Leipzig has been the converging and diverging point of almost all the trade routes passing from one end of Europe to the other. In the vicinity of Leipzig many decisive battles in European history were fought. Here in the year 933 the invasion of the Huns came to a standstill, and here again in the Thirty Years War Gustav Adolf of Sweden fought the battles of Breitenfeld and Lutzen and in 1813 Napoleon on his retreat from Moscow received the blow which ultimately led to Waterloo, Elba and St. Helena.

Such is the historical background on which now twice every year more than 20 different nations display their machines and finished products to buyers from over 60 countries of the world and where merchants from India lay in their stocks to meet the requirements of their multitude of customers. The fair has the character of an international exchange for dealers in industrial products and raw materials. Differences in taste and style and in the range of the most favoured qualities are closely observed here, and a shrewd experience in dealing with the delicate conceptions of national pride is an essential factor in all the dealings consummated at this Fair. Visitors from India have invariably expressed themselves as fully gratified with the success gained by them at the Fair and as having been amply repaid for the trouble and expense of a visit to Leipzig. To be sure, there must be weighty reasons and unusual advantages to induce hundreds of thousands of businessmen to journey every year from all parts of the world and from such far-off countries as India to the Leipzig Fair. Naturally the exhibitor prefers to display his wares here, because it is here that he finds the largest possible number of buyers. The multitude of buyers, on the other hand, is attracted hither by the certainty of here finding a comprehensive array of the products of the industry of the whole world. No catalogue or other descriptive matter, however excellent its make-up may be, can in its effect compare with that of the actual samples

The Leipzig Fair

exhibited here. Nearly all novelties which dominate seasonal trade are presented to the businessmen for the first time at the Leipzig Fair. Special wishes concerning the character and individual taste of the consumers are conveyed in personal conversation during the Fair from the wholesale buyers to the manufacturers attending the Fair.

A fact of the greatest importance to the buyer is, that he can nowhere better than at the Leipzig Fair obtain first-hand information on the entire exhibits of individual branches of trade, since the whole industry concerned is represented with its production here. In Leipzig the exhibitors are grouped according to branches, an arrangement which affords a clear and embracing view of the latest creations of the various industries, so that buyers can gain a true insight into all the goods required by them, compare prices and terms of the various manufacturers and thus conclude the most favourable bargains and purchase agreements. That opportunity of personal contact between producers and distributors of finished goods implies the possibility of regular communication between individuals who in their country form no small group of potential influence in the shaping of mutual political and economic destinies.

The inner city of Leipzig has 24 different exhibition palaces for the Samples Fair, where all imaginable fashion and utility articles are displayed in clear arrangement. The Fair has thus special exhibition buildings set aside for glass, china, stoneware, earthenware, for household and kitchen utensils and hardware, for toys and musical instruments, for fancy goods and small wares, watches, clocks, precious metal and jewelry, articles for the optical and photographic branches, light fittings, furniture, stationery, office supplies, pictures and books, for textiles, sporting articles, chemicals and drugs, for cosmetic articles and all other products of a modern industrial country.

The Great Engineering Fair, and Building Fair, on the other hand, is staged at every Spring Fair on the vast exhibition grounds on the Eastern outskirts of the city and embraces practically the entire range of existing production means, from the most delicate precision instrument to the heaviest mammoth machine

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plants. The halls accommodating the Building Fair show, besides, a half-yearly display of the latest products for building and house supplies and a large variety of new building methods, while the grounds adjoining the halls are set aside for demonstrating dredgers, transport gear and building equipment in operation. The trade possibilities of the business world in Leipzig are still further extended in their scope by the fact that many countries are permanent exhibitors and maintain standing offices of their own, as, for instance, Italy, Japan and Brazil, and that raw materials may be exchanged here in barter for manufactured finished goods, a feature of special significance for the populous country of India.

Although a journey from India to Germany is certainly no small matter as far as time and expense are concerned, all Indian merchants who ever came from that country to Leipzig have never regretted yet having undertaken it. The next Leipzig Autumn Fair with about 6,000 manufacturers will be held at the end of August—that is about a fortnight after the close of the Olympic Games held this year at Berlin, and people from India will find a hearty welcome awaiting them both at the Capital of Germany and at Leipzig. The trade balance of the Leipzig Fair has always constituted a fairly reliable barometer of the coming development of European and large parts of world trade, and Indian businessmen should not miss this rare opportunity of doing good and profitable business by a personal visit to this most famous of all exhibitions in the world.

THE VISION OF NEW INDIA

MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS*

[BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

COMRADES,

AFTER many years I face you again from this tribune, many weary years of strife and turmoil and common suffering. It is good for us to meet again ; it is good for me to see this great host of old comrades and friends, linked together by strong bonds that cannot break, to sense the old brave spirit yet again, to feel your overwhelming kindness and goodwill to one whose greatest privilege it is to have been a comrade and a soldier with all of you in a mighty struggle for freedom. I am heartened and strengthened by you, though even in this great gathering I feel a little lonely. Many a dear comrade and friend has left us, worn out, long before the normal length of our earthly days, by the stress and strain of conflict. One by one they go, leaving a void in our hearts and a dull misery in our minds. They find peace from this turmoil perhaps, and it is well, for they deserved it. They rest after their labours.

But what of us who remain behind with a heavier burden to carry? There is no rest for us or for those who languish in prison or in detention camp. We cannot rest, for rest is betrayal of those who have gone and in going handed the torch of freedom to us to keep alight ; it is betrayal of the cause we have espoused and the pledge we have taken ; it is betrayal of the millions who never rest.

I am aweary and I have come back like a tired child yearning for solace in the bosom of our common mother, India. That solace has come to me in overflowing measure ; thousands of hands have been stretched out to me in love and sympathy ; millions of silent voices have carried their message of affection to my heart. How can I thank you, men and women of India? How can I express in words feelings that are too deep for utterance ?

*This is the full text of the Presidential Address which Jawaharlal Nehru delivered at the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress.

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For many years now I have been a distant looker-on on this Indian scene where once I was an actor, and many a thing has happened that has filled me with distress and anguish. I do not wish to survey this recent past of ours, which must be fresh in your memory, and which has left a sorry trail behind and many knots which are difficult to unravel. But we may not ignore it for out of that past as well as the present, we have to build our future. We have followed high ideals and we have taken pride in the fact that our means are worthy of those ideals. We have been witnesses of many a miracle in this old and battered land of ours, and yet our very success has been followed by failure and disillusion. Temporary failure has little significance when the aim is high and the struggle bound to be a long one ; it is but the incentive to further effort. Often it teaches us more than a victory easily won and becomes a prelude to a greater success. But we profit by it only if we learn its lesson and search our minds for an explanation of that failure. Only by constant self-questioning, individual and national, can we keep on the right path. An easy and unthinking confidence is almost as bad as a weak submission to helpless dejection. Real failure comes only when we forget our ideals and objectives and principles and begin to wander away from the road which leads to their realization.

In this crisis of our history, therefore, let us look into ourselves and examine, without pity or prejudice, what we have done and what others have done to us, and seek to find out where we stand to-day. We dare not delude ourselves or evade real issues for fear of offending others, even though some of these others are comrades whom we respect. That is the way of self-deception which none who seek great and vital changes can follow except at their peril.

Sixteen years ago, under the inspiration of our leader, we took a new and long step converting this Congress from an ineffective body, feebly functioning amongst the upper classes, into a powerful democratic organization with its roots in the Indian soil and the vast masses who live on it. A handful of our old friends, representing an age and a class which had had its day, left us, fearful of this democratic upsurge, and preferring the shelter protection of British imperialism to joining hands with the new

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vital forces which convulsed the country and struggled for freedom. Historically, they lapsed into the past. But we heard the rumbling of those forces and, for the moment, lined up with them and played a not unworthy part in current history. We sensed the new spirit of mass release, of psychological escape from the cramping effects of long subjection ; we gloried in the breaking of the mental bonds that encompassed us. And because our minds became free we felt that political freedom could not be far, for it is often harder to break the bonds of the spirit than physical bonds and chains of iron and steel. We represented the Spirit of the Age and were marching step by step with countless others in our country and outside. The exhilaration of being in tune with the masses and with world forces came upon us and the feeling that we were the agents of historic destiny.

We were engrossed in our national struggle and the turn it took bore the powerful impress of our great leader and of our national genius. We were hardly conscious then of what was happening outside. And yet our struggle was but part of a far wider struggle for freedom, and the forces that moved us were moving millions of people all over the world and driving them into action. All Asia was astir from the Mediterranean to the Far East, from the Islamic West to the Buddhist East ; Africa responded to the new spirit ; Europe, broken up by the war, was struggling to find a new equilibrium. And right across a vast area in Europe and Asia, in the Soviet territories, a new conception of human freedom and social equality fought desperately against a host of enemies. There were great differences in the many aspects of this freedom struggle all over the world we were misled by them and did not see the common background. Yet if we are to understand these varied phenomena, and derive a lesson from them for our own national struggle, we must try to see and understand the whole picture. And if we do so we cannot fail to observe an organic connection between them which endures through changing situations. If once we grasp this organic bond, the world situation becomes easier to understand and our own national problems take their proper places in the wider picture. We realize then that we cannot isolate India or the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world. To do so is to ignore the real forces that are shaping events and to cut ourselves adrift

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from the vital energy that flows from them. To do so, again, is to fail to understand the significance of our own problems, and if we do not understand this how can we solve them? We are apt to lose ourselves, as we have indeed done, in petty conflicts and minor questions, like the communal problem, and forget the major issues; we are apt to waste our energy (like our moderate friends do) in interminable discussions over legal quibbles and constitutional questions.

During the troubled aftermath of the Great War came revolutionary changes in Europe and Asia, and the intensification of the struggle for social freedom in Europe, and a new aggressive nationalism in the countries of Asia. There were ups and downs, and sometimes it appeared as if the revolutionary urge had exhausted itself and things were settling down. But economic and political conditions were such that there could be no settling down, the existing structure could no longer cope with these new conditions, and all its efforts to do so were vain and fruitless. Everywhere conflicts grew and a great depression overwhelmed the world and there was a progressive deterioration, everywhere except in the wide-flung Soviet territories of the U. S. S. R., where, in marked contrast with the rest of the world, astonishing progress was made in every direction. Two rival economic and political systems faced each other in the world and, though they tolerated each other for a while, there was an inherent antagonism between them, and they played for mastery on the stage of the world. One of them was the capitalist order which had inevitably developed into vast imperialisms, which, having swallowed the colonial world, were intent on eating each other up. Powerful still and fearful of war, which might endanger their possessions, yet they came into inevitable conflict with each other and prepared feverishly for war. They were quite unable to solve the problems that threatened them and helplessly they submitted to slow decay. The other was the new socialist order of the U. S. S. R., which went from progress to progress, though often at terrible cost, and where the problems of the capitalist world had ceased to exist.

Capitalism, in its difficulties, took to fascism with all its brutal suppression of what western civilization had apparently stood for: it became, even in some of its homelands, what its

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imperialist counterpart had long been in the subject colonial countries. Fascism and imperialism thus stood out as the two faces of the new decaying capitalism, and though they varied in different countries according to national characteristics and economic and political conditions, they represented the same forces of reaction and supported each other, and at the same time came into conflict with each other, for such conflict was inherent in their very nature. Socialism in the west and the rising nationalisms of the eastern and other dependent countries opposed this combination of fascism and imperialism. Nationalism in the East, it must be remembered, was essentially different from the new and terribly narrow nationalism of fascist countries, the former was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction.

Thus we see the world divided up into two vast groups to-day – the imperialist and fascist on one side, the socialist and nationalist on the other. There is some overlapping of the two and the line between them is difficult to draw, for there is mutual conflict between the fascist and imperialist Powers, and the nationalism of subject countries has sometimes a tendency to fascism. But the main division holds and if we keep it in mind, it will be easier for us to understand world conditions and our own place in them.

Where do we stand then, we who labour for a free India? Inevitably we take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against fascism and imperialism. We have to deal with one imperialism in particular, the oldest and the most far-reaching of the modern world, but powerful as it is, it is but one aspect of world-imperialism. And that is the final argument for Indian independence and for the severance of our connection with the British Empire. Between Indian nationalism, Indian freedom and British imperialism there can be no common ground, and if we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever our name or status, whatever outward semblance of political power we might have, we remain cribbed and confined and allied to and dominated by the reactionary forces and the great financial vested interests of the capitalist world. The exploitation of our masses will still continue and all the vital social

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problems that face us will remain unsolved. Even real political freedom will be out of our reach, much more so radical social changes.

With the development of this great struggle all over the world we have seen the progressive deterioration of many of the capitalist-imperialist countries and an attempt at consolidation of the reactionary forces under fascism or Nazi-ism or so-called 'national' governments. In India the same process has been evident to us during these past years, and the stronger the nationalist movement has grown, the more have efforts been made by our imperialist rulers to break our ranks and to gather together under their banner the reactionary elements in the country. The Round Table Conferences were such attempts and, though they helped our rulers in some measure, they served a useful purpose by showing us clearly the division between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces in the country. Unhappily we did not fully profit by this lesson and we still imagine that we can win over some of these imperialist groups to the side of Indian freedom and anti-imperialism, and in a vain attempt to do so, we suppress our ideals, blush for our objectives and tone down our activities.

Meanwhile the decay of British imperialism in India becomes ever more apparent. It cannot, by its very nature, solve our economic problems and rid us of our terrible poverty, which it has largely itself created. It subsists on a normal fare of the fiercest repression and a denial of civil and even personal liberty. It surrounds us with a wide network of spies and, among the pillars of its administration, are the tribe of informers and *agents provocateurs* and the like. Its services try to seek comfort for their obvious deterioration and incompetence by perpetually singing songs of mutual adulation. Argument gives place to the policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet and prison and detention camp, and even our extraordinary finances are justified by the methods of the bully. It is astonishing to find to what depths of vulgarity our rulers have descended in their ardent desire to hold on to what they have got, and it is depressing, though perhaps inevitable, that some of our own countrymen, more interested in British Imperialism than the British themselves, should excel at this deplorable game. So wanting in mental equilibrium are they, so

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obsessed by fear of the Congress and the national movement it represents, that their wishes become thoughts, their thoughts inferences, and their inferences facts, solemnly stated in official publications, and on which the majesty of the British Government rests in India, and people are kept in prison and detention camp without charge or trial. Being interested in psychology, I have watched this process of moral and intellectual decay and realized, even more than I did previously, how autocratic power corrupts and degrades and vulgarizes. I have read sometimes the reports of the recent Assembly meetings and noted the great difference in tone and content between them and the Assembly of ten years ago. I have observed the forced attempts made to discredit the Congress by a reference to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with which I was connected for many years as Secretary of the Congress. But prepared as I was for much, even I was surprised at the insinuations made against our much-loved chief, Rajendra Bahu, and the charges brought against the Behar Relief Fund. A mild criticism by me of official incompetence soon after the Behar earthquake was deeply resented probably because the truth of it was realized. Newspapers that criticized the official arrangements at a subsequent earthquake were heavily penalized or suppressed. All criticism hurts the sensitive skin of the Government and its reactions are quick and far-reaching. The more incompetent it grows the less it likes being told so. But this does not prevent it from indulging in reckless allegations about others.

This psychological aspect interests me even more than the more aggressive manifestations of British authority in India, for it throws light on much that has happened. It shows us how a clear and definite fascist mentality has developed among our rulers and how closely allied is imperialism to fascism. How this fascist mentality has functioned in the recent past and is functioning to-day, I shall not go into now. You know well the horror of these years and of the night-mare that we have all experienced. We shall not easily forget it and if there are some who have been cowed down by it, there are others who have steeled themselves to a greater resolve to end this infamy in India.

But of one thing I must say a few words for to me it is one of the most vital things that I value. That is the tremendous

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deprivation of civil liberties in India. A government that has to rely on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar laws, that suppresses the press and literature, that bans hundreds of organizations, that keeps people in prison without trial and that does so many other things that are happening in India to-day, is a government that has ceased to have even a shadow of a justification for its existence. I can never adjust myself to these conditions, I find them intolerable. And yet I find many of my own countrymen complacent about them, some even supporting them, some, who have made the practice of sitting on a fence into a fine art, being neutral when such questions are discussed. And I have wondered what there was in common between them and me and those who think like I do. We in the Congress welcome all cooperation in the struggle for Indian freedom: our doors are ever open to all who stand for that freedom and are against imperialism. But they are not open to the allies of imperialism and the supporters of repression and those who stand by the British Government in its suppression of civil liberty. We belong to opposite camps.

Recently, as you know, we have had a typical example of the way Government functions in India in the warning issued to a dear and valued comrade of ours, Subhas Chandra Bose. We who know him also know how frivolous are the charges brought against him. But even if there was substance in them we could not tolerate willingly the treatment to which he has long been subjected. He did me the honour to ask me for advice and I was puzzled and perplexed for it is no easy thing to advise another in such a matter, when such advice might mean prison. Subhas Bose has suffered enough at the cost of his health. Was I justified in adding to this mental and physical agony? I hesitated and at first suggested to him to postpone his departure. But this advice made me unhappy and I consulted other friends and then advised him differently. I suggested that he should return to his homeland as soon as he could. But, it appears, that even before my advice reached him, he had started on his journey back to India.

This instance leads us to think of the larger problem, of the way the bogey of terrorism has been exploited by the Government to crush political activity and to cripple physically and mentally the fair province of Bengal. You know that

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terrorism as such is practically non-existent now in Bengal or any part of India. Terrorism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as so-called constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility. Our national movement has long outgrown that immature stage, and even the odd individuals who have in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy. The Congress, by its stress on peaceful and effective action, has drawn the youth of the country into its fold and all traces of terroristic activity would long have vanished but for the policy of the Government which feeds the roots out of which a helpless violence grows. But terrorism or no terrorism, a government which adopts the methods which have long prevailed in Midnapore and elsewhere in Bengal stands self-condemned. Similar methods have also long prevailed in the Frontier Province, although there is no hint of terroristic activity there, and that fine man and true, beloved of millions, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, still lies in prison. Excuses differ, but the real reason is the ever-growing fascist mentality of our rulers.

That is one side of the picture. What of us? I have found a spirit of disunion spreading over the land, a strange *malaise*, and petty conflicts amongst old comrades growing ever bigger and interfering with all activity. We have forgotten for the moment the larger ideals we stood for and we quarrel over petty issues. We have largely lost touch with the masses and, deprived of the life-giving energy that flows from them, we dry up and weaken and our organization shrinks and loses the power it had. First things must always come first and because we have forgotten this and argue and dispute over secondary matters, we are in danger of losing our bearings.

Every great struggle has its ups and downs and temporary failures. When such a setback occurs there is a reaction when the fund of national energy is exhausted and has to be re-charged. That happens again and again, and yet that is not an adequate explanation of all that has taken place. Our direct action struggles in the past were based on the masses, and especially the peasantry, but the backbone and leadership were always supplied by the middle classes, and this, under the circumstances, was inevitable.

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The middle classes are a vague group or groups; at the top, a handful of them are closely allied to British imperialism; at the bottom are the dispossessed and other groups who have been progressively crushed by economic circumstances and out of whose ranks come the advanced political workers and revolutionaries; in between are the centre groups, which tend often to side with the advanced elements, but which also have alliances with the upper groups and live in the hope of joining their superior ranks. A middle class leadership is thus often a distracted leadership, looking in two directions at the same time. In times of crisis and struggle, when unity of aim and activity is essential, this two-faced leadership is bound to injure the cause and to hold back when a forward move is called for. Being too much tied up with property and the goods of this world, it is fearful of losing them and it is easier to bring pressure on it and to exhaust its stamina. And yet, paradoxically, it is only from the middle class intellectuals that revolutionary leadership comes, and we in India know that our bravest leaders and our stoutest comrades have come from the ranks of the middle classes. But by the very nature of our struggle, these front rank leaders are taken away and the others who take their place tire and are influenced more by the static element of their class. That has been very evident during our recent struggle when our propertied classes were hit hard by the Government's drastic policy of seizure and confiscation of monies and properties, and were thus induced to bring pressure for the suspension of the struggle.

How is this problem to be solved then? Inevitably we must have middle class leadership but this must look more and more towards the masses and draw strength and inspiration from them. The Congress must be not only *for* the masses, as it claims to be, but *of* the masses; only then will it really be for the masses. I have a feeling that our relative weakness to-day is due to a certain decay of our middle class elements and our divorce from the people at large. Our policies and ideas are governed far more by this middle class outlook than by a consideration of the needs of the great majority of the population. Even the problems that trouble us are essentially middle class problems, like the communal problem, which have no significance for the masses.

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This is partly due, I think, to a certain historical growth during the last fifteen years to which we have failed to adapt ourselves, to a growing urgency of economic problems affecting the masses, and to a rising mass consciousness which does not find sufficient outlet through the Congress. This was not so in 1920 and later when there was an organic link between Congress and the masses, and their needs and desires, vague as they were, found expression in the Congress. But as those needs and desires have taken more definite shape, they have not been so welcome to other elements in the Congress and that organic connection has gone. That, though regrettable, is really a sign of growth and, instead of lamenting it, we must find a new link and a new connection on a fresh basis which allows for growth of mass consciousness within the Congress. The middle class claim to represent the masses had some justification in 1920; it has much less to-day, though the lower middle classes have still a great deal in common with the masses.

Partly also our divorce from the people at large is due to a certain narrowness of our Congress constitution. The radical changes made in it fifteen years ago brought it in line with existing conditions then and it drew in large numbers and became an effective instrument of national activity. Though the control and background were essentially middle-class and city, it reached the remotest village and brought with it political and economic consciousness to the masses and there was widespread discussion of national issues in city and village alike. One could feel the new life pulsating through this vast land of ours and, as we were in harmony with it, we drew strength from it. The intense repression by the Government during later years broke many of our physical and outward bonds with our countryside. But something more than that happened. The vague appeal of earlier days no longer sufficed, and on the new economic issues that were forcing themselves on us, we hesitated to give a definite opinion. Worse even than the physical divorce, there was a mental divorce between the middle class elements and the mass elements. Our constitution no longer fitted in with changing conditions; it lost its roots in the soil and became a matter of small committees functioning in the air. It still had the mighty prestige of the Congress name behind it and this carried it a long

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way, but it had lost the living democratic touch. It became a prey to authoritarianism and a battleground for rival cliques fighting for control, and, in doing so, stooping to the lowest and most objectionable of tactics. Idealism disappeared and in its place there came opportunism and corruption. The constitutional structure of the Congress was unequal to facing the new situation; it could be shaken up anywhere almost by a handful of unscrupulous individuals. Only a broad democratic basis could have saved it and this was lacking.

Last year an attempt was made to revise the constitution in order to get rid of some of these evils. How far that attempt has succeeded or not I am not competent to judge. Perhaps it has made the organization more efficient but efficiency means little if it has no strength behind it, and strength, for us, can only come from the masses. The present constitution stresses still further the authoritarian side of the organization, and in spite of stressing rural representation does not provide effective links with the masses.

The real problem for us is, how in our struggle for independence we can join together all the anti-imperialist forces in the country, how we can make a broad front of our mass elements with the great majority of the middle classes which stands for independence. There has been some talk of a joint front but, so far as I can gather, this refers to some alliance among the upper classes, probably at the expense of the masses. That surely can never be the idea of the Congress and if it favours it, it betrays the interests it has claimed to represent, and loses the very reason for its existence. The essence of a joint popular front must be uncompromising opposition to imperialism, and the strength of it must inevitably come from the active participation of the peasantry and workers.

Perhaps you have wondered at the way I have dealt at some length with the background of international and national affairs and not touched so far the immediate problems that fill your minds. You may have grown impatient. But I am convinced that the only right way of looking at our own problems is to see them in their proper place in a world-setting. I am convinced

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that there is intimate connection between world events, and our national problem is but a part of the world problem of capitalist-imperialism. To look at each event apart from the others and without understanding the connection between them must lead us to the formation of erratic and erroneous views. Look at the vast panorama of world change to-day, where mighty forces are at grips with each other and dreadful war darkens the horizon. Subject peoples struggling for freedom and imperialism crushing them down; exploited classes facing their exploiters and seeking freedom and equality. Italian imperialism bombing and killing the brave Ethiopians; Japanese imperialism continuing its aggression in North China and Mongolia; British imperialism piously objecting to other countries misbehaving, yet carrying on in much the same way in India and the Frontier; and behind it all a decaying economic order which intensifies all these conflicts. Can we not see an organic connection in all these various phenomena? Let us try to develop the historic sense so that we can view current events in proper perspective and understand their real significance. Only then can we appreciate the march of history and keep step with it.

I realize that in this address I am going a little beyond the usual beat of the Congress president. But I do not want you to have me under any false pretences and we must have perfect frankness with each other. Most of you must know my views on social and economic matters for I have often given expression to them. Yet you chose me as president. I do not take that choice to mean an endorsement by you all, or by a majority, of those views, but I take it that this does mean that those views are spreading in India and that most of you will be indulgent in considering them at least.

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That

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involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization in the territories of the U. S. S. R. Much has happened there which has pained me greatly and with which I disagree, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and a new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age. If the future is full of hope it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that, if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilization will spread to other lands and put an end to the wars and conflicts which capitalism feeds.

I do not know how or when this new order will come to India. I imagine that every country will fashion it after its own way and fit it in with its national genius. But the essential basis of that order must remain and be a link in the world order that will emerge out of the present chaos.

Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the Congress to become a socialist organization and to join hands with the other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization. But I realize that the majority in the Congress, as it is constituted to-day, may not be prepared to go thus far. We are a nationalist organization and we think and work on the nationalist plane. It is evident enough now that this is too narrow even for the limited objective of political independence, and so we talk of the masses and their economic needs. But still most of us hesitate, because of our nationalist backgrounds, to take a step which might frighten away some vested interests. Most of those interests are already ranged against us and we can expect little from them except opposition even in the political struggle.

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Much as I wish for the advancement of socialism in this country, I have no desire to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of our struggle for independence. I shall cooperate gladly and with all the strength in me with all those who work for independence even though they do not agree with the socialist solution. But I shall do so stating my position frankly and hoping in course of time to convert the Congress and the country to it, for only thus can I see it achieving independence. It should surely be possible for all of us who believe in independence to join our ranks together even though we might differ on the social issue. The Congress has been in the past a broad front representing various opinions joined together by that common bond. It must continue as such even though the difference of those opinions becomes more marked.

How does socialism fit in with the present ideology of the Congress? I do not think it does. I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combated. Yet I have cooperated whole-heartedly in the past with the khadi programme and I hope to do so in the future because I believe that khadi and village industries have a definite place in our present economy. They have a social, a political and an economic value which is difficult to measure but which is apparent enough to those who have studied their effects. But I look upon them more as temporary expedients of a transition stage rather than as solutions of our vital problems. That transition stage might be a long one, and in a country like India, village industries might well play an important, though subsidiary, rôle even after the development of industrialism. But though I cooperate in the village industries programme my ideological approach to it differs considerably from that of many others in the Congress who are opposed to industrialization and socialism.

The problem of untouchability and the Harijans again can be approached in different ways. For a socialist it presents no difficulty for under socialism there can be no such differentiation or victimization. Economically speaking, the Harijans have constituted the landless proletariat and an economic solution removes the social barriers that custom and tradition have raised.

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I come now to a question which is probably occupying your minds—the new Act passed by the British Parliament and our policy in regard to it. This Act has come into being since the last Congress met, but even at that time we had had a foretaste of it in the shape of the White Paper, and I know of no abler analysis of those provisions than that contained in the presidential address of my predecessor in this high office. The Congress rejected that proposed constitution and resolved to have nothing to do with it. The new Act, as is well known, is an even more retrograde measure and has been condemned by even the most moderate and cautious of our politicians. If we rejected the White Paper, what then are we to do with this new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses? And even if we forget its content for a while, can we forget the insult and injury that have accompanied it, the contemptuous defiance of our wishes, the suppression of civil liberties and the widespread repression that has been our normal lot? If they had offered to us the crown of heaven with this accompaniment and with dishonour, would we not have spurned it as inconsistent with our national honour and self-respect? What then of this?

A charter of slavery is no law for the slave, and though we may perforce submit for a while to it and to the humiliation of ordinances and the like, inherent in that enforced submission is the right and the desire to rebel against it and to end it.

Our lawyers have examined this new constitution and have condemned it. But constitutions are something much more than legal documents. "The real constitution" said Ferdinand Lassalle consists of "the actual relationships of power," and the working of this power we see even to-day, after the Act has been passed. That is the constitution we have to face, not the fine phrases which are sometimes presented to us, and we can only deal with it with the strength and power generated by the people of the country.

To this Act our attitude can only be one of uncompromising hostility and a constant endeavour to end it. How can we do this?

Since my return from Europe I have had the advantage of full and frank discussion with my colleagues of the Working

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Committee. All of us have agreed that the Act has to be rejected and combated, but all of us have not been able to agree to the manner of doing so. We have pulled together in the past and I earnestly hope that we shall do in the future, but in order to do so effectively we must recognize that there are marked differences in our outlooks. I do not yet know, as I write, what the final recommendation of the Working Committee will be on this issue. I can only, therefore, venture to put before you my own personal views on the subject, not knowing how far they represent the views of Congressman. I should like to make it clear, however, in fairness to my old colleagues of the Working Committee, that the majority of them do not agree with all the views I am going to express. But whether we agree or disagree, or whether we agree to differ, there is strong desire on our part to continue to cooperate together, laying stress on our many points of agreement rather than on the differences. That is the right course for us and, as a democratic organization, that is the only course open to us.

I think that, under the circumstances, we have no choice but to contest the election to the new provincial legislatures, in the event of their taking place. We should seek election on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme, with our demand for a Constituent Assembly in the fore-front. I am convinced that the only solution of our political and communal problems will come through such an Assembly, provided it is elected on an adult franchise and a mass basis. That Assembly will not come into existence till at least a semi-revolutionary situation has been created in this country and the actual relationships of power, apart from paper constitutions, are such that the people of India can make their will felt. When that will happen I cannot say, but the world is too much in the grip of dynamic forces to-day to admit of static conditions in India or elsewhere for long. We may thus have to face this issue sooner than we might expect. But, obviously, a Constituent Assembly will not come through the new Act or the new legislatures. Yet we must press this demand and keep it before our country and the world, so that when the time comes we may be ripe for it.

A Constituent Assembly is the only proper and democratic method for the framing of our constitution, and for its delegates

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then to negotiate a treaty with the representatives of the British Government. But we cannot go to it with blank minds in the hope that something good will emerge out of it. Such an Assembly, in order to be fruitful, must have previous thought behind it and a definite scheme put forward by an organized group. The actual details, as to how the Assembly is to be convened, must depend on the circumstances then existing and need not trouble us now. But it will be our function as the Congress to know exactly what we are after, to place this clearly and definitely before the Assembly, and to press for its acceptance.

One of the principal reasons for our seeking election will be to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and to the scores of millions of the disfranchised, to acquaint them with our future programme and policy, to make the masses realize that we not only stand for them but that we are of them and seek to cooperate with them in removing their social and economic burdens. Our appeal and message will not be limited to the voters, for we must remember that hundreds of millions are disfranchised and they need our help most for they are at the bottom of the social ladder and suffer most from exploitation. We have seen in the past widespread official interference in the elections; we shall have to face that, as well as the serried and moneyed ranks of the reactionaries. But the real danger will come from our toning down our programme and policy in order to win over the hesitating and compromising groups and individuals. If we compromise on principles, we shall fall between two stools and deserve our fall. The only right way and the only safe way is to stand four-square on our own programme and to compromise with no one who has opposed the national struggle for freedom in the past, or who is in any way giving support to British imperialism.

When we have survived the election, what then are we to do? Office or no office? A secondary matter perhaps, and yet behind that issue lie deep questions of principle and vital differences of outlook, and a decision on that, either way, has far-reaching consequences. Behind it lies, somewhat hidden, the question of independence itself and whether we seek revolutionary changes in India or are working for petty reforms under the ægis of British imperialism. We go back again in thought to the clash of ideas

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which preceded the changes in the Congress in 1920. We made a choice then deliberately and with determination and discarded the old sterile creed of reformism. Are we to go back again to that blind and suffocating lane, after all these years of brave endeavour, and to wipe out the memory of what we have done and achieved and suffered? That is the issue and let none of us forget it when we have to give our decision. In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change, in this world pregnant with revolutionary and dynamic possibility, are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny, and slide back to static futility? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead, when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal? If we enter the backwaters, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent.

How has this question arisen? If we express our hostility to the Act and reject the entire scheme, does it not follow logically that we should have nothing to do with the working of it and should prevent its functioning, in so far as we can? To accept office and ministry, under the conditions of the Act, is to negative our rejection of it and to stand self-condemned. National honour and self-respect cannot accept this position, for it would inevitably mean our cooperation in some measure with the repressive apparatus of imperialism, and we would become partners in this repression and in the exploitation of our people. Of course we would try to champion the rights of the people and would protest against repression, but as minister under the Act, we could do very little to give relief, and we would have to share responsibility for the administration with the apparatus of imperialism, for the deficit budgets, for the suppression of labour and the peasantry. It is always dangerous to assume responsibility without power, even in democratic countries; it will be far worse with this undemocratic constitution, hedged in with safeguards and reserved powers and mortgaged funds, where we have to follow the rules and regulations of our opponents' making. Imperialism sometimes talks of cooperation but the kind of cooperation it wants is usually known as surrender, and the ministers who accept office will have to do so at the price of surrender of much that they might have stood for in public.

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That is a humiliating position which self-respect itself should prevent one from accepting. For our great national organization to be party to it is to give up the very basis and background of our existence.

Self-respect apart, common sense tells us that we can lose much and gain little by acceptance of office in terms of the Act. We cannot get much out of it, or else our criticism of the Act itself is wrong, and we know that it is not so. The big things for which we stand will fade into the background and petty issues will absorb our attention, and we shall lose ourselves in compromises and communal tangles, and disillusion with us will spread over the land. If we have a majority, and only then can the question of acceptance of office arise, we shall be in a position to dominate the situation and to prevent reactionaries and imperialists from profiting by it. Office will not add to our real strength, it will only weaken us by making us responsible for many things that we utterly dislike.

Again, if we are in a minority, the question of office does not arise. It may be, however, that we are on the verge of a majority and with the cooperation of other individuals and groups we can obtain office. There is nothing inherently wrong in our acting together with others on specific issues of civil liberty or economic or other demands, provided we do not compromise on any principle. But I can imagine few things more dangerous and more likely to injure us than the acceptance of office on the sufferance of others. That would be an intolerable position.

It is said that our chances at the elections would increase if we announced that we were prepared to accept offices and ministries. Perhaps that might be so for all manner of other people, eager for the spoils and patronage that office gives, would then hurry to join us. Does any Congressman imagine that this be a desirable development or that we would gain strength thereby? Again it is said that more voters would vote for us if they knew that we were going to form ministries. That might happen if we deluded them with false promises of what we might do for them within the Act, but a quick nemesis would follow our failure to give effect to those promises, and failures would be inevitable if the promises were worth while.

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There is only one straight course open to us, to go to the people with our programme and make it clear to them that we cannot give effect to the major items in it under present conditions, and therefore, while we use the platform of the legislatures to press that programme, we seek to end these imperialist bodies by creating deadlocks in them whenever we are in a position to do so. Those deadlocks should preferably take place on those programmes so that the masses might learn how ineffective for their purposes are these legislatures.

One fact is sometimes forgotten—the provision for second chambers in many of the provinces. These chambers will be reactionary and will be exploited by the Governor to check any forward tendencies in the lower house. They will make the position of a minister, who seeks advance, even more difficult and unenviable.

Some people have suggested, though their voices are hushed now, that provincial autonomy might be given on this office issue and each Provincial Congress Committee should be empowered to decide it for its own province. An astonishing and fatal suggestion playing into the hands of our imperialist rulers. We who have laboured for Indian unity can never be parties to any proposal which tends to lessen that unity. That way lies disaster and a disruption of the forces working for freedom. If we agree to this, why then should we also not agree to the communal issue being decided provincially, or many other issues, where individual provinces might think differently? First issues will sink into the background, independence itself will fade away, and the narrowest provincialism raise its ugly head. Our policy must be uniform for the whole of India, and it must place first things first, and independence is the first thing of all.

So that I am convinced that for the Congress to favour the acceptance of office, or even to hesitate and waver about it, would be a vital error. It will be a pit from which it would be difficult for us to come out. Practical statesmanship is against it, as well as the traditions of the Congress and the mentality we have sought to develop in the people. Psychologically, any such lead might have disastrous consequences. If we stand for revolutionary

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changes, as we do, we have to cultivate a revolutionary mentality among our people, and anything that goes against it is harmful to our cause.

This psychological aspect is important. For we must never forget, and never delude our masses into imagining, that we can get any real power or real freedom through working these legislatures. We may use them certainly to advance our cause to some extent, but the burden of the struggle for freedom must fall on the masses, and primarily, therefore, our effective work must lie outside these legislatures. Strength will come from the masses and from our work among them and our organization of them.

Of secondary importance though the work in the legislatures is, we may not treat it casually and allow it to become a hindrance to our other work. Therefore it is necessary for the Congress, through its executive, to have direct control over the elections and the programme placed before the country, as well as the activity in the legislatures. Such control will inevitably be exercised through committees and boards appointed for the purpose, but the continued existence of semi-autonomous parliamentary boards seems to be undesirable. Provision should also be made for a periodical review of all such activities so that Congressmen in general and the country should keep in touch with them and should influence them.

We have considered the provincial elections which, it is said, may take place early next year. The time is far off yet and it is by no means impossible that these elections may not take place for a much longer time, or may not take place at all, and the new Act may take its rightful place in oblivion. Much may happen in the course of the next year, and war is ever on the horizon, to upset the schemes and time-tables of our rulers. But we cannot speculate on this and we have to make provision for contingencies. That decision might even have been delayed, but dangerous and compromising tendencies seek to influence Congress policy, and the Congress cannot remain silent when the issue is raised and its whole future is in the balance.

The provincial legislatures may come, but few persons, I imagine, are confident about the coming of the federal part of this

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unholy structure. So far as we are concerned we shall fight against it to our utmost strength, and the primary object of our creating deadlocks in the provinces and making the new Act difficult of functioning, is to kill the Federation. With the Federation dead, the provincial end of the Act will also go and leave the slate clean for the people of India to write on. That writing, whatever it be, can never admit the right of the Indian States to continue as feudal and autocratic monarchies. They have long survived their day, propped up by an alien Power, and have become the strangest anomalies in a changing world. The future has no place for autocracy or feudalism; a free India cannot tolerate the subjection of many of her children and their deprivation of human rights, nor can it ever agree to a dissection of its body and a cutting up of its limbs. If we stand for any human, political, social or economic rights for ourselves, we stand for those identical rights for the people of the States.

I have referred to the terrible suppression of civil liberties by the British Government in India. But in the States matters are even worse, and though we know that the real power behind those States is that of British imperialism, this tragic suppression of our brothers by their own countrymen is of painful significance. Indian Rulers and their ministers have spoken and acted increasingly in the approved fascist manner, and their record during the past few years especially has been one of aggressive opposition to our national demands. States which are considered advanced ban the Congress organization and offer insult to our national flag, and decree new laws to suppress the Press. What shall we say of the more backward and primitive States ?

There is one more matter concerning the Constitution Act which has given rise to much controversy. This is the communal decision. Many people have condemned it strongly and, I think, rightly; few have a good word for it. My own view-point is, however, somewhat different from that of others. I am not concerned so much with what it gives to this group or that but more so with the basic-idea behind it. It seeks to divide India into numerous separate compartments, chiefly on a religious basis, and thus makes the development of democracy and economic policy very difficult. Indeed the communal decision and democracy

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can never go together. We have to admit that, under present circumstances, and so long as our politics are dominated by middle class elements, we cannot do away with communalism altogether. But to make a necessary exception in favour of our Muslim or Sikh friends is one thing, to spread this evil principle to numerous other groups and thus to divide up the electoral machinery and the legislature into many compartments, is a far more dangerous proposition. If we wish to function democratically the proposed communal arrangement will have to go, and I have no doubt that it will go. But it will not go by the methods adopted by the aggressive opponents of the decision. These methods result inevitably in perpetuating the decision for they help in continuing a situation which prevents any reconsideration.

I have not been enamoured of the past Congress policy in regard to the communal question and its attempts to make pacts and compromises. Yet essentially I think it was based on a sound instinct. First of all the Congress always put independence first and other questions, including the communal one, second, and refused to allow any of those other questions to take pride of place. Secondly, it argued that the communal problem had arisen from a certain set of circumstances which enabled the third party to exploit the other two. In order to solve it, one had either to get rid of the third party (and that meant independence), or get rid of that set of circumstances, which meant a friendly approach by the parties concerned and an attempt to soften the prejudice and fear that filled them. Thirdly, that the majority community must show generosity in the matter to allay the fear and suspicion that minorities, even though unreasonably, might have.

That analysis is, I think, perfectly sound. I would add that, in my opinion, a real solution of the problem will only come when economic issues, affecting all religious groups and cutting across communal boundaries, arise. Apart from the upper middle classes, who live in hopes of office and patronage, the masses and the lower middle classes have to face identical political and economic problems. It is odd and significant that all the communal demands of any group, of which so much is heard, have nothing whatever to do with these problems of the masses and the lower middle classes.

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It is also significant that the principal communal leaders, Hindu or Moslem or others, are political reactionaries, quite apart from the communal question. It is sad to think how they have sided with British imperialism in vital matters, how they have given their approval to the suppression of civil liberty, how during these years of agony they have sought to gain narrow profit for their group at the expense of the larger cause of freedom. With them there can be no cooperation, for that would mean cooperation with reaction. But I am sure that with the larger masses and the middle classes, who may have temporarily been led away by the specious claims of their communal leaders, there must be the fullest cooperation, and out of that cooperation will come a fairer solution of this problem.

I am afraid I cannot get excited over this communal issue, important as it is temporarily. It is after all a side issue and it can have no real importance in the larger scheme of things. Those who think of it as the major issue, think in terms of British imperialism continuing permanently in this country. Without that basis of thought, they would not attach so much importance to one of its inevitable off-shoots. I have no such fear and so my vision of a future India contains neither imperialism nor communalism.

Yet the present difficulty remains and has to be faced. Especially our sympathy must go to the people of Bengal who have suffered most from these communal decisions, as well as from the heavy hand of the Government. Whenever opportunity offer to improve their situation in a friendly way, we must seize it. But always the background of our action must be the national struggle for independence and the social freedom of the masses.

I have referred previously to the growing divorce between our organization and the masses. Individually many of us still have influence with the masses and our word carries weight with them, and who can measure the love and reverence of India's millions for our leader, Gandhiji? And yet organizationally we have lost that intimate touch that we had. The social reform activities of the khadi and village industries and Harijan organizations keep large numbers of our comrades in touch with the masses

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and those contacts bear fruit. But they are essentially non-political and so, politically, we have largely lost touch. There are many reasons for this and some are beyond our control. Our present Congress constitution is, I feel, not helpful in developing these contacts or in encouraging enough the democratic spirit in its primary committees. These committees are practically rolls of voters who meet only to elect delegates or representatives, and take no part in discussion or the formation of policy.

It is interesting to read in that monumental and impressive record, the Webbs' new book on Russia, how the whole Soviet structure is based on a wide and living democratic foundation. Russia is not supposed to be a democratic country after the Western pattern, and yet we find the essentials of democracy present in far greater degree amongst the masses there than anywhere else. The six hundred thousand towns and villages there have a vast democratic organization, each with its own soviet, constantly discussing, debating, criticizing, helping in the formulation of policy, electing representatives to higher committees. This organization as citizens covers the entire population over 18 years of age. There is yet another vast organization of the people as producers, and a third, equally vast, as consumers. And thus scores of millions of men and women are constantly taking part in the discussion of public affairs and actually in the administration of the country. There has been no such practical application of the democratic process in history.

All this is of course utterly beyond us, for it requires a change in the political and economic structure and much else before we can experiment that way. But we can profit by that example still and try in our own limited way to develop democracy in the lowest rungs of the Congress ladder and make the primary committee a living organization.

An additional method for us to increase our contacts with the masses is to organize them as producers and then affiliate such organization to the Congress or have full cooperation between the two. Such organizations of producers as exist to-day, such as trade unions and peasant unions, as well as other anti-imperialist organization could also be brought within this sphere of mutual

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cooperation for the good of the masses and for the struggle for national freedom. Thus Congress could have an individual as well as a corporate membership, and retaining its individual character, could influence, and be influenced by, other mass elements.

These are big changes that I have hinted at, and I am by no means sure how they can be brought about, or whether it is possible to go far in this direction in the near future. Still we must move to some extent at least if we are to have our roots in the soil of India and draw life and strength from its millions. The subject is fascinating but complicated and can only be tackled by an expert committee which I trust will be appointed on behalf of the Congress. The report of that committee must be freely discussed so as to get the widest backing for it.

All this will take us to the next Congress. Meanwhile perhaps some urgent changes are needed in our constitution to remove anomalies and avoid difficulties. Owing to my absence I have had little experience of the working of the new constitution and cannot make any concrete suggestions. The reduction in the numbers of delegates and A. I. C. C. members would be, to some extent, desirable if there was a background of widespread activity in the primary and secondary committees. Without it, it makes us even less responsive to mass opinion, and, therefore, an increase seems desirable. But the real solution is to increase the interest and day-to-day activity of the lower committees.

I have been told that the manual labour franchise has not been a success and has led to a great deal of evasion. If that is so a change is desirable for a constitution must be such as can be worked easily and without subterfuge.

The Congress is an all-inclusive body and represents many interests, but essentially it is a political organization with various subsidiary and allied organizations, like the Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association. These allied organizations work in the economic field but they do not seek directly to remove the burdens of the peasantry under the present system of land tenure. Nor can the Congress, situated as it is, wholly function

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as a peasant organization, although in many provinces it has espoused the cause of the peasantry and brought them much relief. It seems to me necessary that the Congress should encourage the formation of peasant unions as well as workers' unions, and cooperate with such as already exist, so that the day-to-day struggle of the masses might be carried on the basis of their economic demands and other grievances. This identification of the Congress with the economic struggle of the masses will bring us nearer to them and nearer to freedom than anything else. I would welcome also the organization of other special interests, like those of the women, in the general framework of our national struggle for freedom. The Congress would be in a position to coordinate all these vital activities and thus to base itself on the widest possible mass foundation.

There has been some talk of a militant programme and militant action. I do not know what exactly is meant, but if direct action on a national scale or civil disobedience are meant, then I would say that I see no near prospect of them. Let us not indulge in tall talk before we are ready for big action. Our business to-day is to put our house in order, to sweep away the defeatist mentality of some people, and to build up our organization with its mass affiliations, as well as to work amongst the masses. The time may come, and that sooner perhaps than we expect, when we might be put to the test. Let us get ready for that test. Civil disobedience and the like cannot be switched on and off when we feel like doing so. It depends on many things, some of which are beyond our control, but in these days of revolutionary change and constantly recurring crises in the world, events often move faster than we do. We shall not lack for opportunities.

The major problem of India to-day is that of the land—of rural poverty and unemployment and a thoroughly out-of-date land system. A curious combination of circumstances has held back India during the past few generations and the political and economic garments it wears no longer fit it and are torn and tattered. In some ways our agrarian conditions are not unlike those of France a hundred and fifty years ago, prior to the great revolution. They cannot continue so for long. At the same time we have become parts of international capitalism and we suffer the

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pains and crises which afflict this decaying system. As a result of these elemental urges and conflicts of world forces what will emerge in India none can say. But we can say with confidence that the present order has reached the evening of its day, and it is up to us to try to mould the future as we would like it to be.

The world is filled with rumours and alarms of war. In Abyssinia bloody and cruel war has already gone on for many months and we have watched anew how hungry and predatory imperialism behaves in its mad search for colonial domains. We have watched also with admiration the brave fight of the Ethiopians for their freedom against heavy odds. You will permit me, I feel sure, to greet them on your behalf and express our deep sympathy for them. Their struggle is something more than a local struggle. It is one of the first effective checks by an African people on an advancing imperialism and already it has had far-reaching consequences.

In the Far East also war hovers on the horizon and we see an eastern imperialism advancing methodically and pitilessly over ancient China and dreaming of world empire. Imperialism shows its claws wherever it may be, in the West or in the East.

In Europe an aggressive fascism or Nazism steps continuously on the brink of war and vast armed camps arise in preparation for what seems to be the inevitable end of all this. Nations join hands to fight other nations, and progressive forces in each country ally themselves to fight the fascist menace.

Where do we come in in this awful game? What part shall we play in this approaching tragedy? It is difficult to say. But we must not permit ourselves to be passive tools exploited for imperialist ends. It must be our right to say whether we join a war or not, and without that consent there should be no cooperation from us. When the time comes we may have little say in the matter, and so it becomes necessary for the Congress to declare clearly now its opposition to India's participation in any imperialist war, and every war that will be waged by the imperialist Powers will be an imperialist war, whatever the excuses put forward might be. Therefore we must keep out of it and not allow Indian lives and Indian money to be sacrificed.

To the progressive forces of the world, to those who stand for human freedom and the breaking of political and social bonds, we offer our full cooperation in their struggle against imperialism

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and fascist reaction, for we realize that our struggle is a common one. Our grievance is not against any people or any country as such, and we know that even in imperialist England, which throttles us, there are many who do not love imperialism and who stand for freedom.

During this period of difficulty and storm and stress, inevitably our minds and hearts turn to our great leader who has guided us and inspired us by his dynamic personality these many years. Physical ill-health prevents him now from taking his full share in public activities. Our good wishes go out to him for his rapid and complete recovery, and with those wishes is the selfish desire to have him back again amongst us. We have differed from him in the past and we shall differ from him in the future about many things, and it is right that each one of us should act up to his convictions. But the bonds that hold us together are stronger and more vital than our differences, and the pledges we took together still ring in our ears. How many of us have that passionate desire for Indian independence and the raising of our poverty-stricken masses which consumes him? Many things he taught us long years ago it seems now—fearlessness and discipline and the will to sacrifice ourselves for the larger cause. That lesson may have grown dim but we have not forgotten it, nor can we ever forget him who has made us what we are and raised India again from the depths. The pledge of independence that we took together still remains to be redeemed, and we await again for him to guide us with his wise counsel.

But no leader, however great he be, can shoulder the burden singlehanded; we must all share it to the best of our ability and not seek helplessly to rely on others to perform miracles. Leaders come and go; many of our best-loved captains and comrades have left us all too soon, but India goes on and so does India's struggle for freedom. It may be that many of us must suffer still and die so that India may live and be free. The promised land may yet be far from us and we may have to march wearily through the deserts, but who will take away from us that deathless hope which has survived the scaffold and immeasurable suffering and sorrow; who will dare to crush the spirit of India which has found rebirth again and again after so many crucifixions?

SIDE-LIGHTS ON LENIN

[BY ROMAIN ROLLAND]

LENIN was in battle at all moments of his life and with the whole force of his being. All that occupied his thoughts was what he had seen from his observation post as leader of an army, in battle and for battle. He embodied, like none other, the historic hour of human action which is the Proletarian Revolution. Nothing distracted him from this. No personal preoccupations. No respite for the spirit. No dilettantism of thought. No hesitation touched him, no doubt. It was this that gave him power, this that brought victory to the cause which in him was incarnate.

All the energies of the spirit : art, literature, science—he mobilized completely for action—even the elemental tides, the sub-conscious depths of being—even dreams.

Lenin on Dreaming

"We need to dream! I wrote these words and became frightened," said Lenin. "It seemed to me that I was sitting at a 'unity congress' and opposite me were sitting the comrades... And there Comrade So-an-So gets up and threateningly addresses himself to me: 'But permit me to inquire, has the autonomous editorial board the right to dream without preliminary request to the Party committees...?' And following him, another comrade gets up... And still more threateningly continues: 'I go further, I ask: Has a Marxist in general any right to dream, if he remembers that according to Marx ...' and so on. From the mere thought of these menacing questions, cold shivers run down my spine and I can think only of where to conceal myself. I will try to take shelter behind Pisarev:

'There are two sorts of discordance between dreams and reality. My dreams may outstrip the natural march of events, or they may fly off at random thither where no natural march of

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events will ever arrive. In the first case, dreams do not harm ; they may even support and re-enforce the energy of human effort. In such dreams there is nothing that can pervert or paralyze working strength. Quite the contrary ! If man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this fashion, if he could not from time to time run ahead and imaginatively contemplate in an entire and completed picture that creation which is but beginning to form itself under his hands - then I am quite unable to imagine what cogent force could impel a man to undertake extensive and fatiguing labours and carry them to a conclusion... Let us dream, but on condition that we believe seriously in our dreams, that we observe life attentively and compare these observations with our castles in Spain and, generally speaking, work conscientiously for the realization of our fantasies.'

" We need to dream " (it is now Lenin speaking again). " It is a kind of dreaming that, unfortunately, is too rarely found in our movement ... And the most guilty in this respect are those who pride themselves upon their hard-headedness, their ' closeness ' to ' actuality ' .. "

Thus did Lenin dream 30 years ago during the darkest days of Tsarism when the labour movement was just being born. Thus did he dream of—action.

Action and Thought

We know in history of masters of action, leaders of peoples, who divided their lives into two parts : one for action, another for the play of thought ; and the latter was a flight from action. One example, perhaps the greatest, of this type of man was Julius Cæsar. When he engaged in action (and what action !) he was completely engrossed by it. But he, like English statesmen, had to have his weekends, during which he sought the relaxation of high thinking and fine talk in discourse with Cicero. The fact is that this conqueror of Rome and the Gallic lands was and remained at bottom a dilettante, for whom action itself was a game, the greatest of games, the most worthy of a man who was really a man, really a Roman -- but none the less a game, that is to say, in the end, an illusion.

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No illusions for Lenin. No escape in illusion. He had a sense of reality which was powerful, permanent, uninterrupted. And those who did not have this and those who took flight from action aroused in him silent laughter made up of banter, irony, good-natured pity and a bit of scorn—like a healthy man laughing at weighty and elderly and childish-minded gentlemen.

This sense of the real he carried into the dream of art. He loved art, he was far from being uninterested in it, as some have claimed. "He knew the classics thoroughly and loved them." He read and re-read Tolstoi, in whom he took delight, of whom he was proud as a companion by race and in thought. If he avowed himself incompetent to judge the new poetry, he had sufficient intuition to feel an ally in Mayakovski and applaud his slashing political satires. And how music took hold of him! And with what passion he was able to listen! Who can forget the burning words he spoke about Beethoven's "Appassionata"? He loved it so much, felt it so intensely that he had to deny himself of it in order to escape from its grip. . . . Most certainly he was familiar with the dream which is art. But in battle, which was his law and his destiny, he desired that the dream of art should, like his own dreams, be a force in and support for the combat, that it should always participate in action.

Art and Neutrality

And indeed art has always joined in the combats of its epoch, even when it has pretended to retire from them, even when it has tricked itself out with that childish label: "Art for art's sake." This label is a lie. The mere fact of retiring from the battle is, whether one realizes it or not, to wash one's hands, like Pilate, of social iniquity; it is to yield place to the oppressors and tacitly to lend oneself to the crushing of the oppressed. It was this that Krylenko pointed out, on the 9th of November, on the eve of the counter-revolutionary attack on Petrograd, to a meeting of armoured car detachments: "You are asked to remain neutral, when the Junkers and the Death Battalions, who are never neutral, are shooting us in the streets". To remain neutral is to say to them: "But please, gentlemen, please shoot!" It is necessary to be frank. The great majority of bourgeois writers who call themselves

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non-political are not so, by virtue of the single fact that they do not experience any desire to overturn the bourgeois order, the privileges of which in self-esteem, if not in money, they desire at the bottom of their hearts to preserve—privileges which are craftily granted them so as to tame them! They will not defend this order with arms, for it is not their profession to be brave and they want to keep their hands lily-white. But without admitting it to themselves, they are on the side of the big guns. This was well seen after the Paris Commune, when Dumas fils, Francisque Sarcey—to say nothing alas! of men greater than these—lost their breath barking at the panting prey pursued by Monsieurs Thiers and the Marquis de Gallifet.

Literature and Social Conflict

As Lenin wrote in articles during 1903, inasmuch as we live in a class society, there is not and cannot be a point of view which is not a class point of view in all the manifestations of the spirit. Whether literature likes it or not, it is subject to the interests and to the passions of the social conflict; it is not and cannot be free from the influence of a class; everything is subject to the influence of classes in struggle and principally to the influence of the dominant class which disposes of the most thorough and most varied methods of persuasion or constraint. Even the greatest of writers, the rare spirits who by force of character are (or think they are) independent of the prejudices and the despotism of opinion which govern the society of their time—even these mighty creative and critical personalities are never, can never be detached from the atmosphere of their times. They are always a Dionysian ear whence resound all the underground rumblings of the period, a super-sensitive seismograph which records the most secret movements stirring the world which surrounds them. And the more abundant the flow of their thinking, the more does one see either mixing or conflicting therein the often contradictory currents both of the past and of the future. They are the mirrors of their age.

It is under this title that Tolstoi was studied by Lenin, two or three times, in penetrating pages: "Leo Tolstoi as a Mirror of the Russian Revolution" (1908).

Side-Lights on Lenin

"The conjunction," writes Lenin, "of the name of the great artist with the Revolution...from which he openly turned away, may at first sight appear strange and artificial. But our Revolution (1905) was an extremely complicated phenomenon; among the masses of its direct protagonists and participants there were many social elements which also clearly did not understand what was happening and also turned away from the real historic tasks placed before them by the march of events...The contradictions in Tolstoi's opinions, from this point of view, are a real mirror of those contradictory conditions in which the historic activity of the peasantry in our revolution was placed. The originality of Tolstoi lies in this that his combination of opinions, harmful as a whole, expresses exactly the peculiarity of our Revolution as a peasant bourgeois Revolution. On the one hand, merciless criticism of capitalist exploitation, unmasking of governmental violence, the farces of the courts, revelation of all the depth of the contradiction between the growth of wealth and the achievements of civilization and the growth of poverty, savagery and suffering of the working masses; on the other hand—a crazy sermon about 'non-resistance to evil' by force...Tolstoi reflected the simmering hatred, the ripened striving towards something better, the desire to escape from the past—and the unripe dreaminess, political illiteracy, revolutionary spinelessness. Historico-economic conditions explain both the inevitability of the breaking out of the revolutionary struggle of the masses and their unpreparedness for the struggle, their Tolstoian non-resistance to evil which was the most serious cause of the defeat of the first revolutionary campaign."

Thought and Social Progress

This judgment of Lenin, applied to a great artist and to a given epoch, may be verified in the case of other masters of the spirit and other epochs—especially pre-revolutionary epochs like our French 18th century. This is just what has been done (certainly without imagining that he was corroborating the thoughts of Lenin) by Professor Daniel Mornet of the Sorbonne, by his 30 years of research embodied in *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Revolution Francaise* ("Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution"). He shows that Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau,

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Diderot and the Encyclopædists understood the future no more than did Tolstoi: they were nevertheless its harbingers. Like Tolstoi, they were nothing more than "*mirrors*" who did not grasp all the contradictory labour of the spirit of their age and the currents which conflicted therein.

"If they had not existed," writes D. Mornet, "it is clear enough that the movements of opinion would not have been very different, would have been merely less intense, less enthusiastic." They did no more than translate these movements of opinion (not without errors or approximations) but translated them into a more striking form, thanks to the force of their minds and the eloquence which they owed to their mastery, professional in some degree, as writers accustomed to observe themselves in the "*mirror*". In seeing themselves, they saw the men of their times and with them they followed confusedly, the ascent upon which the whole 18th century had engaged. But they were far from suspecting whither this ascent would lead them; if they had perceived the destination it is probable that all (with the exception perhaps of the adventurous Diderot) would have drawn back. The 18th century in France did not have as a guide to the Revolution one spirit who in advance clearly saw and desired the succeeding stage to which all the development of history was fatefully leading, as Lenin saw and desired.

For the historian of literature, the interest lies exactly in discerning that which in the Rousseaus, Diderots and Voltaires, in all the great artist-forerunners, goes further than themselves, that in them which belonged - without their suspecting it—to a time which was yet to come and which, if they could have foreseen it, they would have disavowed. This is the work which Lenin, with his sharp and lucid frankness, sketched out in the case of a writer whom he loved above all others, in showing how Leo Tolstoi's genius denounced the lies and the crimes of the social system, his criticism of which was in itself an appeal to revolution but how, faced with revolutionary action, which was indeed the necessary consequence of that criticism, he pranced up with terror and anger and said "No!" flying for refuge into the mysticism of an "oriental immobility" which sought to stop the march of the sun by denying its reality.

Side-Lights on Lenin

This inconsequent abdication by a great heart can be paralleled at lower stages, with a great deal less of contradictory sincerity and impassioned power, in the case of the great majority of artists; in them the vibrations of events resound more intensely than in other men, but as if exhausted by the state of trance in which they sense these vibrations, they steal away from the consequences and in nine cases out of 10 pass over to reaction. They have clearly enough seen the moat, the gulf which must be jumped. But the sight has made them dizzy and their legs tremble. In order to re-establish the fragile equilibrium which has been disturbed they go back, away from the tide on which the epoch rides, to the "normal state of affairs," to the bourgeois order which reassures them about what they saw and did not want to see, back to convention and a jellified life.

Unity of Thought and Action

And it is here that the intelligence of a master of action like Lenin opposes itself radically to their intelligence, by its exceptional logic which makes thought and action one—not a lump in the sense of something petrified and inhuman, but a current of life which identifies itself with the very life of the epoch that is amarch and with its elemental laws.

No one better than Stalin, in his "Recollections of Lenin," has thrown light on this trait by which Lenin was distinguished even from the greater part of the theoreticians and leaders of revolutionary parties; his perpetual communion with the elemental forces which manifest themselves among the masses; he never ceased to maintain contact with them and nothing could make him lose his robust confidence in their creative powers. Stalin quotes a striking remark made by Lenin in an interview with a comrade who distrusted the "chaos of the Revolution" and declared that "after the Revolution normal order must be established." Lenin sarcastically retorted:

"It's a pity that people wanting to be revolutionaries forget that the most normal order in history is the order of revolution."

And Stalin adds:

"Faith in the creative powers of the masses, this is that very peculiarity of the activity of Lenin which enabled him to

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comprehend elemental forces and guide their direction into the channel of the Proletarian Revolution."

There you have the highest gift of the man of action. And it is also the objective of the man of science : to penetrate to the very essence of the elements, their secret forces, their laws and movements, in order to control them.

Let this in the same way be the highest rule for art ! If the majority of artists are too feeble to accept it, the greatest have always instinctively practiced it. And one of the monarchs of painting of all time, Leonardo di Vinci, made it his device. *Transmutarsi nella propria mente di natura* (to assimilate oneself with the forces of nature and transform oneself in the spirit of these forces).

Thus the great artists, the Leonardos and the Tolstois, espouse the living forms of nature. Thus the masters of action, the Lenins, espouse the laws of social life and its rhythm, the vital force which inspires and sustains humanity on its unending upward march.

THE ART OF PORTRAIT PAINTING

[BY RAZIA SIRAJ-UD-DIN¹

PORTRAIT painting is perhaps, the most difficult medium through which an artist can express himself. For to be a successful portrait painter, he must be a psychologist, an anatomist, and an exceptionally keen observer. He must cultivate the accuracy and precision of a mathematician, at the same time possessing a deep understanding of human nature (a quality generally associated with lawyers and philosophers).

Fortunately when he has one or two of these qualities the rest follow as though by mutual consent, and that is why it is possible for him to turn out a good portrait, once in a while, if not regularly.

Let us approach the subject from a technical point of view. For a portrait painter the chief difficulty lies in establishing a harmonious link, and connecting it with the various parts of the painting, the head with the neck, the arms with the hands, the angle of the head with the angle of the torso, the expression of the eyes with the expression of the lips, and so on, thereby producing that enigmatic quality known as personality, which is the very essence of a good portrait. For above all a portrait must be vivid, arresting, and full of life or it can be the most blank and insipid thing on earth, looking like a coloured statue, or a huge-wax-work figure.

In landscape painting, one does not have to bother about the soul, or the expression, to such a degree, for the objects are more or less inert and inanimate ; they do not contain anything extraordinary in themselves. A certain charm of pattern, a value of tone and texture, they certainly do possess, but their chief object is to collaborate, and harmonize with the rest of the landscape to produce a certain atmospheric significance, and it is in this assimilated effect that the greatness of a landscape lies.

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The trees, the flowers, the cottage, the clouds, the sea-shore, are all mutely submissive to the artist's brush, to be contorted and used as he likes. There is no conflict of emotions. The necessity of a bond of sympathy between the artist and the model simply does not arise. There is no need to insert one's own personality into the carefully characterized features of another.

I do not dispute the fact that a good landscape painting can be as great in its own way as a good portrait. Landscape painters like Turner, Corot, and Hobbema, have given us masterpieces which cannot fail to move us. But they appeal to our emotions for the obvious reason that the artists have impregnated them with a living intensity. They have humanized their subjects as it were and given them an individuality of their own. The trees in Corot's landscapes, are not mere hulks, composed of rough barks and scant leaves. They assume the shape of aged, bent old men or frail and slender women.

To give their paintings a touch of intimacy, and a more direct appeal some artists introduce a human figure in their landscape, for instance, in Millais' *Glen Birnam* the feeling of autumnal chilliness is accentuated by the solitary figure of the old woman. She becomes a medium through which we can sense the dreary solitude of the whole scene.

Even in figure painting, by the mere act of division and the extension of anatomical details, the necessity for concentrated personification becomes somewhat limited. The problem presented is one of composition, of the relationship between the figures, and not of an intangible mysticism. A portrait painter has a single instrument, a limited number of strings, as it were, through which he can materialize his creative instinct. His rendering is that of a violin solo, whereas in a figure study you find the combined developments of an orchestral theme. The appeal of a figure study is instantaneous, and also prolonged, for it contains a diversity of interests. The moment you get bored with the settings of the paintings, you can contemplate the figures themselves. There is the composition to consider, the subject of the painting to meditate upon and any number of technical details to criticize. The titles, *Primavera*, *Sacred and profane*

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love, The birth of Venus, or even a contemporary favourite, *The Bathers*, are so suggestive in themselves, so indulgent to our imagination, and open such vistas of possibilities before us that we are thrilled in anticipation. Even our pre-conceived ideas are, if anything, flattering to the pictures. There is, on the other hand, the possibility of a compromise between the two mediums, a whole series of portraits can be assembled in a single picture, as in Rembrandt's *The Syndics of the Cloth Merchants Guilds*, and Hals' *Governors of the Old Men's Almshouses* as well as the *Arquebusiers of St. Adrian*. In these pictures you see the synthetic combination of portraiture with figurative studies.

But in *The Portrait of a Young Man*, the face of the young man alone, has to be miraculously expressive; it must replace the congregated factors of composition, surroundings, illustrative value, and a vitalized decorative element in a figure painting, with its enigmatic mobility, vital and significant enough to challenge the hostile scrutiny of a critic, confronted with a fellow-being.

When choosing a model, that is to say, if you are in a position to do so, it is always inadvisable to paint some one with whom you are not familiar, some one you have met very seldom and least of all for the first time, unless the face you are going to portray, is a typical one, a face that you can easily visualize in your mind's eye, when it is absent. But if it is a face, that is entirely new, to you you'll find at the finishing stages of the picture, or even earlier, that although perfect in every sculptural detail, it does not somehow, represent the sitter. It is because you have inserted the personality of someone else into the facial structure of your model. A layman will not be able to detect this spiritual defect; he has eyes for a physical resemblance only, as long as the hooked nose is a hooked nose, and the shaggy eyebrows shaggy, he does not find anything to criticize in the portrait. The remark, "You know it does not resemble him," is a typical layman's remark, who betrays his ignorance of painting by seeking a photographer in a portrait painter. An artist or a critic with a trained eye, on the contrary (although he cannot altogether ignore the resemblance), will not attach such all-embracing and stupendous importance to it. He will not vivisect the face on the

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canvas as it were, smashing all the harmonious links, weighing the remainder on a geometrical scale, to balance it with its human replica, discovering in the end that, alas, Mrs. Procter's eyes are a trifle more blue, and wasn't she wearing a pink dress when she posed ?

The artist would take the picture as a summarized whole ; he will seek a response in the face that confronts him, its personality, its emotional appeal, he will consider the technique, the texture, the style, and finally approve of the substitute for the pink dress

The ideal model (from every point of view), is the one with whom you are on terms of perfect intimacy, and have studied his or her face intimately, with that detached and critical interest peculiar to artists. All the portraits of Rembrandt, represent either a member of his family, or a very close and intimate friend and it was the great gift of holding a communion with the soul of his model so to speak, and an almost possessive and masterful grasp on the trickery, and sensitive flexibility of their features which made Rembrandt a successful portrait painter

What is there in the clearly outlined profile of Saskia and the shaded facial contours of Hendrickje Stoffels, but a bold re-assurance of technique, the presence of the artist's own strength of personality, through which he has drawn out all that is valuable and distinctive in the face of his models ? Their features have become pliant and submissive to his brush, which is only possible through the gradual process of the artist's familiarity with his model. In the portrait of his mother, Whistler has conveyed an aroma of delicate and sensitive frailty which envelops the old lady. She sits upright with a lovable and pathetic courage like an invalid who knowing her own weakness is nevertheless prepared to meet life bravely. Had she not been his mother, I doubt, Whistler's ability to introduce this personal and sentimental note in his portrait.

And who knows, how often Leonardo da Vinci sat by the wife of Zanobi del Gioconda, measuring her inscrutable smile with an imaginary brush, until it became materialized in his *Mona Lisa* ?

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So having explored a particular face and discovered all its potentialities and peculiar details you sit down to draw it, with an ease and confidence, which is only natural and no matter what material you might use, a pencil or a brush, the finished sketch will do you justice, for it will catch something of the individuality of the sitter, a spirit of characterization, perhaps, in the very pose, the tilt of the neck, or the droops of the lips, or even that very subtle, and intangible current of perfect emotional balance caused by a link of harmony and unity of thought between the painter and the painted, unless (and this is really a most deplorable exception), the poor artist becomes an unsuspecting and unfortunate victim of that irritating catastrophe, the sudden transformation of the model's expressive mobility into a statuesque rigidity, that hostile and self-conscious shrinking back into the shell (however unintentional), which is the destruction of many a good portrait

For, in portraits of a certain calibre, at any rate, it is essential for the model to be on the same intellectual plane as the artist himself. It is for the model to cultivate a natural spontaneous ease of manner, to learn to give himself out gracefully and have a sympathetic understanding of the artist's need. By a graceful manner I do not necessarily imply a smile of condescension on the face of the model. Let him be as bitter and forbidding as he likes, but whatever the expression, let it be apparent in his face, and not tied up in a little ball somewhere which cannot be discovered and attacked. Let there be a mystery about him but with an indication. The self-consciousness of being drawn should never enter his brain. The woman who knows how to pose beautifully is the one who does not say to herself in all the course of her sitting "I wonder if I am looking nice", letting this one thought dominate all else. And a man can be a perfect model if he does not say to himself "I wonder what the fellow is up to", and "how much longer is he going to take?" Let there be no inferiority complexes. The artist and his model should be on terms of perfect mental equality. It is evident that there is no need for any mental communication between Breton's *Gleaner* and Breton. She stands as physically substantial and docile as a piece of flint. The artist is not interested at the present moment in her emotional complexities, he merely wants to characterize and typify her activity as a human machine. He has no intention

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of drawing out the inner self of a particular woman on his canvas, but to identify in a concrete form the solidity and energetic strength of "the gleaner". Similarly, when painting the old woman saying grace, it was not possible for Nicholas Maes to hold a confidential communion with her for she is in communion with someone else. The profundity of her religious thoughts does not coincide with Maes' materialistic intentions. He is an intruder in her sacred moment, catching her unawares, for if it did not appear to be so, the picture would be a failure. But Bartolommeo Justiniani feels two contradictory emotions for Van Dyck. He is loving and hostile at the same time. He holds his pose hesitatingly and yet could be forced to remain with a little persuasion. To all appearances he doubts Van Dyck's ability to do justice to himself, yet inwardly has great confidence in him.

Arnolfini sits for Jan Van Eyck with a tolerant superiority, half amused and contemptuously critical (with a sort of draw-my-face-but-don't-dare-to-peep-inside look). He is at his guard, and tries to hold the artist's brush at its proper place with his unflinching scrutiny. Moreover he does not approve of portrait painting as a profession.

Pope Innocent IX is secretly delivering a sermon on mysticism to Velasquez, but being too well-bred he does not make it visible on his face. He is conscious of the favour he is granting the artist by sitting for him. These portraits are not so much an illustration of an artist's intimacy with his models as of a mutual understanding between them a kind of conscious encouragement on the part of the sitters, and the consciousness of lending their services.

But in the case of Ariosto and Titian it is the bond of intimacy which unites them. Ariosto is an ideal model willing and helpful. Being a poet he has an affinity with Titian and is interested in the process of his portrait as much as the artist himself. He poses with an easy confidence of manner and is gifted with the most valuable asset of seeing himself through the painter's eyes.

The laughing cavalier is obviously on terms of perfect familiarity with Hals. He holds his jaunty pose after flinging a slightly sarcastic and humorously ironical repartee at the painter. Why is it that I cannot recall a single portrait of an artist by

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himself which could be considered as a perfect specimen of portraiture? There is a sort of spiritual disproportion and physiological defect, which prevents it from becoming convincing and vividly realistic. The reason is obvious, for it is impossible for an artist to combine in his mind the active scrutiny of creativity with the model's responding passivity. It is physically impossible for him to confront himself and study his own features. It is a stranger he meets for the first time reflected in a mirror when he sets out to do his own portrait. Rembrandt tried again and again to depict his own individuality and cast of features on canvas with the result that you see a face before you strangely lacking in substance, however, perfect its colouring and technique may be. In the hands of even a less capable painter than Rembrandt his face could have assumed a new significance and acquired a new angle and a third dimension.

To come to the most vital and distinguishing mark of a portrait, it is only when an artist has evolved through all the preliminary stages of portrait painting that he can develop a style of his own. It is difficult to express merely in theory what we mean by style; or to lay down any fundamental laws about it, for it is a thing which depends to a great extent on the artist's own individuality and the type of face he is going to portray. Style is the outcome of the combination of a consciously acquired knowledge of technique and the artist's natural creative genius.

The portrait which has a glossy photographic perfection, is objectionable for its atrocious style, because its painter has concentrated more insistently on the accuracy of the plastic cast and texture of the face than on its mobile sensibility. It ceases to be a painting and is reduced to a glazed photographic proof, the immediate reflection of nature.

It is taken for granted that there is no room for a vague uncertainty in portrait painting, you cannot apply a stroke at random, hoping that it will all fit in at the end like a jig-saw puzzle. You must distinguish first between the major and minor points of the face you are going to paint, mark out distinctly the more prominent and important features and fit in the rest accordingly.

But it is by no means permissible to extend mere technical details beyond a limit, until the mysterious illusion and essence of

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a face harden into a stony shell. What does it matter if you omit the network of veins on an old woman's face, as long as the chief one is in its proper place?

Let us select a few well-known portraits by famous painters as examples of a perfect combination of technical restraint with a vivid characterization.

There is the *Portrait of a Young Girl* by Ghirlandaio. The secret of its girlish freshness lies in the childish soft cornered lips alone, otherwise there are peculiar old age shadows under her eyes, there is no softening of rounded contours. But do what you like to the picture those girlish lips will mark it with the impress of youth.

Rembrandt's *Old Lady* is a fine example of the economy of lines, there are no usual zig-zaggy wrinkles on her face, which attract artists to the faces of old people. Her cheeks are pouchy and her forehead firm. But it is the suggestion of wrinkles round her nose and upper lip which is far more subtle and expressive and above all her eyes, dull and unseeing, which signify the deadness and resignation of old age.

Hals' *Lute Player* is a most appropriate illustration of an impressionistic greatness of characterization. One could point out the materialistic reasons for the broad infectious smile, but the features are so well connected that you could not separate them, and it is the intangible harmonious expression of the whole face which is striking.

There is a young man painted by Botticelli whose face is singularly arresting, merely because it is painted in a clear and simple way. Strange though it may seem, the appeal lies chiefly in its naked blankness, the dark outline between his mobile lips, balancing the full corners like a scale, the dark rings round his eyes, and the simple shadows on the left cheek. The portrait is a strange mixture of contrasts and combinations and amazingly vital and effective considering the little amount of work that has been put into it.

All these pictures are linked together by the originality of their technique, and it was the confident careless flourish, the sensibility and sympathetic understanding of their models' personality, as well as the nature re-assurance of their own conceptions, which made these artists the most famous portrait-painters of their time.

PEASANT SONGS OF ANDHRA

[BY PROF. N. G. RANGA]

THE Andhra Peasant is to-day in the vanguard of the All-India Peasants movement. He has twelve years of solid organizational work to his credit. He possesses a special Institute where peasant youths are taught and trained in the principle and methods of serving the peasantry. He has organized Peasant Marches with up-to-date technique to stir the countryside, to fire the imagination of the masses and to awaken the Government and public to the realization of his ideals and minimum demands. He possesses a fine net-work of organizations, an Andhra Weekly and two Printing Presses. He has indeed become so strong that even the Government and Justice Party, which till recently tried to ignore him have come to flirt with him by themselves offering to organize him into (Yellow) unions, granting him various concessions and staging conferences in his name. To-day the South Indian Peasant is a force to count with and his movement bids fair to rival the Congress in its vigour, hegemony and mass strength. In this phenomenal all-round development, the Peasant Songs have played a considerable part in filling the peasants with enthusiasm. Though they were produced and popularized at various times as occasion demanded they were published in a book form in 1934. This small booklet of songs has already gone through two editions and the third edition is now being sent to the Press.

What follows is only a poor attempt at translating a small portion of these songs, which have served to electrify the countryside and engender a really powerful class organization among the South Indian Peasantry.

Injustice in the Presence of God

I

WHILE He who knows no differences is still there
Why shall a few parade the world with all their crores
And countless many suffer for want of food?

II

WHILE the All-Merciful exists
Why does cruelty rule in the world
And peace lie buried in the ashes of life?

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III

WHY does the Lord of love rule over our destinies
Why does Hate grow unabated
Why do rivers of blood flow everlastingly ?

IV

WHILE the Protector of the helpless exists
Why does desparation confront us everywhere ?
Why are mothers cruelly parted from their own children.

What! The Peasant to be forgotten ?

I

CAN life persist
Will worlds exist
Can countries raise their heads ?
Will the bonds of slavery fall asunder,
If we do not enthrone the Peasant as our own true King
Never, Never, Never.

II

WILL our kingdom live on earth
And will not this mother earth herself be torn by 'quakes ?
If mankind and God himself do not love and protect, -
Whom ?
The Peasant who labours day and night, not knowing or
caring
For the inevitable sufferings and pains of his lot.

III

IF the world does not resound to the trumpet calls of
peasants, poured forth in all their unforgettable melody
and happiness from their gathered harvests in their
tireless fields, and if the world is not filled with the
pastoral joyous cries,
Can heroic and heartening blood flow through the viens of
mother earth

Peasant Songs of Andhra

Will not all courage and daring disappear from our daily
life ?

Can life persist

Will the world exist

Can countries raise their heads—

Will the bonds of slavery fall asunder.

If the peasant is not enthroned as our true King ?

Never, Never, Never.

Why do Nothing ?

I

WHY do you do nothing ?

You, the Kisan king

Can't you tell people your rights ?

Can't you publish your prowess with gusto ?

II

REALIZE this, the first thing

That the sharpened sabres of fearful armies,

The hungry machine-guns with all their ceaseless flames
cannot but succumb

To the fury of the peasants' phalanxes,

To the enraged fangs of the proletariat !

III

How do you bear this burden of taxes !

While failing to feed your beloved family ?

How long do you wear out your devoted dried up bones

With no food to feed them,

With no cloth to cover them.

IV

WADING through mud, walking through thorns

Crops you raise after untold sufferings

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Yet, you don't find enough to eat !
Is there then no limit to your slavery ?

V

Look, at these parks, palaces and pleasures
Can't you recognize your own sweat and sacrifices therein ?

VI

You ply the plough, break open our beloved mother earth
And these millionaires, butterflies, the consequence,
Are dancing your death dance.

VII

Oh, turn to your loving spouse,
Crying out her dear heart !
At the fearful cries of your faminished children.
Can't you, Can't you raise
Your plough (like the Balram of old)
Emblem of your invincible and creative power and
Demand your Rights ?
Wrest your Rights ?
Raise your class, as you raise crops
Feed your kindred as you feed the markets !

Why, are they, on earth ?

I

MASSSES, Rise and Arise, they swallow up everything
All are going under, come, do come to the rescue and stop
their plunder.

II

THOSE who do not see or hear the heart-rending cries of
the starving, and the naked
Those who do not hearken to the hunger of the dying
Why, are they in this world, on this earth why are they ?

The Peasant Songs of Andhra

III

APPROACHING us in disguise with benign smiles and wiles
They capture our lively children.

IV

WITH all their allurements and adornments
Pretending to be our protectors
They capture our beloved mothers.

V

RICHES are produced out of our ranks
But they charge us with a deluge of suffering
They laugh, while all we hold dear and near are being
consumed,
In depression, oppression and deluge, their creation, their
plaything.

Divine Division

I

AWAKE, Awake, All must Awake
Lands, Riches and pleasure to divide
Among all, Among all,
Come, up, come up, to search methods of Division, the
Divine Division.

II

No, it shall no longer be that others shall swallow up our
produce
While we lovingly water the land, nurse the crops, plough
up the river-bed,
And beautify the landscape, enrich the mother, Earth.

Down with Putrid Society

WE don't want, we don't want the society going putrid
with false ideals

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You a Pandit, so must you be Great
You, the illiterate, so must you be down and out
You, the fairest, so must greatness be thrust upon you
You, the low caste, down you go in life's struggle
Down with
Such society and such ideals.

Oh, Religion !

I

DON'T demonstrate your varied appearances,
Oh, You Religion,
Don't, for God's sake, divide us all up.

II

WE have suffered and suffered
At last we have realized your havoc
We heartily desire to live together.
Comradely we wish to work together.

III

CHANGE your conventions
As otherwise, we, the living beings have to suffer
We shall not be alienated one from the other
We are all brethren, do remember
Plough our strength, sickle our weapon, sacred is our
avocation.

IV

WE take birth in the same
The same mother and father for us all
We grow on the same mother's bosom
Embellishing the same sweet earth with our oxen and
plough
We go eventually to the same abode
Why not create class consciousness among us all, the
peasantry ?

Unite, Unite, oh, the Peasant

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NOW!

ACCORDING to the decision of the Indian Legislative Assembly, rejecting the Ottawa Agreement, the Government of India served a notice on the British Board of Trade and that notice has been accepted by the said Board. The Agreement will terminate in September next. The Board of Trade is contemplating a fresh agreement. Indian politicians should be on their alert that the fresh agreement may not prove another Ottawa Agreement in disguise. The guiles of the English Politician and Capitalist are very numerous and every clause of the forthcoming Agreement deserves very careful scrutiny. Moreover the Indian Chambers of Commerce and the Indian Legislature must be consulted before the Government of India decides to enter into any fresh engagement.

EDITOR.

CONTEMPORARY INDIA

FOR PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT
OR RADICAL VIEWS
OR WIDE APPEAL
OR SUPERLATIVE PRODUCTION

READ

India's National Quarterly

CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Editor : B. P. L. Bedi . . Managing Editor : Freda M. Bedi

SONGS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE—IV

Collected and Translated

BY DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

The Henna Song

[A Garba song from Gujrat. 'Garba' is an indigenous folk-dance of Gujrat and is also common to the women-folk of contemporary Gujrat's towns. The beginning of the month of Ashwin, when Garba is performed throughout Gujrat, may aptly be called a Garba season.

"In the Garba," says Sudamini Mehta, "there is colour and music, grace and sweetness. It is a beautiful art-form and a unique mode of culture and self-expression of a people. It is common to the classes and the masses; a folk-dance no less than a dance of the educated and leisured classes. It is one of the joys of life, individual and collective, and one of the finest contributions of Gujrat to the artistic heritage of India." The present song is considered to be one of the most popular Garba songs.

Henna is used in most parts of India by women to stain the hands and feet red. It is a sign of celebration and is mainly used at marriages and other festivals.

MALVA produces henna,¹ O Maidens,
Malva produces henna :
The length and breadth of Gujrat
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

My youngest Devar² with due regard
Uproots for me a plant of henna :
The length and breadth of Gujrat
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

'STAIN thy hands, my dearest Bhavaj,³
Stain thy hands with henna ;
The length and breadth of Gujrat
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

¹In India known as Mendhi.

²Husband's younger brother.

³Elder brother's wife.

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'My husband abides in a remote land
Who'll appreciate my hands, stained with henna?'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

WRITE to thy brother, my Devar—
'Come soon for no more is our mother.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

'WHAT matters, brother, if dies our mother,
Ber¹ wood should you use for her pyre.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

WRITE to thy brother, my Devar—
'Come soon for sister is to be married.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

'WHAT matters, brother, if sister is to be married?
Give her in dowry whatever she wants.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

WRITE to thy brother, my Devar—
'Come soon to join thy brother's marriage.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

'WHAT matters, brother, if you are to be married?
Form the marriage-party on a large scale.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

¹Ber wood is generally used in the cremation of the rich.

The Songs of the Indian People

WRITE to thy brother, my Devar—
Thy sweet heart feels pain in her eye
The length and breadth of Gujrat
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

'BE ready, ye soldiers, to fly homeward,
News have I received of my wife's illness.'
The length and breadth of Gujrat,
Looks dyed to-day with henna.

Pollen is formed on the Berry Trees

[A song from Rural Punjab. As seen here, it is one of the popular themes of Punjabi love-songs that love is formed in the human heart just as pollen is formed on the fruit-trees.]

Lo! the pollen is formed on the berry trees, my friend,
At Rawalpindi hast thou taken up thy residence,
O far from me hath gone thy heart ;
Daily do I stand on the roof of my house
Always do I expect thee, my friend,
On the berry trees is formed the pollen
Lo ! in my heart is formed love for thee.

What can stop the stream of love ?

[A Nepali folk-song. It depicts the simple truth that the heart once loves never turns back. Love is generally compared to a rippling stream in the folk-lore of Nepal; the snow may impede its flow for some time but very quickly it thaws and again we see the rippling stream. Nepali Muse seems to believe that misfortunes cannot warp the flying heart of the lover.]

WHEN—O when may gather the snow
On the Himalayan peak apart ?
Where—O where will stop
The rippling stream and the flying heart ?

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The Vermillion Song

[A marriage-song from Bihar. The red spot of vermillion on the parting of hair is a sign of married girl in Hindu life. During the wedding the bridegroom is asked by the priest to adorn the bride's parting of hair before the sacred fire.]

The present song pictures the pathetic mood of the girl who turns nervous when the bridegroom adorns her head with vermillion as it gives her an idea that very soon will she have to leave her parental house, where she had lived so happily.]

FATHER, O father, I constantly cry,
Alas ! my father hears me not.
Just look at my groom, father so dear,
Physical force he applies to put vermillion on my hair !
Vermillion is no more cheap in the market,
My bridal veil, too, is beyond price.
O because of vermillion put on my hair,
I bid adieu, dear father, to thy sweet home.

Here appears the Moon !

[A Punjabi folk-song. As seen here, the moon stands for the lover and the countless stars for the hours of long separation in the folk-lore of the Punjab.]

Rise, O moon, and display thy light :
O in counting the stars have I passed the night.
Lo ! here appears the moon, dear sisters,
Here appears the moon.

Stop, O Minstrel, Thy Song ?

[A Rajput folk-song. The wounded hero lies on sick-bed. Suddenly a national minstrel comes and begins to sing a war-song. The hero's wife then appears on the scene to keep the whole situation in her control.]

WOUNDED by swords, here lies my brave husband,
Innumerable stitches are seen on his limbs :
Stop, O Minstrel, thy song of chivalry ;
Lest he runs to the battle with his fresh wounds.

The Songs of the Indian People

Dear Chenar-Leaf

[A song from Kashmir villages. Ask a Kashmiri concerning the emblem of the Love God and he will point to the chenar-leaf with an earnest belief in his native folk-lore.

Here we find a village girl of Kashmir addressing the chenar-leaf, sent to her by her sweetheart.]

My lover hath sent thee to me, dear chenar-leaf :
My all, O Love God, shall I sacrifice for thee.
A prince of Beauty thou art O chenar-leaf,
My all, O Love God, shall I sacrifice for thee.

The Song of Mohan

[A song from Simla hills. The people's indigenous tune to which this song is originally sung is known as Jhanyhoti.

Mohan, the hero of the present song, has become very popular with the Simla people. He was indeed a devoted brother. It is said that once his brother somehow or other killed a recruit of a State Army and disappeared. The enquiry went on and the police asked Mohan to disclose the name and whereabouts of the murderer. Thus replied Mohan : 'The culprit is a fast friend of mine. He is a fool indeed and has committed a sin, but the dead person would not be alive by his execution.' The people say that Mohan was then hanged. Both men and women, young or old alike, sing the present song with a characteristic devotion towards Mohan.

The song begins with the dialogue between Mohan and the Rajah Sahib. Then there is a pathetic talk between Mohan and his mother. It comes to an end with a typical pathos. The people imagine the very altar of sacrifice where Mohan stands to welcome Death. Tears gush out of the people's eyes as a token of respect and love for Mohan's heroic martyrdom.]

'Who hath killed my recruit, O Mohan,
Who hath killed my recruit?'

'Say, I've killed thy recruit, Rajah Sahib,
Say, I've killed thy recruit.'

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'Hasten at once to the gallows, O Mohan,
Hasten at once to the gallows.'

'On a brother's account I die, Rajah Sahib,
Why should I fear from the gallows?'

'Where art thou hidden, O Mohan,
Where art thou hidden?'

'Where am I to flee, Rajah Sahib?
Flowers I pluck in thy garden.'

'TAKE this delicious bread, O Mohan,
Take this delicious bread:

For thee thy mother hath cooked it,
Take this delicious bread.

'No bread should I take, O mother,
No bread should I take:

On brother's account I die,
No bread should I take.'

'TAKE some delicious milk, O Mohan,
Take some delicious milk:

For thee thy mother hath got it,
Take some delicious milk.'

'Here laments thy wife, O Mohan,
Here laments thy wife:

Art not thou moved at all?
Here laments thy wife.'

'Why should she lament, O mother,
Why should she lament?

On brother's account I die,
Why should she lament?'

The Songs of Indian People

'Who'll use thy flute, O Mohan?
Who'll use thy flute?
When once for all thou leave us,
Who'll use thy flute?'
'Brother'll use my flute, O mother,
Brother'll use my flute :
Who else can use it, mother so dear?
Brother'll use my flute.'
'Who'll use thy mare, O Mohan,
Who'll use thy mare ?
When once for all thou leave us,
Who'll use thy mare ?'
'Brother'll use my mare, O mother,
Brother'll use my mare :
Who else can use it, mother so dear,
Brother'll use my mare.'
'Here assemble the people, O Mohan,
Here assemble the people :
Mad they look in their joys,
Here assembled the people.'
'Who can be my friend, O mother,
Who can be my friend?
From Phaggu* and Bilaspore* come the people,
Who can be my friend ?

*Two small towns in Simla hills.

YOUTH AND CHILDHOOD

GLANCING into the mirror I saw two figures
Receded into the distance in a quiet twilight ;
" Goodbye " said one to the other, and hard embraced,
" You are rosy and supple-limbed. Your eyes
Bring forth all there is in love and innocence,
You have laughed and danced your way ;
This moment your limbs bring peace to my limbs.
But adieu—thus far, no further."
The other, kissed on eyes, on cheeks, on mouth,
Spake thus, " Adieu, dear friend, I wish
I could give you all, or be with you on your rough journey ;
But 'tis no use. The fire burns you
Else you die ; to you nothing is sacred.
Already your lips have a scorching thirst in them.
Your face is furrowed, your hair is coarse and dishevelled.
When you are gone I'll bathe in tranquil waters
And dream the while it is left to live. You'll remember
me ? "
The promise made they parted. Then I was left
Staring eagerly into my own face.

BALRAJ SAHNI.

Fresh Poems

THE FIRST BIRD.

THE twitter of the first bird
Is heard
When you light your pipe
Or wipe
Your sleeplessness with a towel
In the hovel
Beside you groans a neighbour half-astir
The whirl
Of a lorry-engine, the rap
Of a tap
On a bucket-base, and still further away
The play
Of a blithe military-bugle, is heard
With the twitter of the first bird.

BALRAJ SAHNI.

THE SHIELD.

A Song from Kangra

To Jumna river, how shall I go ?
Mother, mother, listen—O !
Through the dark forest to meet my Sham
Protect my wandering feet from harm
The forest where stray wild elephants—O !

By day from fear no man dare go.
But I roam there by night—O !
Through the dark forest to meet my Sham
With love to shield me from all harm
To the forest where stray wild elephants—O !

Translated by NORA RICHARDS.

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DIVALI.

INTO the ear of night November said,
" It is the festival of Lamps ! Awake
To glimmering consciousness the darkness dead,
And bring each burning flame-like bud to break
To fulgent flower ; a thousand torches wave,
And greet omnific Beauty on her way
To grant the favours souls of men must crave,
And craving to the Godhead meekly pray ! "

TEN million twinkling sparks adorn the night,
Ten million eyes of fire look through the gloom,
Ten million tongues of flame raise hymns of light,
Ten million lucent-petalled blossoms bloom
To welcome Laxmi, wealth-bestowing queen,
While eager hearts await the tardy guest,
With open doors, with shining walls and clean
And polished floors men wait, wait to be blest.

It is the festival of Lamps, dear Heart !
And shall we go unblest ? Take in your tray
Of gold the lamps of my desire and start
One by one to set them where you will, I pray ;
The Queen of Beauty and of Fortune must
Pause, pause to find her twin at my lone gate,
To vie with you the moon will bring, I trust,
Her stars the festival to celebrate !

C. J. MODAK.

THE DELUSION OF DEMOCRACY

[BY KULDIP CHAND BEDI]

THE word Democracy comes to us from Greece, being made up of two parts : *demos*, meaning people : and *kratia* meaning power. Democracy is thus people's power and a democratic state is a community in which the masses are supreme. Different people employ the term Democracy in various meanings denoting "sometimes a state of society, sometimes a state of mind, sometimes a quality in manners." Democracy really means a state of society in which the Will of People is supreme, where the aspirations of the ultimate General Sovereign are clearly formulated, and accurately executed by the actual legal sovereign.

The decisive leanings of the people from the dawn of civilization have been towards democracy of some sort : whether it was intended in the economic social or political sphere. Athens, the School of Hellas, was governed by public meetings which on great occasions would be overcrowded. But 'the lovers of the beautiful and the cultivators of the mind' could not for long live in a state of society where the same weight was given to the opinion of everyone. There it was Plato who raised the standard of revolt against the power of the people seeing to what absurdities, democracies could go.

Hobhouse argues that the case for democracy is based not only on individual liberty and private rights but on the individual's functions and character as a member of the community. "There is a common will which expresses the will of all. Democracy founds the common good upon the common will in forming which it bids every adult person take a part." Thus while government may not be able to reflect the Will of all it ought at least to take account of the disposition and circumstances of all. The state cannot seek the will of the people on any and every question as it arises ; and must, therefore, if it is not to be an open tyranny, be carried on by means of representative

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government. Hence the theory of representative democracy envisages the election by the people at large of a certain number of persons who will carry out their mandate.

In democracy people some times urge the idea of equality of the "common herd," but it seems to be founded on a mistaken interpretation of human actions and reactions, because if all men were the same a dictator would be perfectly adequate. The need for democracy in fact arises because of the existence of inequalities and differences between men. Every individual has his contribution to make to the common life, but if he is to do so, he must be adequately represented and must receive an adequate minimum both economic and cultural. It is in the diversity of men's natures that we find the causes of some remarkable achievements of human intellect of which we can all be proud.

Hobhouse also points out that the exclusion is based on non-democratic ideas in many cases— but that it may also be used to test the capacity of different classes for government. He adopts the distinction between active government and consent, and the view that the problem is to reconcile active government by the few with the popular consent.

He argues that democracy assumes the ability of those enfranchised to enter the common life and contribute an interest to common decisions—for the formation of the social will involves an intelligent interest in public affairs and is itself a good. It cannot be created offhand where it does not exist; and unless it exists democracy fails. Representation is sometimes objected to from lack of political experience and responsibility as in the doctrinaire view of the classes below the middle class. But in fact, enfranchisement may be just the stimulus needed to call for the responsibility and political agitation, and even disorder may be a sign of fitness rather than unfitness. On the other hand, if, as in Africa or under the Chandos clause of 1832, enfranchisement simply compels the new voters to vote at their superiors' dictation, enfranchisement will not be desirable. Moreover, dumb-class government is uninformed government and the ballot liberates the quiet voter from the tyranny of the wire-puller— e.g., the general election of 1906.

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On the other hand, active government must largely be the work of a limited class who have the time and the interest to master the subject and to do the work. To this an objection may be readily taken : no men can adequately represent another man ; much less a body of other men. Representative government is government by men who know just enough about everything to enable them to do everything badly, and not enough about anything to enable them to do any thing well.

" The democrat is well aware that it is the remnant which saves the people." In short, in all governments the work is carried out by the minority who take an active interest in public affairs and have the time which the masses lack. But it should be remembered that the common will expresses itself differently with regard to each one of the questions that the state has to settle. Either the representative has to work in the dark, which is harmful to his constituents, or he should call their meeting each time a question arises, in which case his representation is unnecessary. With regard to the representative system it must, therefore, be said that either it is not truly representative or else it is unnecessary—particularly in a country like India where the average villager is content if he gets plenty of water for his fields and is not unduly pressed for land revenue when his crops have failed. To the villager the government does not touch as such, except if it were by the procuring of peace and enabling him to sleep peacefully at night without the fear of his cattle being stolen.

The democratic doctrine by treating every opinion on every subject as being as good as every other opinion practically slows down the pace of humanity to the intellectual scope of the least intelligent ; for, in fact, where democracy is properly operating the active minority have the power to educate the mass to the more advanced view. But in practical politics it is not possible—because the exercise of authority over fellow-beings corrupts the best-intentioned natures—selfish, arrogant and oppressive. The politician is wicked, not because of his nature, but because of his position—not because he is a human being but because he is a politician.

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There is, however, a vital difference between imposing the will of the few upon the many and securing their response and assent; and thus the governing class best serves the country by converting the masses and developing an independent social will. "The best and wisest is he who is ready to go to the humblest and find out what he wants and why he wants it before he legislates. The perfection of wisdom lies in securing the willing and open-eyed obedience of the masses." But Kropotkin's idea, "This or that despicable minister might have been an excellent man if power had not been given to him," militates against the above-mentioned view of mankind. After all, it is too much to expect of human beings to shake off the selfishness and arrogance which is the common heritage of mankind.

A comparison is sometimes made between the merits of aristocracy and democracy—that the former provides a group of families trained hereditarily to serve the state, whereas the latter consults the public opinion and the interests of the majority but does not provide a trained class of rulers; and Trevelyan suggests that the England of Grey and Peel enjoyed peculiarly the advantages of both. Lecky dwells upon the dangers of government by "the poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable who are necessarily the most numerous." The idea of government by such a class of people is contrary to all the past experience of men. "In every field of human enterprise in all the computations of life, by the inexorable law of nature, superiority lies with the few and not with the many, and success can be obtained by placing the guiding and controlling power mainly in their hands." "Democracy insures neither better government nor greater liberty; indeed, some of the strongest democratic tendencies are adverse to liberty. On the contrary strong arguments may be adduced both from history and from the nature of things, to show that democracy may often prove the direct opposite of liberty." The French despotisms resting on plebiscites were quite as naturally democracies as any republics, yet liberty can hardly be said to have existed in them.

It would seem rather that democracy itself needs to provide in its own way its own class of trained servants. In this respect the development of democracy is almost necessarily

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gradual. Matthew Arnold said, "Democracy is trying to affirm its own essence to live, to enjoy, and to possess the world as aristocracy has tried successfully before it." Professor Thomas Jones emphasizes this gradualness in references to recent events. The most obvious change has been that of the political position of the working classes from one of inferiority to one of power—and because they achieved power with very little preparation they appear in many cases, *e.g.*, the miners to have lost their standards and authorities. In some cases it was a change from—religious to a political consciousness. The miner in the past had two authorities: the minister of religion and the employer of labour. He was contented because his responsibilities were limited and defined—but his rise to power came when he was abandoning the authority of the bible and the chapel.

"If the miner is not succeeding to-day, it is in part because he is attempting a bigger task. He is seeking to realize the democratic idea without realizing its hard demands and easy pitfalls." (Professor Jones.) Casting aside the old authorities he must find the authority for his new way of life within himself; and because he has not yet discovered that authority he tends to shift off the responsibility upon the state and looks to it to do what he should do for himself; and this Professor Jones regards as the most harmful effect of recent developments.

Moreover, while good government is excellent and can achieve much, self-Government is better; and even the less perfect institutions made by the people themselves may be more valuable than the most perfect imposed upon them from above. Thus J. S. Mill said, "the best government is that which organizes best the moral, intellectual and active work already existing to operate with the greatest effect on public affairs." Again in arguing against too much state action the "business of life is a large part of the education of the individual." And self-government is itself an education so that in Mill's view beyond a certain stage benevolent despotism as suggested, *e.g.*, by Carlyle is only advantageous upon the shortest of short views. "The best government would be that of a good despot if the good despot could always be found." But Mill had a peculiar horror of the mob mind, of the tyranny of the crowd, fed upon poison by the

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ambitious vulgarians whose privately-owned press forms its prejudices and moulds its outlook. Therefore, "Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with undeveloped peoples if its end is their improvement, and it actually achieves that end." For example, the benevolent autocrats of the 18th Century rightly exercised absolute authority as being wiser and better than their subjects.'

It is argued on the one hand that authoritarianism fails by denying freedom and by drilling the masses into a prosperous uniformity. For one thing it would involve suppression of individuality since the voice of protest must not break the peace. Thus Plato from his Ideal Republic would have excluded poets and demagogues. Democracy on the other hand is injurious to intellectual progress, for pure democracy is open to the reverse appeals to destruction and quiescence, and is apt to lead to pure stagnation.

Sir Flinders Petrie maintains that decay is inevitable in full democracy since the wavering opinion of the multitude acts upon impulse instead of upon principle and experience. Though Britain has so far been saved by party alliances. He suggests a Chamber of Revision representing the average opinion of the previous twenty-five years comprised of the peers appointed during those years with a hundred others co-opted from all sources. Emphasis is laid on the conservatism of democracy and this is illustrated by the experience of the agrarian socialist parties in the European States.

Disraeli in the past, and H. G. Wells now suggest that the problem is "to make aristocracy work" (Wells), which really means organizing democracy from the top. This is seen in Wells' idea of the mental Hinterlanders. Beside the few men of genius in each generation there is, or should be, a larger class of talented and intelligent persons by whom their ideas can be popularized. These form the mental Hinterlanders; and it has been pointed out that the success of Adam Smith or Bentham, and of Karl Marx, largely arose because they possessed such interpreters. Wells says that the cardinal problem of the State is to discover, develop and use the exceptional gifts of man. "Our civilization

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needs, a culture of fine creative minds and all that marches with it. The only real progress in a country is a rise in its free intellectual activity." Thus the leisure, the patriotism, and the freedom to take wide views which are found at the top of the social system must be trained to serve the community. "We are working altogether too much, and the social sentiment in educating and training an under-educated, under-bred, propertyless man has lost the possibility of liberty. There is no liberty which is worth a rap to him."

Thus if intelligence and patriotism are not to be found at the top where conditions are most favourable, they cannot be expected at the bottom. The best and biggest men as Disraeli pointed out must be educated to a real conception of national policy, that they in turn may elaborate and educate the masses. But this must be qualified by the conception of government by consent. "Men can neither be drilled to uniformity nor left to go their own way, and the remedy is the leadership of the best man freely chosen and willingly obeyed, relying upon the invigorated energies of an educated and enfranchised people." (Disraeli.)

Here the democratic view is that Democracy gives a wider and fuller choice since the better minds are not limited to particular classes; and Tawney points out that, "much social bitterness arises because authority is so often bestowed by reason of membership of the ruling class, rather than by fitness to exercise it," and "there are other special advantages conferred by wealth and property and by the special institutions which favour them." Tawney disputes the reality of equality of opportunity under the existing system quoting Gainsberg's evidence of "the difficulties facing the poor if they are to enter the professions of learning and honour" and quoting the medical officers to show that "the chances of life are thirty or forty per cent. greater in Kensington or Didsbury than in Bermondsey."

Wells in *After Democracy* applies his idea to world politics and economics. The fundamental trouble to-day is that the sovereignty of the independent national state is too small for the political and economic needs of the modern world, since political and economic developments are continually pressing towards world

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dimensions and necessitating world-wide control. Thus either national states will fight each other till only one survives or mankind must make a real effort to substitute world organization—and Wells even objects to international co-operation as tending to the survival of nationalism. But the vastness of economic organization needs a class of "competent receivers" like the Samurai of the "modern Utopia". "There must be a systematic organization of the will and ideas of public-minded, masterful people to handle the problems of the modern state; and a modernist state cannot exist, much less progress be maintained, without the directive and sustaining control of such an organization." Along with this Wells suggests borrowing the Soviet idea that the organization should begin from the bottom with organization upwards from the local groups.

Whatever the merits of democracy, it cannot be denied that "Popular governments have been repeatedly overturned by mobs and armies in combination; of all governments they seem least likely to cope successfully with the greatest of all irreconcilables, the nationalists; they imply a breaking up of political power into morsels, and the giving to each person an infinitesimally small portion, they rest upon universal suffrage which is the natural basis of tyranny; they are unfavourable to intellectual progress, and the advance of scientific truth, they lack stability; and they are governments by the ignorant and the unintelligent." (Sir Henry Maine.) Again "... it is the difficulty of democratic government that mainly accounts for its ephemeral duration." The democratic government may be the most rational in principle but it is the most difficult, even perhaps impossible, to apply. "A small country with a scanty population, few resources, and industries and similar social sentiments may go on without much difficulty under democratic institutions. But a vast territory with untold material wealth waiting for labour,—growing population, and with it an increase in the severity of the struggle for existence and the great diversity of moral economic, political, and social sentiments, must call for a government that corresponds to this complexity." (Hyslop in *Democracy*.)

In India, therefore, merely to entertain the possibility of a democratic constitution would be to court disaster. The problems,

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the mental processes of the people, and the needs of different peoples are so vast and varied that democratic institutions would inevitably lead to confusion.

Democracy really rests in theory and in practice on the character of each and every person. All depends in the long run on the quality of the citizen. This quality is not static but it improves or deteriorates and is shaped by a thousand influences. The Political institutions do not teach the citizen what to do, and how to make the best of his life; the most that they can do is to give him an opportunity of doing the desirable. Does democracy enable him to do so? It would seem doubtful because the nature of man has acquisitiveness, vanity, rivalry, and love of power as his basic instincts, the prime movers of almost all that happens in politics; and it is the balance between acquisitiveness and rivalry that makes for progress; which balance is, however, very hard to maintain with democratic institutions.

The Post-War democratic constitutions have proved that popular institutions do not really serve the needs of the people. The Kaleidoscopic changes in some countries in Europe resulting in the establishment of dictatorships go to prove my contention that democracy is a spent force, if it ever was a potent force in the history of man. The idea itself is very attractive, but it remains nevertheless an Idea, supremely beautiful, and supremely unpracticable. How can ever such an idea find a practical application in a country divided into myriads of castes, races, religions and cultures—in India?

Not only do we find democratic ideas on the wane in the European countries, but even in England the National Government is an evidence of the fact that the general public were disgusted with a scramble for office, and the corrupt party bargaining between Lloyd George and his liberals on the one hand, and MacDonald and his labourites on the other—a fact which is a concomitant of democratic governments. Belief in popular control is increasingly on the wane, even across the Atlantic. Surely it is not the outcome of a new tendency in political speculation; but it is a result, on the other hand, of deficiencies that exist in democracies. The extravagant hopes entertained in

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the effectiveness of democracies and the defect of method of carrying them on, have paved the way for a man of such preeminent virtue that some nations have placed their implicit faith in his political sense. The price for replacing democratic anarchy by autocratic individuals has, indeed, been a high one—because succession to dictatorships is at best a speculation, and the sacrifice involved is perhaps too great. The demagogue of the Ancient Greek world would be a Hitler or a Mussolini or Mustafa of the modern world.

Democracy is an ideal—and perhaps in a remote way it is a fact. In so far as it is an ideal, it has given room to dictatorships; and in so far as it is a fact the dictatorship systems still maintain the semblance of popular control in the form of plebiscites. But how far are these plebiscites a true indication of the people's wishes? It is the bread that people want first and last; and theories, however fanciful and attractive, cannot satisfy their physical hunger. The dictators have been partly successful in feeding the stomachs of the people and no one has, or seems to have, taken alarm at their extraordinary powers in the state.

Democracy stands discredited everywhere, as it was bound to. Even in the days of the supremacy of popular institutions it failed to realize those aims which the people expected of it; and in its vain endeavour to realize those aims, paved the way for dictatorships which have more or less satisfied the needs of the nations where they have sprung up.

Again, man is by nature a hero-worshipper; and if he has no one exalted enough to look upto, some one hedged in by the glory of royalty, he feels irritated. If all that he can look upto is an undefinable "Swinish multitude," his respect for the state considerably diminishes. It is for the upkeep of this reverence for the state that he discredits, unconsciously or subconsciously, democratic institutions.

Can, therefore, democracy last? Is it patriotic to prescribe popular institutions for India? Would it not do to have the autocracy of the great Moguls when Indians were happy and prosperous, contented and peaceful? Or does the patriotism often suggest an anarchy which would mean a return for us to the past savage society where life was 'nasty, brutish, and short.'

FRAGMENTS ON INDIA

BY
VOLTAIRE

TRANSLATED BY
FREDA M. BEDI, B.A. HONS. (OXON.)

Part III

- CHAPTER XII. What happened in India before General Lalli arrived. The History of Angria; the English destroyed in Bengal.
- CHAPTER XIII. The Arrival of Count Lalli: his successes and failures. The actions of a Jesuit called Lavour.

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Chapter XII.

What happened in India before General Lalli arrived. The history of Angria ; the English destroyed in Bengal.

HAVING now described as well as we can the shores of India which are so interesting to the trading nations in Europe and Asia, we shall next tell about a service which England did to the world.

WHO WAS ANGRIA ?

It was a hundred years ago that a Mahratta called Conoge Angria, who had captained several of the ships of his nation against those of the Emperor of India, became a pirate, and having retreated towards Bombay, robbed indifferently his compatriots, his neighbours, and all the traders who sailed in that sea. He had easily gained possession of some small islands on this coast, which were no more than unapproachable rocks. He fortified one of them by digging ditches in the rock. His fortress was supported by walls ten to twelve feet thick, surmounted by cannons. It was there that he hid away his booty. His son and grandson continued with the same work and with even greater success. An entire province behind Bombay was under the sway of this last Angria. Thousands of Mahratta vagabonds, Indians, Christian renegades, and negroes had come to swell the numbers of this *Brigand Republic*, which was very like that of Algiers. The Angria family proved conclusively that the earth and the sea belong to those who make an attempt to capture them. We see, each in their turn, two robbers form great kingdoms for themselves in the North and South of India. One is Abdala* in Kabul, the other Angria in Bombay. How many big Powers have had no better beginnings !

The English had to arm two fleets one after the other against these new conquerors. Admiral James began this war

*Voltaire, most probably, means Ahmad Shah Abdali.

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(and it deserved the name of war) in 1755, and Admiral Watson brought it to a close. Captain Clive, afterwards so famous, gave proof of his military talent there. All the refuges of these notorious thieves were taken in succession. In the rock which acted as their stronghold were found huge piles of merchandise, two hundred cannons, arsenals containing arms of every kind, the value of one hundred and fifty million French francs in gold, diamonds, pearls and perfumes : things the like of which could hardly be found on the Coromandel coast or Peru were hidden there. Angria escaped. Admiral Watson took his mother, wife and children prisoners. He treated them well, as one can well imagine. The youngest child, hearing that they had not been able to find Angria, threw his arms round the Admiral's neck and said to him : "Then it will be *you* who will be my father." Mr. Watson had these words translated to him through an interpreter. He was moved to tears by them, and he actually became a father to the whole family. This happy action, so worth remembering, were rewarded in the chief English station in Bengal by an *even greater* disaster.

THE ENGLISH EXTERMINATED

A quarrel arose between their Calcutta station on the Ganges and the Soubeidar of Bengal. This Prince thought that the English had a big garrison at Calcutta because they had taken possession of the town. The town, however, only contained a Merchants' Council and about three hundred soldiers. The biggest prince in India marched against them with sixty thousand soldiers, three hundred cannons, and three hundred elephants.

A QUAKER GOVERNOR, 1756

The Governor of Calcutta, called Drake, was very different from the famous Admiral Drake. It is said that he belonged to the simple Nazarene religion, followed by those respectable Pennsylvanians whom we know by the name of Quakers. These simple folk, whose native land is Philadelphia in the New World, and who ought to make us blush for shame, have the same horror of war as the Brahmins. They look upon war as a crime. Drake was a very clever merchant, and a good man. Until then, he

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had kept his religion a secret. When he declared it, the Council sent him to the Ganges to hide him.

Who could imagine that the Moghuls lost twelve thousand men at the first attack? Reports tell us so. If it is true, nothing could better confirm the superiority of Europe. But they could not hold out for long. The town was taken, and everyone imprisoned. There were among the captives one hundred and forty-six English officers and agents, who were put into a prison called the Black Hole. They had a terrible experience in that hot and enclosed air.. or rather in that vapour, continuously exhaled from every body which has been given the name of "air and element"*. One hundred and twenty-three men died of it in a few hours. Boerhave, in his *Chemistry*, recounts an even stranger example- that of a man who fell down in a state of decay in a sugar refinery the minute the door was closed. This strength in vapours shows the necessity of ventilators, above all in hot climates, and the fatal dangers that threaten human bodies not only in prisons but at public gatherings where the crowd is thick. Above all, they are necessary in churches where they have the wretched custom of burying the dead, and from which comes a disease-bringing stench.†

Mr. Holwell, the Deputy Governor in Calcutta, was one of those who escaped this sudden contagion. They led him with twenty-two dying officers to Maksudabad‡ in Bengal. The Soubeidar took pity on them and had their irons taken off. Holwell offered him a ransom. The Prince refused it saying that he had already suffered too much without being obliged to pay for his liberty.

HOLWELL THE ONLY EUROPEAN WHO HAS UNDERSTOOD THE BELIEFS OF THE BRAHMINS

It is this Holwell who learnt not only the language of the

*Voltaire writes: *le nom d'air et d'element*.

† In Saulieu in Burgandy, in June 1773, sixty children had assembled in the church for their first communion, and just at that time it was decided that they should dig a grave in the church in order to bury a corpse there that very evening. Such a bad smell rose up from this grave, where there were several other old corpses, that the priests, forty children and two hundred parishioners who had entered the church died of it, if we can believe the public newspapers. Will this terrible warning not to meddle with the temples of dead bodies still be futile in France? How long will this horrible act be looked upon as a sign of piety? (V.)

‡ Old name for Murshidabad. Voltaire says Maxadabad

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modern Brahmins but also that of the old Brahmins.* It is the same man who afterwards wrote such valuable memoirs on India, and who has translated wonderful pieces from the first religious books written in the sacred language, and some more ancient than those from the *Sanconiaton* of Phœnicia, the Mercury of Egypt and the first law-givers of China. The learned Brahmins of Benares attribute an age of five thousand years to these books.

We thankfully take this opportunity of acknowledging what we owe to a man who only travelled in order to increase his knowledge. He has revealed to us things which had been hidden for many centuries : he has done more than Pythagoras and the *Apollonius of Thiane*. We beg of all people who wish to gain knowledge as he did to read with care these old fables and allegories, the primitive source of all the fables which have passed for truths in Persia, Chaldea, Egypt, and Greece, among the smallest and most poverty-stricken tribes as well as among the most prosperous nations. These subjects are more worthy of the study of the wise man than the quarrels of a few employees for muslins and printed fabrics, about which we shall be forced, in spite of ourselves, to talk in the course of this book.

To come back to the revolution in India, the Soubeidar, who was called Siraj-ud-doula † was by origin a Tartar. It was said that, following the example of Aurangzeb, his plan was to take possession of the whole of India. There is no doubt that he was very ambitious, because he had the opportunity of being so. It is also reported that he despised the hard-hearted, weak-minded emperor who was indolent and cowardly, and that he hated equally the foreign merchants who came to profit by the troubles of the Empire and increase them. As soon as he had taken the English

*It is not that we have a blind faith in everything that Mr. Holwell tells us—we should not have that kind of belief in anyone—but at least he has shown us that the dwellers of the Ganges (Gangarides) had written a mythology, whether good or bad, five thousand years ago, just as the learned and wise Jesuit Parennin has shown us that the Chinese were a united people about that time. And, if they were like that then, they must have been like it before : big nations do not grow in a day. It is therefore not for us, who were only barbarians and savages when these people were polished and wise, to question their antiquity. It is possible, in the number of revolutions which have changed everything on the earth, that Europe knew the arts and the sciences before Asia, but no trace of them remains and Asia is full of old monuments. (V.)

† Suraia-Doula according to Voltaire.

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fort, he threatened those of the French and the Dutch, but these were re-purchased for sums of money which were quite reasonable for this country—the French for about six hundred thousand pounds, the Dutch for about twelve hundred thousand francs, because they are richer. The Prince therefore was not at all concerned with destroying them. He had in his army a rival with the same ambitions as himself, his relation and a relation of the Grand Moghul, who was more to be feared than a group of merchants. However, Siraj-ud-Dowla thought like more than one Turkish Vizir and more than one Sultan of Constantinople who have wished to drive out at one time or another ambassadors of the Princes of Europe and all their agents, but who finally have made them pay dearly for the right to reside in Turkey.

THE ENGLISH AVENGED

As soon as the news of the danger to the English on the Ganges was received in Madras, all the armed men they could gather together were sent by sea to help them.

M. de Bussi, who was there with some troops, took advantage of this occasion and with M. Lass took possession of all the English stations beyond Masulipatam, on the coast of the big province of Orissa, between Golconda and Bengal. This success somewhat strengthened the Company which was soon to collapse.

In the meantime Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, the conquerors of Angria and saviours of the Malabar coast, were also coming to Bengal by the Coromandel sea. On the way they learnt that the only way to get back to their town Calcutta was by fighting, and they hurried there with full sails. So there was war in a very short time from Surat right to the mouth of the Ganges, in territory one thousand leagues in length, just as it often happens in Europe between so many Christian Princes whose interests clash and change continually and cause so much unhappiness to mankind.

When Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive arrived at the coast of Calcutta, they found the good Quaker Governor of Calcutta and those who had escaped with him, hiding on

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dilapidated boats on the Ganges. They had not been followed. The Soubeidar had a hundred thousand soldiers, cannons, and elephants, but no ships. The English, expelled from Calcutta, were patiently waiting on the Ganges for the help coming from Madras. The Admiral gave them the food they required. The Colonel, helped by the officers of the Fleet, and the sailors who swelled his little army, hurried to attack all the forces of the Soubeidar, but he only met a Raja, a Governor of the town, who came to him at the head of a considerable body of men. He put him to flight. This strange Governor instead of going back to his place went to take the alarm to the camp of his Prince and told him that the English that he had met were of a very different kind from those who had been captured in Calcutta.

SINGULAR LETTER OF COLONEL CLIVE TO A PRINCE

Colonel Clive confirmed the Prince in this idea by writing to him these very words (if we are to believe the public papers and memoirs of the time): "An English Admiral, who commands an invincible fleet, and a soldier whose name is well enough known to you, have come to punish you for your cruelties. It is better for you to give us satisfaction than to await our vengeance." He knew how to use this audacious and oriental style of expressing himself. The Soubeidar knew quite well that his rival, of whom we have already spoken, a very powerful Prince with his army, who could not stop him, was already secretly negotiating with the English. He only replied to this letter by fighting a battle. It was indecisive, and fought between an army of about eighty thousand combatants and one of about four million, half English and half Sepoys. Then they negotiated and it was a question as to who could be the cleverest. The Soubeidar gave up Calcutta and the prisoners, but he was negotiating secretly with M. de Bussi, and Colonel, or rather General Clive, was negotiating on his side secretly with the rival of the Soubeidar. This rival was called Jaffer; he wanted to ruin his relation, the Soubeidar, and dethrone him. The Soubeidar wanted to destroy the English by means of his new friends, the French, so that in the end he would be able to destroy his friends as well. These are the terms of the strange treaty that the Moghul Prince Jaffer signed in his tent:

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A KINGDOM SOLD AWAY AND SWORN ON THE KORAN

"In the presence of God and his Prophet, I swear I will abide by this treaty as long as I live, I, Jaffer, etc., etc."

"The enemies of the English shall be my enemies, etc."

"In order to indemnify them for the loss that Leviah-Oda* has made them suffer, I shall give them a hundred lakhs (that is, twenty-four million pounds in our currency).

"For the other inhabitants, fifty more lakhs (twelve millions)."

"For the Moors and the Hindus in the service of the English, twenty lakhs (four millions eight hundred thousand pounds)."

"For the Armenians, who trade in Calcutta, seven lakhs (sixteen hundred and eighty thousand). The whole making about forty-two millions, four hundred and eighty thousand."

"I shall pay in cash without delay all these sums as soon as I am made Soubeidar of these provinces."

"The Admiral, the Colonel and four other officers (whom he names) can dispose of this money as they like."

"This was stipulated in order to save them from all blame."

.....

Besides these presents, the Soubeidar, guided by Colonel Clive, extended the lands of the Company to a very great extent. M. Dupleix had not obtained anywhere near the same concessions when he created Nawabs.

It is not reported that the English soldiers swore this treaty on the Bible, perhaps they had not got one. Moreover, it was more a note to a messenger than a treaty.

* This is most probably a French name for Seraj-ud-Daula. This belief is confirmed by the Government of India publication, *The Indian Record Series, Bengal, 1856-57*, Vol II, 1905 edition. On pp. 383-84 of this book are given the proposed articles of agreement between Jafar Ali Khan Bahadur and the Honourable East India Company. This agreement was accepted, signed and sworn to by Mir Jafar on June 3, 1757. Article four of the agreement runs thus:

"In consideration of the heavy losses the English Company sustained by the destruction of Calcutta by Serajah Dowlat, and also on account of the expenses of the war they shall receive the sum of [one hundred lack of sicca rupees]." (*Trans*).

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The Soubeidar Siraj-ud-Doula on his side sent real help in money to M. de Bussi and M. Lass, while his rival Jaffer only gave promises. He wanted to get Jaffer killed, but that Prince had guarded himself too well. Both of them, in their great hate and defiance of one another, swore inviolable friendship on the Koran.

THE VICTORY OF CLIVE

The Soubeidar, deceived and wanting to deceive, led Jaffer against the English force, that we dare to call an army. At last, on the 30th of June there was a decisive battle between him and Colonel Clive. The Soubeidar lost it. His cannons, his elephants, his goods and his artillery were taken from him. Jaffer was at the head of a separate camp. He did not fight. It was the prudence of a treacherous man...if the Soubeidar had been the victor, he would have united with him; if the English had gained the victory, he would have marched with them. The conquerors followed the Soubeidar and entered after him into Maksudabad and his capital. The Soubeidar fled and wandered about miserably for some days. Colonel Clive greeted Jaffer as Soubeidar of three provinces: Golconda, Bengal and Orissa, comprising one of the finest kingdoms on earth.

Siraj-ud-Dowla, the dethroned Prince, was fleeing alone and without hope. He learnt that there was a grotto where a holy Faqir was living (a sort of monk, or Muslim hermit) and he took refuge in his cave. He was amazed when he recognized the Faqir as a scoundrel whose ears and nose he had had cut off long ago. The Prince and the Saint came to an agreement by means of some money, but, in order to earn more, the Faqir exposed the whereabouts of the runaway to his conqueror.

SOVEREIGN CONDEMNED TO DEATH

Dowla was taken prisoner and condemned to death by Jaffer. His prayers and tears did not save him, and he was executed without pity after they had thrown water on his head, according to a strange ceremony, honoured since time immemorial on the banks of the Ganges, where the people have always

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attributed singular properties to the water. It is a kind of purification which has since been copied in Egypt, and is the origin of lustral water with the Greeks and the Romans. In the papers of this unhappy Prince were found all his letters to M. de Bussi and M. Lass.

THE FRENCH LOSE CHANDERNAGORE

It is during this expedition that General Clive rushed to conquer Chandernagore, at that time the most important station owned by the French in India, which was full of an immense quantity of goods, and defended by a hundred and sixty cannons, five hundred French soldiers, and seven hundred negroes.

Clive and Watson had only four hundred more men, but at the end of five days they had to surrender. The treaty of capitulation was signed by the General and the Admiral on the one hand, and on the other by the officers Fournier, Nicolas, la Potiers and Caillot, on the 23rd of March 1757. These commissioners demanded that the conquerors should leave the Jesuits in the town. Clive replied "The Jesuits can go wherever they like except where we are staying."

In another interview, he said : "Nobody can challenge my honour with impunity : my judges should keep theirs." Almost all the principal agents of the English company acted in the same way. Their liberality equalled their wealth. The shareholders lost but England gained, since at the end of a few years everyone comes back to his fatherland to spend what he has been able to amass on the banks of the Ganges and on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. In just the same way, the huge treasure won by Admiral Anson when he made a tour of the world, and the fortunes acquired by so many other admirals in their conquests, swelled the riches of the nation.

The goods that they found in the shops were sold for one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling (about two million eight hundred and sixty thousand francs). All the successes of the English in this part of India were principally due to the good offices of this famous Clive. His name was respected at the

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court of the Grand Moghul, who sent him an elephant loaded with magnificent presents and the title of Raja. The King of England created him a Peer of Ireland. It is he who replied, during the recent debates which arose on the subject of the East India Company, to those who wanted him to render account of the millions that he had amassed with his glory : " I gave one to my secretary, two to my friends, and the rest I kept for myself."

Since the victories of Lord Clive, the English have reigned in Bengal, and the Nawabs who wanted to attack them have been repulsed. But in spite of this, in London it was feared that the Company would perish from excessive happiness, just as the French Company was destroyed by discord, want, the paucity of the help which came too late, and the continual changing of ministers, who only had confused and false ideas on India, and who changed without rhyme or reason the orders blindly given by their predecessors.

All the misfortunes of the state naturally fell on the Company. They could not be effectively helped when there was fighting in Germany, when Canada was being lost, with Martinique, Guadeloupe in America, Goree in Africa, and all the colonies at Senegal—when all the ships had been captured, and when finally the King and the citizens of France were selling their plate to pay the soldiers (a slender resource in such a big catastrophe !)

Chapter XIII

**The Arrival of Count Lalli : his successes and failures.
The actions of a Jesuit called Lavour**

It was in these circumstances that General Lalli, the chief of d'Aché's squadron, after having stayed in the Isle of Bourbon, came to the coast of Pondicherry on April 28, 1758. The ship, called the "Count of Provence", which carried the General was saluted by the firing of cannon with real shot, which damaged it very badly. This strange mistake, or this malice of some subordinates, was looked upon as a bad omen by the sailors, who are always superstitious, and even by Lalli, although he was not superstitious by nature.

This Commander had the baton of a Marshal of France in view. He thought he could obtain it if he managed a big revolution in India, and rehabilitated the honour of the French armies, at that time poorly maintained in other parts of the world. His second passionate desire was to humiliate the pride of the English whom he bitterly hated.

LALLI BEGINS BY BESIEGING THREE PLACES AND TAKING THEM

As soon as he arrived, he besieged three places: one was Kudalur,* a little fort three miles from Pondicherry; the second was Saint David, a much bigger fortress; the third Devikota,† which surrendered as he approached. It was flattering for him to have under his orders, in these first expeditions, a Count d'Estaing, descendant of that d'Estaing who saved the life of Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovine, and who transferred to his family the arms of the kings of France; a Constans, whose family was so old and famed, a La Fare, and many other officers of the first rank. It was not customary to send out young men of big families to take service in India. It would certainly have been necessary to have more troops and money with them. However, the Count d'Estaing had taken Kudalur in a day; and the day after, the General,

* Old name for Cuddalore. Voltaire says Goudalour

† Voltaire says Divicotey.

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followed by this flower of manhood, had gone to lay siege to the important station of St. David.

A NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN ADMIRAL POCOCKE AND ADMIRAL D'ACHE : 29TH APRIL 1758

Not a minute was lost between the two rival nations. While Count d'Estaing was taking Kudalur, the English Fleet, commanded by Admiral Pococke, was attacking that of Comte d'Aché on the coast of Pondicherry. Men wounded or killed, broken masts, torn sails, tattered rigging, were the sole results of this indecisive battle. The two damaged fleets remained in those parts, equally unable to injure one another. The French was the worst treated—it had only forty dead, but five hundred men had been wounded, including Comte d'Aché and his captain, and after the battle, by bad luck, a ship of seventy-four cannons was lost on the coast. But a palpable proof that the French Admiral* shared with the English Admiral the honour of the day, is that the Englishmen did not attempt to send help to the besieged Fort St. David.

Everything was opposed in Pondicherry to the enterprise of the General. Nothing was ready to second him. He demanded bombs, mortars, and utensils of all kinds, and they had not got any. The siege dragged along; people began to fear the disgrace of abandoning it; even money was lacking. The two millions brought by the fleet and given to the treasury of the Company were already spent. The Merchants' Council of Pondicherry had thought it necessary to pay their immediate debts in order to revive their credit, and had issued orders to Paris that, if help of ten millions was not forthcoming, everything would be lost. The Governor of Pondicherry, the successor of Godeheu, on behalf of the Merchants' administration, wrote to the General on the 24th May this letter, which was received in the trenches :

" My resources are exhausted and we have no longer any hope left unless we are successful. Where shall I find resources

* We give the name of admiral to the chief of a squadron because it is the title of the English chiefs of squadrons. The "Grand Admiral" is in England what the admiral is in France (V.)

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in a country ruined by fifteen years of war, enough to pay the expenses of your army and of a squadron from which we were hoping for a great deal of help. On the contrary, there is nothing."

This single letter explains the cause of all the disasters which had been experienced and of all those that followed. The more the want of necessary things was felt in the town, the more the General was blamed for having undertaken the siege of Fort St. David.

In spite of so many defeats and obstacles, the General forced the English commander to yield. In St. David were found one hundred and eighty cannons, all kinds of provisions which were lacking in Pondicherry, and money of which there was a still greater lack. There was three hundred thousand pounds in coin, which was all forwarded to the treasury of the Company. We are only noting here facts on which all parties agree.

THE 2ND JULY 1758. LALLI PUTS THIS COMBAT ON THE 3RD OF AUGUST IN HIS MEMOIRS. IT IS A MISTAKE

Count Lalli demolished this fortress and all the surrounding small farms. It was an order of the Minister; an ill-fated order which soon brought sad reprisals. As soon as Fort St. David had been taken, the General left to conquer Madras. He wrote to M. de Bussi who was then in the heart of the Deccan: "As soon as I become the master of Madras, I am going to the Ganges, either by land or sea. My policy can be summarized in these five words: "No more English in the Peninsula." His great zeal was unquenchable, and the fleet was not in a fit condition to back him up. It had just attempted a second naval battle in sight of Pondicherry, which was even more disastrous than the first. Comte d'Aché received two wounds, and, in this bloodthirsty fight, he had resisted the attacks of a naval army, twice as strong as his own, with five dilapidated ships. After this conflict, he demanded masts, provisions, rigging and crew from the Town Council. He got nothing. The General on the sea was no more helped by this exhausted Company than the General on the land. He went to the Ile de France near the coast of Africa to find what he had not been able to discover in India.

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At the beginning of the Coromandel coast is quite a beautiful province called Tanjore. The Raja of this land, whom the French and the English called "King", was a very rich prince. The Company claimed that this prince owed them about thirteen millions in French money.

THE ACTIONS AND LETTERS OF THE JESUIT LAVOUR

The Governor of Pondicherry, on behalf of the Company, ordered the General to demand this money again with his sword in his hand. A French Jesuit, named Lavour, the head of the Indian Mission, told him and wrote to him that *Providence blessed this project in an unmistakable manner*. We shall be forced to speak again of this Jesuit who played an important and tragic part in all these happenings. All we need say at present is that the General, on his journey, passed over the territory of another small prince, whose nephews had a short time before offered four lakhs of rupees to the Company in order to obtain their uncle's small state and expel him from the country. This Jesuit eagerly persuaded Count Lalli to do this good work. This is one of his letters, word for word: "The law of succession in those countries is the law of the strongest. You must not regard the expulsion of a prince here as on the same level as in Europe." He told him in another letter: "You must not work simply for the glory of the King's arms. A word to the wise." This act reveals the spirit of the country and of the Jesuit.

The Prince of Tanjore sought the help of the English in Madras. They got ready to create a diversion, and he had time to admit other auxiliary troops into his capital which was threatened by a siege. The little French army did not receive from Pondicherry either provisions or the necessary ammunition, and they were forced to abandon the attempt. Providence did not bless them as much as the Jesuit had foretold. The Company received money neither from the Prince nor from the nephews who wished to dispossess their uncle.

GENERAL LALLI IN A PECULIAR KIND OF DANGER

As they were preparing to retreat, a negro of those parts,

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the commander of a group of negro cavalry men in Tanjore, came and presented himself to the advance guard of the French Camp followed by fifty horsemen. He said that they wanted to speak to the General and enter his service. The Count was in bed, and came out of his tent practically naked with a stick in his hand. Immediately the negro captain aimed a sword blow at him, which he just managed to parry, and the other negroes fell on him. The General's guard ran up instantly and nearly all the assassins were killed. That was the sole result of the Tanjore expedition.

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CONFESSIONS OF A GHOST-HUNTER*

[BY PROF. BRIJ NARAIN.]

HARRY PRICE is mentioned in Baron Schrenck-Notzing's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Parapsychologie*.† Even as a schoolboy Price was interested in magic and ghost-hunting. It was as a schoolboy that he tried to make the acquaintance of "the ghost that stumbled," which story forms the first chapter of *Confessions of a Ghost-Hunter*. Price tried to 'shoot' his first 'poltergeist,' but the result was only an over-exposed picture of a staircase. But there was a ghost, for he involuntarily stumbled on the stairs and "At the same moment there was a clattering down the stairs as if the spontaneous disintegration of the disturbing entity had taken place."‡ It is not clear why the dematerialization of the ghost should have produced a clattering noise. Other accounts of dematerialization suggest that it is a noiseless process.

At the age of seventeen Price wrote and produced a three-act psychic play, *The Sceptic*. And he tells us with no sham modesty: "Of course I took the principal part myself, and I am sure I played the hero with considerable histrionic verve."§

Till the year 1922 Price's experiences with mediums were unsatisfactory - what Price saw was mostly conscious or unconscious fraud.

Then Price went with Dingwall Research Officer of the London S. P. R., to attend a few sittings with the medium Willi Schneider (elder brother of the more famous medium Rudi Schneider) in Schrenck-Notzing's laboratory. "Completely convinced (*vollkommen überzeugt*) he returned to London and delivered a lecture on his experiences in Munich."||

* *Confessions of a Ghost-Hunter* by Harry Price, Putnam, Price 12s 6d.

† P. 169.

‡ *Confessions*, p. 23.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

|| Schrenck-Notzing's work cited above, p. 170.

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Again in 1925 and 1926 Price attended many sittings with Willi Schneider. He thus wrote about the result:

"I left Munich, after attending a number of sittings in the house of Dr. von Schrenck which, in my judgment, were held under unexceptionable conditions, in the firm conviction that I had witnessed really genuine phenomena (*wirklich echter Phänomene*) of various kinds and intensity."*

Price had no doubts about the genuineness of Willi's mediumship then. He has doubts now: "During the period that Willi was losing his interest in psychics, Rudi was gradually acquiring the mediumistic technique of his brother. Unkind people said that Willi merely taught him the tricks of his trade."†

Did Willi produce his phenomena in Schrenck-Notzing's laboratory with tricks? This is not the impression which the account of the sittings with Willi in Schrenck-Notzing's books gives the reader.‡

The lay reader finds it not a little disconcerting that a medium who is praised as genuine by experts at one time, is denounced as a trickster by the same experts later. Excepting Mrs. Piper, perhaps there is no medium who has escaped this sad fate.

Rudi Schneider has been accused of fraud by Price. The picture revealing the alleged fact that at one sitting in Price's laboratory Rudi managed to free his left arm and put it behind his back, has been much discussed. Price was the principal controller, and he 'admitted quite candidly that Rudi had evaded me'.§ But this is not the whole story. The book in which Price denounced Rudi has been described as 'a personal act of revenge' (*ein persönlicher Racheakt*).|| It may also be noted that while

* Schrenck-Notzing's work cited above, p. 171

† *Confessions*, p. 227

‡ See the work cited above and *Die Materialisations Phänomene und Experimente der Fernbewegung*.

§ *Confessions*, p. 233.

|| *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie*, July 1933, p. 310

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speaking on the mediumship of Rudi Schneider at the Institut Metapsychique, Paris, in 1930 the same Price had said: "In the name of the Committee of National Laboratory of Psychical Research I have given a letter to Rudi Schneider, a veritable certificate attesting that he has produced in our laboratory absolutely genuine mediumistic phenomena."*

It is not surprising that Dr. Osty, Director of the Institut Metapsychique is unable to understand the workings of Price's mind. Dr. Osty's is an honourable name commanding respect in psychic circles in Europe and America. For the details of the supposed unmasking of Rudi Schneider the reader is referred to Dr. Osty's article entitled *L'étrange conduite de M. Harry Price* in *Revue Metapsychique* for March-April 1933. It is remarkable that while the sitting, in which Rudi freed his left arm, was held in April 1932, for about a year, that is till March 1933, the 'fraud' remained publicly unexposed.

In *Confessions of a Ghost-Hunter* the author says: "When I confronted Rudi with the evidence, he did not know what to say. His first reaction was that the 'arm' was a spirit one - until I pointed out that the 'spirit' in question was wearing my pyjama-jacket, the garment Rudi always donned during a seance."†

When questioned on the subject at Paris by Lord Charles Hope, Mr. Besterman and Dr. Osty, Rudi said: "It is false. M. Price never showed me any photograph. Before I left London, a few days after the sitting of April 28, he carelessly showed me several negatives, without saying anything which suggested that he was alluding to any suspicious matter. The conversation between M. Price and myself in the book is pure invention (*La conversation entre M. Price et moi relatée dans le livre est pure invention*). On the other hand I was much surprised when he asked me not to say anything about those photographs to any one. I understood nothing, and attached no importance to it. I understand now."‡

* *Revue Metapsychique*, 1933, No. 2, p. 111

† *Confessions*, p. 232

‡ *Revue Metapsychique*, 1933, No. 2, p. 117.

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Rudi had seriously offended Price. Price wanted Rudi exclusively for his own laboratory, while Rudi had agreed to give sittings elsewhere !

Chapter XIII gives Price's account of Rudi's 'fraud'. The other account, that by Dr. Osty, does Price little credit.

The *Confessions* cover a wide field—practically the whole range of the more important mediumistic phenomena, psychical as well as physical. There is nothing about prophecies or re-incarnation in the book, but there is an interesting report of Price's experiment with a French clairvoyante, Mlle. Jeanne Laplace. She is truly wonderful (see *Revue Metapsychique* for 1934, Nos. 2, 3 and 4). Mlle. Laplace becomes clairvoyante by "arresting the ordinary movements of her thoughts," or by creating a sort of "mental void"*—which is the first thing that an Indian *yogi* practises.

It is stated in *Revue Metapsychique*, No. 3, 1934 (which reports Price's sitting with this clairvoyante on 19th January, 1927):

"*Conclusions of M. Harry Price.* Out of 61 'impressions' of Mlle Laplace, 48 are absolutely correct. The end of the sobriquet given to Mrs. H. C. 'Billy,' is particularly interesting. Many of the facts mentioned by Mlle. Laplace were not known to me and I had to make enquiries to confirm them.

"In short, the experiment with Mlle. Laplace was remarkable."†

According to Mlle. Laplace Price will visit India. Let our fraudulent mediums beware !

Mlle. Laplace told Price many other things about himself : "Also, my modesty would prevent my giving a recital of all the nice things she said about me ! " Well ! Well ! Dr. Osty must have been mistaken when he suggested as a sub-title for Price's "*An Account of Some Further Experiments with Rudi Schneider*" "*moi, moi, moi, encore moi, toujours moi, il n'y a que moi, etc.*"‡

* *Revue Metapsychique*, 1934, No. 4, p. 218

† P. 161.

‡ *Revue Metapsychique*, 1933, No. 2, p. 115

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The chapter on "Pale Black Magic" describes "The Bloksberg Tryst." The whole thing is perfectly silly. The author tells us that he decided to go to the Brocken because he "wished to emphasize the absolute futility of ancient magical ritual under twentieth century conditions." But did any one in Germany or elsewhere seriously expect the transformation of a goat into a "youth of surpassing beauty"? Price led to the Brocken on June 17, 1932, a "mayden pure in heart," a goat, 73 journalists, 42 photographers, including one cinematographer. In the end "the goat remained a goat." Or did the carefully prepared experiment fail because the moon deserted the party? The whole thing was a publicity stunt, and nothing more.

To those familiar with the works of Richet, Delanne, Geley, Osty, Mattiesen, Oesterreich, von Rossem, Tenhaeff and Bozzano—to mention only the leading investigators of France, Germany, Holland and Italy—there is not much that is new in Price's *Confessions*. The reader of the *Confessions* will learn that there are genuine as well as fraudulent mediums, genuine as well as spurious psychic and physical mediumistic phenomena. The last chapter "How I brought the Fire-Walk to England" describes Khuda Baksh's fire-walking feat in London. Even this is nothing new. The most remarkable fire-walk took place in India in 1921 (Mysore) when 200 persons walked through fire and 100 through flames, while the Bishop of Mysore was reciting Ave Maria *pour tenter de faire échec au pouvoir du Diable*.† The Devil, however, triumphed. There is now an enormous mass of literature on almost every aspect of mediumship. The fact that man possesses supernormal powers is well established. The demonstration of supernormal powers may still astound Europeans to-day. But these things have been known in India for over 3,000 years. To us the unending process of piling up facts seems futile. Let the facts be taken for granted. We took them for granted long ago. We are mainly interested in their explanation.

This explanation has not yet been furnished by any one.

Do the facts suggest immortality, or man's survival of bodily death? That is what the Hindu believes, and has believed for

* *Confessions*, p. 339.

† *Les Hommes Sacramentaires*, by Olivier Leroy, Paris, Mesclee de Brouwer & Cie, p. 44. "In order to make the Devil's power fail."

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several thousand years (see, for example the *Bhagwad Gita*, chapter II). The greatest accumulator of psychical facts is undoubtedly Ernesto Bozzano of Italy. By the comparative analysis of his facts Bozzano is led to the conclusion that survival has been scientifically demonstrated.*

The spiritualistic hypothesis is very old, though Bozzano and followers of Allan Kardec in France have hailed it as a new discovery. If the accumulation of facts in Europe and America merely serves to confirm this hypothesis, then we in India are not much interested in modern psychical research.

But the spiritualistic hypothesis is absurd. It simply cannot be true. There must be another interpretation of the facts which suggest survival and re-incarnation. We agree with Price that messages from the other world are not of spirit origin, that they do not prove survival. But no rationalistic explanation is yet available which may be regarded as at once sufficient and convincing. The advance of science may solve the riddle—it has not yet done so.

[So-called psychic phenomena are so developed and well known in India that they make the European experiments seem like child's play. There are treasure houses of "cases" for an investigator like Mr. Price in India. We suggest that he comes here and sees for himself.—Editor.]

* See for example Bozzano's *Indagini Mistiche Manifestazioni Supernaturali*, 4th series, pp. 93-94

JAWAHARLAL ON HIMSELF*

The Latest Addition to the Library of Indian Nationalism

[BY FREDA AND E. P. L. BEDI]

"I HAVE become a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me as she does to all her children in innumerable ways; and behind me lie, somewhere in the sub-conscious, racial memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmms. I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me, and, though they both help me in the East and the West, they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities, but in life itself. I am a stranger, an alien, in the West. I cannot be of it but in my own country also sometimes I have an exile's feeling."

These are almost the closing words of Jawaharlal Nehru's latest book his autobiography. They are the summing up of six hundred pages of closely-written material. Their significance lies in the fact that they lay bare before us the human side of Jawaharlal, and we catch a glimpse of the person as distinct from the politics for which he stands. This passage reveals the keynote of a life warped up not in personal matters but in the affairs of a nation.

The Making of The Man

To understand the background of this passage, we have to go back to the circumstances of his early life. Born in Allahabad on November 14, 1889, the eldest child and only son of a father whose style of living was proverbially luxurious, Jawaharlal was

* *Jawaharlal Nehru*, John Lane the Bodley Head, Rs. 7

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educated at Harrow and Cambridge. It is not without interest to note that he graduated in the Natural Sciences Tripos, his subjects being Chemistry, Geology and Botany, remarkable background for a man who was to handle the affairs of a growing and a renascent nation. His University life was a modest one, and he did not make any particular mark outside his immediate circle of friends. Indeed it is interesting to see that this modesty in public speaking and work persisted right up to his return to India and even for a few years after that. He is honest about it all. The end of this chapter of his life, when he returned in 1912 as a young barrister, is recorded as follows: "I am afraid as I landed at Bombay, I was a bit of a prig with little to commend me." He himself frankly admits that the reason that he did not try for the Civil Service examinations was not because of any antagonism against Imperialist Service as such, but simply because Motilal Nehru wished to keep his only son by his side and not have him roaming about from district to district. Thus we see that not only was there no trace of socialism at that time, but that his interest in politics extended to vague but fervent appreciation of Tilak and others who about 1912 were dominating the Indian nationalist field. This is the rather unexpected beginning of a life which has been published by Bodley Head, London, at seven rupees in an attractive green cloth bound edition.

The Rising Storm

It was not long before the forces of destiny seemed to pull him towards the nationalist fold. At first Pandit Motilal favoured the broadening interests of his son, and his occasional participation in political meetings, but the limit was at last reached when the Satyagraha movement was first resolved upon and its followers were enjoined to go to jail. Jawaharlal was determined to go ahead. It was his father then who began to have misgivings and could not heartily approve of the idea of his son going to jail and facing the hardships of prison life. But the son's mind was made up and the Jallianwala Bagh had set his soul on fire. "The Punjab", he says, "was isolated, cut off from the rest of India: a thick veil seemed to cover it and hide it from outside eyes. Odd individuals who managed to escape from that inferno were so terror-struck that they could give no clear account. Helplessly

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and impotently, we who were outside, waited for scraps of news and bitterness filled our hearts." At this point came the crisis between youthful idealism and paternal solicitude. He writes: "For many days there was this mental conflict, and because both of us felt that big issues were at stake involving a complete upsetting of our lives, we tried to be as considerate to each other as possible. I wanted to lessen his obvious suffering if I could, but I had no doubt in my mind that I had to go the way of Satyagraha. Both of us had a distressing time and night after night I wandered about alone, tortured in mind and trying to grope my way out. Father—I discovered later—actually tried sleeping on the floor to find out what it was like, as he thought that this would be my lot in prison."

Towards the Peasant!

The next stage of his career opens by his being drawn into the whirlpool of peasant problems. It came about in a curious way. "I was thrown", he says, "almost without any will of my own, into contact with the peasantry." The sudden appearance of a large number of peasants near Allahabad demanded the attention of the Congress to the hardships of their lot. With a few friends, Jawaharlal went to see them as they squatted on the Jumna Ghats, and the insistence of the peasants on getting their help forced him to go into their villages and find out the truth of their complaints. That visit was the beginning of a new life. From that day onwards, Jawaharlal's mind was filled with vastly different thoughts: "A new picture of India seemed to rise before me—naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me." That new responsibility was the beginning of the new Jawaharlal.

In the midst of all this narrative, one thing stands out quite clearly: that the peasant movement in India is the result of the economic conditions of peasant life, and not the creation of any leaders; in fact it is true to say that in the majority of cases the peasants drew their leaders to themselves as in the case of Jawaharlal.

Side-Lights on Lenin

Seven Imprisonments

Then comes the story of Jawaharlal's full-blooded entry into public life. The development of his ideas, seven imprisonments with an almost inhumanly short interval between them, a progressive introspection into his motives and character, born of the difficulties of prison life, a "shuttlecock" life, as he himself calls it, alternating between intense action and enforced solitude...form the central and most bulky portion of the book. The picture of the organic growth of this ever-developing character is finely shaded with the depressing events of his father's death, the illness of his mother and the gallant fight which Kamla, his wife, had to put up against complete breakdown.

The Dynamic Drive

It is in the final part of the book, however, that the development of his political ideals is expressly stated, and it is here that we find reflected the concise, adjective outlook on life that guides him in his political actions.

So far as nationalism was concerned, Jawaharlal had seen the various grades of it. On the one hand as voiced by the Liberals, who were willing to enslave themselves for the sake of Dominion Status, and on the other hand as expressed with fiery nationalism, saturated with hatred of foreign rule, in the mouth of Moti Lal Ghosh, late Editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He was lying on his death-bed when Pandit Mottial, accompanied by Jawaharlal, went to see him. The Bengal veteran blessed the nationalist movement and, as for himself, he added, "he was going away to other regions and wherever these might be he had one great satisfaction...he would be somewhere where the British Empire did not exist."

So far as the philosophy and strategy of the movement was concerned, he had also seen contrasts as in the case of Tilak and Gandhi,—both radically different from one another. These cross-currents of thought and action helped Jawaharlal in coming to the conclusion that what the nationalist movement really suffered from was want of clear ideals and an objective programme in

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India's struggle for freedom. Socialism was the only reply which he found to the problem.

Gandhiji

At one time a devoted disciple, he thought that his own objective was not far different from Gandhiji's, and that where Gandhiji differed from the Socialist objective was on the point of tactics and method. He has all through the book stressed his differences with Gandhiji, but that has not taken him away from honest expression of opinion on his greatness and a condemnation of the methods and superiority of "parlour Socialists and revolutionaries" who are quick to criticize because, as he points out, Gandhi may not speak in a revolutionary manner as these people understand it, but in action he has been more revolutionary than anybody before or since.

The rift, however, between the two has been gradually but constantly growing. He did not see eye to eye with Gandhi's idea that India's salvation lay in village industries. He did not approve of the assertion "that Princes were created by God". He could not agree to look upon Talukdars as the trustees of the peasants' welfare. These fundamental differences broadened the gulf. Finally it was in Alipore Gaol during his last imprisonment that he read Gandhiji's statement on withdrawing the Civil Disobedience movement in which he said: "I must for the time being remain the sole representative of Civil Disobedience in action." This statement, prompted as it was by the failings of an Ashram inmate, filled Jawaharlal's heart with misgivings, questioning the wisdom of the leader in judging the morale and tactics of a whole nation from such a personal and isolated incident. These doubts were reinforced by the conflict of ideals which was ever-increasingly there. "With a stab of pain I felt that the chords of allegiance that had bound me to him for many years had snapped." This is one of the classic phrases in the history of Indian nationalism.

And now

"And now?", he continues, "suddenly I felt very lonely in that cell in Alipore Gaol. Life seemed to be a very dreary affair,

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a very wilderness of desolation. Of the many hard lessons that I had learnt, the hardest and most painful now faced me: that it is not possible in any vital matter to rely on anyone. *One must journey through life alone : to rely on others is to invite heartbreak.*"

It was Kamla who rescued him in part from this depression. He remarks pathetically in view of later events: "My feeling of isolation left me. Whatever happened, I felt, we had one another." He little guessed that that final blow—her death—was soon to fall.

This split from Gandhiji's following marks the opening of a new chapter in Jawaharlal's life. It will be the determining factor of the future, and he himself realizes the significance of it. This will enable him to proceed on what he considers the right path unfettered by personal loyalties.

The book is permeated by his particular personality, provoking, always honest to the point of self-condemnation, with a delicacy of personal restraint and appreciation of life which prison troubles have served to enhance rather than to deaden. It will go down in history as a classic, not only of India but of the world. It is a people's classic too—a readable, lovable book, a tragic one and yet one burning with a great courage, unflinching after years of torment.

We can end with his own words: "Was it worth while? There is no hesitation about the answer. If I were given the chance to go through my life again, with my present knowledge and experience added, I would no doubt try to make many changes in my personal life; I would endeavour to improve in many ways on what I had previously done, but my major decision in public affairs would remain untouched. Indeed I could not vary them, for they were stronger than myself, and a force beyond my control drove me to them."

IMPERIAL TRUSTEESHIP*

[By M.]

THE idea of treating problems of imperial trusteeship comprehensively shows the intellectual heroism that our age demands. The threat to our distracted nationally-complexed civilization is the failure to face world facts from the international point of view. The Royal Institute of International Affairs set themselves up in 1920 is an unofficial and non-political body "to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions." A bold step towards the millenium of international comity. But having taken this bold step, as is the way of intellectual bodies, it eschews the function of leadership, and meekly declares "it is precluded by its rules from expressing an opinion in any aspect of international affairs."

This is to bring the H. G. Wells vision of a scientifically ordered world into view, only for us to be told that it is a mirage with which we can make no contact. The intellectual who thinks his perspicacity justifies him in analyzing an intricate historical problem, but who shirks the duty of framing a forward policy in the light of his knowledge, is surely living in a creed outworn? The age of the schoolmen when learning was a cultural acquisition that adorned but did not impinge on life is gone. We study political problems in the past presumably in the hope of finding their solution in the present. If the scholar thinks he can leave their immediate solution to the politician he is wrong. In a distracted world there is none more distracted than those who pose as our statesmen. Neither the clutter of administrative detail nor the clatter of the smoke-room is a proper basis on which to found well-considered policies of world development.

The reader who masticates and digests the pabulum here set before him will come from the repast replete with much curious information. He will learn that :

* *Problem of Imperial Trusteeship: The Atlantic and Slavery*, by the Hon. H. A. Wyndham, Oxford University Press, London. Humphry Milford, 12s. 6d. net.

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"The first obligation of a ship on anchoring off the coast of Senegal (at the beginning of the eighteenth century) was to pay the King's customs and duties These charges differed at every place on the coast of Senegal; as did also the presents which the numerous native port officials and other influential individuals demanded First came the Alcaid, accompanied by his son and his servant. Each received a gift and, in addition the Alcaid expected a special fee when he stepped on board the visiting ship. His deputy and his man were next in importance. Then came the Port Boat Swain and his man; the Great Interpreter, who also got a special fee on boarding the ship and his man All the presents amounted to fifty bottles of brandy [!], [p. 73].

He will also discover why the French never succeeded in establishing an African organization with the survival capacity of the Royal African Company of England: because

"They sent out slave ships at times when no slaves were available, and ships for hides and other goods when the slave pens were full, and their occupants perishing from overcrowding. The agents they employed on the coast were equally inexperienced, and were generally of the worst character [pp. 47, 50].

He will be able to contrast the Portuguese in Brazil where at first they "were forbidden to live in the villages because of their evil example to neophytes; but they could visit them with a special licence from the Governor," a policy later reversed by Pampal who set out to encourage "the settlement of Europeans within the Indian's reserves as the best means of improving the latter by trade and social intercourse." [pp. 142, 144. ...all this he will be able to contrast with the English in Virginia.

"Their justifications were the divine command to replenish the earth, and the right of all men to share in its products. On this principle the people of an over-crowded country might find accommodation in another which was under-populated; especially if it were occupied by heathens. For Christians held the world in a tenure of which heathens were incapable....." [pp. 164-65].

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The impression is as of ranging through the shelves of a well-stocked library. One is amazed by the conglomerate mass of learning which men have compiled, and sorely perplexed by the lack of any guiding idea as to its purposiveness or eventual aim. To reveal an international problem in its complexity is no small literary feat. But to see the final solution of a problem—it may be, only in a vision from the cave of conflicting facts—in the seeds from which it sprung is the task of the philosopher. Or do even those who compile works on the Atlantic and slavery with a cosmic precision nowadays so distrust the faculty of human reason that they are prepared to leave ultimate solutions to committees? There are doubtless committees which presented with a policy carefully argued from the facts would recognize its inevitability. But no committee is capable of evolving from the dozen or more prejudiced and half-informed views which it represents, a rational solution to a problem of international magnitude. And that in a nut-shell is our case against academic abstentionism, and the policy which has precluded the frank discussions of aims and objects in this carefully compiled book.

"OTTAWA" AGAIN!

[BY DR. S. M. AKHTAR]

MR. GHOSE in this little book, written before the verdict was given by the Legislative Assembly in favour of the termination of the Ottawa Pact, advocates the revision of the Pact rather than its rejection.

He agrees that the Ottawa arrangements have not been of appreciable benefit to India. He attributes the relative increase of India's share in world export trade between 1932 and 1933 partly to the movements of export prices and partly to the general stimulus given to the export of raw materials by industrial recovery, and not to the Ottawa Agreement. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that during the next year between 1933 and 1934 India's share in world export trade deteriorated by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. due to the movements of our exports of raw material and manufactured articles relatively to changes in world trade. World export of raw materials and manufactures increased by 11 per cent. and 7 per cent., respectively, which India's export increased by 9 per cent. in the case of raw materials and decreased by 1 per cent. in the case of manufactures.

There was, however, a third factor affecting our export trade—its movements relatively to countries. Between 1932-33 and 1933-34 the shares of our exports taken by Germany and Belgium were unchanged. The shares of France, Netherlands and Japan fell; those of U. S. A., Italy and the United Kingdom increased. The greatest fall was in the case of France, the greatest rise in the share of U. S. A. Between 1933-34 and 1934-35 decline in the share of Netherlands continued even at a greater rate, there was a big fall in the share of Germany, a more moderate fall in the share of Belgium and U.S.A. The share of the United Kingdom fell by a small percentage, Italy improved slightly, Japan enormously. On

**Revision of Ottawa: A Study in Applied Economics, by D. Ghosh, Esq., M.A. (Cantab), Reader in Economics, University of Bombay (The Book Company, Calcutta, 1936).*

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the whole the figures suggest a definite movement of our export trade away from continental Europe to the United Kingdom and Japan.

The figures for 1934-35 suggest that the United Kingdom market for our export has reached its limits. Exports to the United Kingdom stood at 47,53 lakhs in 1934-35 as compared with 47,21 lakhs in the previous year. As regards our cotton exports to the United Kingdom to encourage which special measures were taken, of our total exports of cotton the share of the United Kingdom was 12.4 per cent. in 1933-34 and 10 per cent. in 1934-35 while Japan's share increased from 37.4 per cent. in 1933-34 to 58.3 per cent., in 1934-35. Our exports to Japan in 1934-35 were six times greater than those to the United Kingdom and were double than the year before. This increase has nothing to do with the Ottawa Pact.

A similar conclusion is suggested when we compare the movements in the export of 'preferred' and the 'non-preferred' goods. Between 1931-32 and 1934-35 our total exports fell by 5 per cent., our export of 'preferred' commodities by 15 per cent., while our export of 'non-preferred' goods increased by 24 per cent. This is explained by the fact that most of the preferred goods consist of food materials and manufactures while most of the non-preferred goods consist of raw materials. The improvement in the export of the non-preferred goods is due to the general increase in the demand for raw materials due to industrial recovery. Thus all the favourable influences on our export trade can be traced to other causes than those connected with the Ottawa Pact.

On the other hand one fact remains clear. Our trade with Continental Europe declined during this period. The exact extent to which this fall is due to the Ottawa Agreement is very difficult to trace.

The relation of the Ottawa scheme and our losses in the neutral markets may be conceived as both direct and indirect. Directly non-empire competition meeting unfavourable treatment in empire countries diverted their export to neutral markets, thus partly ousting Indian exports. It is also probable that British

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preference led to retaliation by other countries, *e.g.*, within two months of imposition of first British duties twenty nations increased their restrictions on British goods. In the case of India such retaliation is equally conceivable even if not consciously applied.

As regards indirect influences they are more important. "For several reasons" says Mr. Ghosh "British Imperial Preference represents a much greater interference with the flow of international commerce than the tariff changes of most countries except probably the U. S. A. First in its scope it includes the trade of an area which normally accounts for nearly a third of world trade. Secondly in its nature it is an attempt to safeguard a section of the world more self-sufficient than any territory outside U. S. A. Finally in substance though not in form it has been the most extensive breach of the principle of most-favoured-nation clause by which the world has secured some of the benefits of free trade in a general regime of protectionism." The reactions of such an important tariff measure therefore are bound to be far-reaching. In the first place for instance it has intensified the movement for the development of colonial trade in other empire groups, *e.g.*, France. Secondly it has seriously disturbed the normal adjustments of international claims and obligations, *e.g.*, by reducing the United Kingdom's import surplus and thus striking at the multilateral arrangement through which many international claims were adjusted. Moreover the reduction of United Kingdom's imports of manufactures from European countries reduced the latter demand for our raw materials.

These facts and figures suggest that the Ottawa Pact has not been of much benefit to India. It has not led to appreciable increase of exports to empire countries, and whatever increase in export took place, took place in spite of the Pact and not because of it. On the other hand it has led to the loss of our position in non-empire markets and its repercussions on international trade in general have been far from desirable.

What is the solution? The Legislative Assembly has already given its verdict. Mr. Ghosh however is not in favour of termination. He recommends revision or amendment. His argument is that we should take realistic view of the situation.

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There was more sense in rejecting the Pact in 1932 than now. "There would have been a good case for ending it, if we could thereby return to pre-Ottawa conditions of trade." But this return is impossible. The conditions of our trade with British and non-British countries have changed. "These three years of Ottawa," he says, "have increased our dependence on the United Kingdom, so that any loss that we may have to suffer there must be offset by larger gains elsewhere." But the prospects are not bright in this direction. Our position in non-empire countries has deteriorated owing to factors partly connected with the Ottawa Agreement. The impediments to international trade thus brought about "will continue to influence its course long after we have left the British Preferential fraternity, so that though we might improve our position in neutral markets somewhat the improvement will not be large enough to offset our probable loss in the United Kingdom."

Therefore he favours the amendment of the Pact. He indicates broadly the lines on which the amendment should take place. In spite of the restrictionist policies of the countries like France and Germany he holds that they will be ready to enter into agreements with us, provided by the amendment of the Ottawa Pact we are able to offer them favourable terms. "In practice" he says "the grant of any reciprocal favour to, say, Germany or France can be made only by modifying our present preferences to British goods. For in the first place the imports on which the United Kingdom did not ask for preference and on which we are still free to extend concessions to other industrial countries would not most probably be important from their point of view. And secondly the scope of the present Indo-British Agreement is so extensive that there are very few imports left out on which we can grant favour to other countries."

There are certain exports, however he suggests, on which British preference conferred little or no benefit, and there are some imports the preference on which imposes a needless burden on the community. It is largely out of these imports and exports that we shall have to select the commodities which will figure in our trade agreements with countries other than the United Kingdom. "For" he adds "it is chiefly where our exports to neutral markets were large that British preference was of little value to us

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and it is mainly where our imports from countries other than the United Kingdom were important that preference given to her has proved costly to us "

These suggestions seem quite plausible in theory but it is difficult to visualize their implication in practice unless details of the whole data are carefully examined. It is questionable whether the United Kingdom will agree to the amendment of the Pact in such a way as to deprive her of all its benefits. The above lines of amendment, it seems, will lead to some such results. The writer does not mention any specific commodities in the case of which non-empire bilateral agreements can be concluded at the same time keeping the Pact alive. The whole problem is complicated and defies abstract generalizations. A detailed investigation from all points of view with reference to particular commodities is essential before any practical steps can be taken. It appears on the whole that India would be in a better position to enter into bilateral agreements with non-empire and empire countries while free of any previous commitments rather than with its hands tied up with a Pact which was concluded in the teeth of national opposition.

The book on the whole is well written and shows mastery of the subject and sound scholarship

EDITING LETTERS*

[By K. S. THAPER]

THERE are two ways of editing letters. One is to present them to the public in their natural form, after arranging them topically or chronologically, but leaving them unused and unspoilt otherwise. Comment on any of them, if at all necessary can be given in an introductory chapter. This by far is the better method. One must, however, have a sufficient number of 'letters' at his disposal if he wants to turn out a decent-sized book which would sell at a fancy price. The other method is to write a book based on the letters, giving detailed quotations out of them and supplying the background from one's own knowledge and study of the subject. If this method is to succeed, it is necessary that the editor (or the author as he would be called if this method is followed) should have the proper equipment to write the book. Otherwise his attempt would be a failure. Miss Ursula Low's book, *Fifty years with John Company* is a failure on that account. She followed this second method to edit her grandfather, Sir John Low's letters, because the letters were few and she wanted to sell her book at 15s. But she neither possesses an adequate knowledge of that period of Indian history which she has tried to deal with, nor is she a good writer. Consequently, her book makes dull and un-instructive reading.

Fifty years with John Company, is rather an ambitious title. It leads the reader to expect much more than there is in the book. The sub-title *From the letters of Sir John Low of Clatto Fife, 1822-1859*, is equally misleading. Only a portion of the book is based on Sir John Low's letters. The rest are badly told episodes taken out of well-told stories from other books. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to giving a family account of the Shakespeares and Thackerays. John Low was

* *Fifty years with John Company* — *From the letters of General Sir John Low of Clatto, Fife, 1822-1859*, by Ursula Low, John Murray, 15s.

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somehow related to these families. For her information, the author has almost entirely depended on published works like *The Thackerays in India* by Sir W. Hunter; *Memorials of the Thackeray family*, by Mrs. Bayne; and a couple of other books. John Low never served in any place west of Delhi nor does his correspondence relate any events that may have occurred in that part of India, but Miss Low has included in her book an account of the Afghan War and its sequel. Who would like to read this colourless narrative when he can easily get hold of *Richmond Shakespeare's Journal* (published in *Blackwood*, 1842, and later republished in their series, "Travel, Adventure and Sport") and *Journey from Herat to Khiva, Moscow and St. Petersburg* (W. H. Allen, London, 1884) or Glieg's account in *With Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan*—the books from which Miss Low has taken her material?

Only one example must suffice to show that the author does not fully understand the events she writes about and that she has not properly digested the material she got out of other books. She has devoted one chapter to the story of Patrick Vans Agnew and the Campaigns in the Punjab. This account, according to herself, is based on H. B. Edwards' *A year in the Punjab* (by the way, the proper title of that book is *A year on the Punjab Frontier*). This story is included because, as she says, "it is one of the most moving episodes in British-Indian history, and I am tempted to record it briefly here." So she has indulged in vain glorious language and common-place platitudes that give it a cheap appearance. Commenting on the fact that Agnew, Anderson and Sardar Khan Singh went from Lahore to Multan by water and not by road with their troops she says "the magic of personality, that *puissance des âmes sur des âmes* which is the very root from which the British Empire has sprung, was wasted here" (p. 242). How could the alternative course have made any difference to the fate of these two Englishmen one fails to see. The soldiers who attacked Agnew and Anderson had not come from Lahore with their escort. These soldiers who rose in rebellion belonged to the army of Dewan Mulraj and were already in Multan. With them these two men could not have come in personal contact by taking the alternative route. If Miss Low had enquired deeper into the cause of this revolt she would not

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have made such remarks. Agnew, in fact, carried with him orders from Lahore to disband the troops of Mulraj. The disbandment was to take place the following morning and the soldiery knew it. They hated Agnew because they looked upon him as the man who would take away their livelihood and throw them on the streets unemployed. Not a word is said about this. When the camp in which Agnew and Anderson were staying was attacked we are told that "*the Khan* asked permission to wave a white sheet" and again that "*the Khan* begged for and obtained quarter (p. 244)." Later we read that when Agnew's head was brought in and thrown into his lap "*the Khan* burst into tears." As I read these sentences I was for a moment puzzled as to the identity of this mysterious personage, only to discover that the author was referring to Sardar Khan Singh, the governor-designate of Multan. It is a long time ago that I read Herbert Edward's book, but I am sure he does not betray this ignorance of Indian names and courtesy titles but refers to Khan Singh as *the Sardar*. Lastly, though this may be a minor point, Miss Low might at least have got her dates correct. Punjab was annexed on March 29, not on April 3 (p. 246).

Those chapters that are based exclusively on the original correspondence of Sir John Low are in the beginning of the book. Quotations are given mainly from the letters which Sir John received from his mother in Scotland. A few of these letters deal with the financial affairs of the family and may be of interest to Sir John's biographer but the running commentary of the author is rather tedious. Towards the concluding portion of the book quotations are given from Sir John's own letters written from India giving Sir John's views on public matters--in corroboration only of what is known already. Here again, these letters had better been given in full.

On the whole *Fifty years with John Company* is an ill-designed and badly constructed memorial to the Clatto family. Sir John Low was an eminent public man who held high office under the East India Company. His opinions on the men and events of his time, even if they added nothing to our knowledge, might be worth knowing. But his letters should have been published without being spoilt and disfigured by an incompetent writer. Extraneous and ill-digested matter swells the book in volume but does not add to its value. What is worth publishing in this book could be contained in about thirty pages; price 1s. 3d.

AFTERTHOUGHT ON H. G. WELLS*

[BY SORAB E. KUMANA]

"**JOIN** in the Open Conspiracy" is the answer which Mr. Wells gives to the question, which forms the title of the book. What this Open Conspiracy of his is about, forms the main theme of the book. It is to be a conspiracy against the existing order of things,—“that huge substratum of under-developed, under-educated, subjugated, exploited and frustrated lives”—with a view to change it into a scientific world commonweal. It is to be open (not underground) for the reason that a movement to realize the conceivable better state of the world must deny itself the advantages of secret methods or tactical insincerities.”

The existence at present of independent nationalistic states and the existence within each state of irresponsible persons and companies competing for the largest share of profits derivable from the supply and distribution of staple commodities, act as the most potential barriers preventing the formation of a world federation of states as a single political, economic and social unit. “The raw materials of the earth should be for all, not to be monopolized by any acquisitive individual or acquisitive sovereign state” and should be exploited fully for the general benefit of the human race. Mr. Wells sets to himself the task of exploring the most effective means getting rid of these barriers.

A preliminary clearing of the ground is made with an attack upon the existing forms and beliefs of organized religions all over the world. “Religion certainly should tell us what to do with our lives. But in the vast stir and confusion of modern life so much of what we call religion remains irrelevant and dumb.” Religion has lost touch with reality. The history of our world as unfolded to us by science runs counter to all the histories on which religion has been based.” The symbols that served our fathers encumber and divide us. Sacrament and

* *What Are We To Do With Our Lives?*—By H. G. Wells, Watts & Co., London, 14.

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rituals harbour disputes and waste our scanty emotions." These old religions must change yielding place to a new universal objective religion, in which other-worldliness, a necessary adjunct of the old religions, would have no place, and in which the devotee, instead of attempting to escape from the tumult of life into a mystical contemplation and austere retirement, would face it boldly in order to conquer it, without at the same time losing anything of his best mental activity for self-examination.

Mr. Wells then turns to the formidable task of taking stock of the resistances and antagonistic forces, which the Open Conspiracy has to face at the outset. The most powerful of these are the sovereign militant states in each of which "there is in deference to the pretended necessities of a possible war, a vast degrading and dangerous cultivation of loyalty and mechanical subservience to flags, uniforms, presidents and kings." Loyalty to "King and Country" according to Wells is plain treason to mankind. The vested interests of finance, commerce, industry, churches and private property form collectively a tangle of traditions and loyalties which pander to "the time-honoured ideas of eternal national separation and unending international and class conflict". The task of the Open Conspiracy is to disentangle this tangle. Then there is the possible resistances of the less industrialized peoples of India, China, Russia, Africa, who present a medley of social systems, shattered, subjugated and exploited by the political aggressions of the Western states. But they will not present serious obstacles, once the "Atlantic communities" have been won over.

So far so good. But when Mr. Wells comes to the considerations of the means and methods whereby these organized oppositions can be overcome, he betrays in his arguments a good deal of confusion, vagueness and inconsistency. This is largely due to his utter inability to probe into the exact nature of the interplay of economic forces, which govern the working of modern capitalism, that has reached its monopolistic and imperialistic stages of development. Vested interests of finance, banking and big business have now transcended the barriers not only of nations but also of races, creeds and cultures. It is his failure to grasp the significance of these international ramifications of capitalism,

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which Marx had predicted over seventy-five years ago with prophetic accuracy, that makes him look down upon the Marxist "class war" conception as a heresy — "a preposterous base class activity". Hence he has been a bitter opponent of Marxism and has given ample indications of this in the book. Only one quotation will suffice: "A vast amount of moral force has been wasted in the past hundred years by the antagonism of 'Labour' and 'Capital' as though these were the primary issues of human affairs." Accordingly, he thinks as though the militant sovereign states and population pressures alone are the most potent causes of war; he regards cartels, combines and mergers as genuine steps towards socialization; and finally he imagines that invention and discovery, which, by so changing the conditions under which power is directed and utilized, have made "muscle economically secondary and inessential," will also do away with "hewers of wood and drawers of water, carriers and pick-and-spade men." As a matter of fact capitalist economy has not only perpetuated this primitive condition of manual labour, but has made the human being himself inessential in its scheme of things.

But what solution has Mr. Wells himself to offer? Essentially this. The Open Conspiracy must not necessarily be a class development but a convergence of many different sorts of people upon a common idea, aim and purpose. At the outset it may be necessary to achieve unanimity upon three fundamentally important issues, namely (1) the entirely provisional nature of all existing Governments and all loyalties associated therewith; (2) the supreme importance of population control in human biology and the possibility it affords us of a release from the pressure of the struggle for existence on ourselves and (3) the urgent necessity of protective resistance against the traditional drift towards war. A certain proportion of nearly all the functional classes in contemporary communities, having the same objective, will have to be drawn together. The Open Conspiracy would then come to its own by the fading out of the state governments through the inhibition and paralysis of their destructive militant and competitive activities, rather than by direct conflict to overthrow them. Even Big Business need not be attached as its own ends must ultimately carry it into the Open Conspiracy; nor need the private owner be threatened with expropriation lest he be scared

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away into not joining the Open Conspiracy. In the last analysis, this Open Conspiracy of Mr. Wells is to be, on his own showing, not so much a socialism as "a more comprehensive off-spring which has assimilated, whatever was digestible of its socialist forbears. Nevertheless he prefers the policy of the whole hog to that of non-resistance," "the restriction of activities to moral suasion." Mr. Wells' philosophy seems to be neither here nor there, but suspended in mid-air. It is strangely attached to broad social context and yet equally strangely detached from specific human nature. In contrast, Gandhi's cult of non-violence is more honest and consistent. But the one-time ardent socialist, the maker of modern Utopia and the delineator of the shape of things to come, has turned an open conspirator against an admittedly iniquitous social system, only to become in the end a close cooperator for its *status quo*!

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SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE IS NOT A FASCIST !

A REFUTATION OF SOME UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS

[BY FRED A AND B. P. L. BEDI]

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, almost broken in health, sits at Kurseong as an internee of the British Government. He is unable to give expression to all he had thought he would do here in India on his return. He is tied hand and foot . he cannot speak, write, or act, politically speaking.

At this moment, something more distressing is happening in various parts of India than even his internment at the hands of government, and that is the vilification of his ideas and political ideals at the hands of his own countrymen. He is being accused of being a Fascist which discredits him in the eyes of the progressive-minded and more active groups in this country.

One only wonders as to what would be the feelings of Subhas Bose if the echoes of that accusation penetrate the walks of his isolation in Kurseong !

Rumour has a thousand tongues

Before going any further, we want to make it perfectly clear that we are writing this article on our own responsibility entirely, because we have felt that this thing should be done for the honour of a comrade who cannot speak for himself.

This campaign against Subhas Bose had started while he was still abroad. In summer last year when we were touring round Bengal, C. P., U. P. and other parts of India, we noticed that such rumours were afloat, and were catching on from man to man. At that time we had little idea of the intensity into which they were destined to grow. Our impressions were unequivocally

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confirmed when we went to the Lucknow Congress, and had the opportunity of listening to the opinions of the progressive groups from all over India. Ever since then we have carefully watched the growth of this monster in political circles locally and otherwise. We name no names, for it is unnecessary to make personal libels.

Wherever we have had the opportunity of having personal discussion, we have always found that the impressions of the accuser are mainly based on hearsay, or one or two misinterpretations of Subhas Bose's statements to the Press which is due to the unfortunate habit of this country of trying to pin a man down to the responsibility of a misunderstanding while ignoring the volumes of what he might have written or said which go to make his position clear.

Banned and confiscated

We consider it to be a great misfortune that Subhas Bose's book "The Indian Struggle," published by Wishart and Co., London, was banned by the Government of India as soon as it came out, and people did not have the opportunity of understanding what Subhas Bose really stood for, and knowing what his ideas were which were to govern his attitude towards the future political development of India. It is not legally possible to have read the book in India, but we know what was in it because of the discussions we had with Subhas Bose in Berlin while it was being written.

Another very clear exposition of his ideas was contained in the Presidential Address which he had written out to be delivered to the Indian Students' Conference in England, but which was not delivered by him as his entry into that country was forbidden.

We could have made excellent use in this article of some excerpts from that address to prove conclusively that Subhas Bose was anything but a Fascist, or had any Fascistic tendencies even, but unfortunately the copies of the address that he had given us were detained by the Customs Authorities along with other Socialist literature in our possession when we arrived in India, and later on we were told that they had been finally confiscated by the Government.

Subhas Chandra Bose is not a Fascist !

His vision

So far as his own ideal is concerned, he definitely stands to the left of the Congress. He does not believe that the independence of India alone can bring about the era of real freedom, when the peasant will have his right to bread, and the labourer can enjoy his honest earnings. It is the system that he wants to change, not a mere form of administration. The substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy is thoroughly repugnant to him. To that end, he has coined a new word which is the Indian version of a Socialist state, and that is "Samyavada". This "Samyavada", the land of equality, a socialist state of peasant and worker, was to be the culminating point of his book on the "Indian Struggle". In his conception of this new land, the idle rich or the Fascist capitalist had no room, and only those who work had the right to eat.

Jawahar Lal and Subhas Bose

So far as we can gather, the basis of these accusations lies in the imagination of some people who have given credence to a rumour that there was a tug of loyalties between Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose, and having sworn their fidelity to Jawaharlal, they drew logical (?) conclusions from this unfounded rumour that the differences of the two *must* be based on the broader differences of Socialism *versus* Fascism. They did not realize all the time that there was no such difference existing between the two leaders, and there is none even now.

The way in which Jawaharlal referred to the arrest of Subhas Bose and the moving words in which he spoke of "Our dear friend and comrade, Subhas Bose" and "the plans we had made of working together," at the opening session of the Subjects Committee of the Lucknow Congress, leaves no room whatsoever for any misunderstanding on that score.

And for Subhas Bose, we can speak on our own authority as to the keenness which he had shown in conversations with us, for working hand in hand with Jawaharlal, and concentrating attention not on the middle class, but on mass propaganda among

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the peasants and workers. He believed that through this alone could the new Indian Socialist State be brought about.

Why was he accused ?

Those people who wanted to find fault with him from their self-erected pedestal as "pucca left-wingers", always resorted to picking up odd phrases from his statements on Italy, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Their own attitude had been of blind condemnation of everything that was Italian or German, of which they had learned mainly from the naturally bitter pen of the exiles from these countries.

But Subhas Bose does not believe in being led away by sentiment and on that basis attacking tooth and nail everything whatsoever which is associated with a system which he does not like. With his spirit of scientific objectivity, and detached analysis, in reading the situation in Fascist countries like Germany and Italy, he did not get swept off his feet but he separated the ideal from the organization. He studied as to what the Fascist ideal stood for (if there is anything called a Fascist ideal!) and he condemned thoroughly all such inroads of capitalist society. Along with that, he studied the Fascist organization, the way they banded together their followers, their discipline, etc.

He concentrated his study on the organization of parties and masses. He compared them on the one hand with the methods which the nationalist movements of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and on the other with the organization in Soviet Russia. The results of the keen study of all these three showed that the organization of the parties in these countries had very much in common, which goes to establish that no movement in any country has a chance of success unless it has an iron organization. That was what he meant when he said that India could learn something from Germany and Italy, just as she could learn something from Russia. This also goes to show that though different ideals may clash, as Fascism and Socialism, there is nothing wrong with the organization which stands as the common factor of them both. If the organization is yoked to the service of a bad aim or ideal, it is not the principles of organization that

Subhas Chandra Bose is not a Fascist !

are to blame. Take the case of a cooking stove. It can be put to any use, to cook the best dish in the world or the most unappetizing, but its goodness and efficiency is not to be blamed if you yourself put it to produce a bad dish. Such is the case with organization: principles evolved after years of experiments by the master minds of the modern world agree in their fundamentals, and are inherently good and effective. The blame lies not on them, if they are misused, but on the ideal in the service of which they are employed. Therefore, with objective analysis, Subhas refused to throw mud at the efficiency of the principles of organization and the technique of mass propaganda, which countries outside Russia have used. *He only condemned outright everything that Fascism stood for.* His attitude towards these principles of organization gave a handle to scandal-mongering among those intellectually shallow and dishonest people who refuse even to try to understand this point of view.

Stabbing in the back!

This stupid "whispering campaign" of vilification has gone on long enough, and all real socialists and Congressites should make it a point of honour to make every effort to stop the mischief from spreading. It is more distressing that such a thing should go on as conversational gossip. Scandal-mongers have not got the moral guts to make a frontal attack and demand explanation, by making a public statement, which is not only dishonest but cowardly as well. It is stabbing in the back.

The socialist forces in India to-day must stand or fall by their unity within themselves, and they cannot afford to tolerate such mischief-making. If even Communists want a "text" to prove this point, they have only to turn to the speech of Dimitrov, the President of the Seventh and latest Communist International held in 1935 in Moscow in which he laid stress "on the necessity for abandoning the habit of vilifying all the social democratic and trade union leaders who stood outside the local communist parties, and he particularly blamed the confusing trick of denouncing them as "social fascists".

Apart from left-wingers it is up to Congressites themselves to confound these rumours against one of their workers who has sacrificed so much and suffered still more.

THIS INDIA !

[*The Editor proposes to make this a feature of the magazine. It will be composed of cuttings from current newspapers, which throw a satirical light on current social conditions. A prize of Rs. 5 will be offered for the best cutting sent in by a reader every quarter (it need not necessarily be a subscriber) We hope that brother journalists will take the raillery in the same good humour as it is offered*].

Sjt. C Rajagopalachariar imparts a new fragrance to the age-old theme of love To a fevered generation seeking to revolt against the conventions of marriage, he speaks in gentle tones like a guardian angel whispering in the silent watches of the night.—*Triveni*

The highest degree is M. A. which being interpreted means Marry All. Acquire this highest diploma in the University of the world and become masters and mistresses of your hearts and homes.—*Modern Review*.

Several terrorist prisoners, however, again resorted to hunger-strikes as a means of obtaining redress for their grievances. This practice, the report states, cannot be too strongly condemned as it constitutes a serious breach of jail discipline and *imposes an unfair strain on the superintendent and members of the staff, who are responsible for keeping the prisoners alive*.—Press report of the "Report of the Prison Administration of the United Provinces."

If the Association intends to enrol any and everyone with a European name (real or assumed), I suggest that they alter the designation from the "Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association" to the more appropriate one of "The Conglomeration of Depressed Communities' Association". Letter in *Civil and Military Gazette*.

(See page 446)

THE PROBLEM OF THE EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED IN INDIA

[BY K. M. ASHRAF]

I

THE problem of the middle class unemployed and educated youth is no more a sectional or provincial problem. A Sikh youth suffers just as much as a Musalman or a Parsi; the Punjabi and the Mysorian is just as acutely unemployed as the Bengali Bhadralog. There is not a single section of educated youth in the country which is content with its lot. Graduates are being employed as police constables; Doctors of Philosophy with European qualifications are known to have applied for and failed in securing the job of an Assistant in the Registration Department or of Headmaster in a middle school. Suicides, crimes, lackeyism and instances of petty thefts and fraudulent dealings and of general demoralization are multiplying every day. It appears as if the very life blood of the Indian nation was being poisoned in the most delicate and vital part of the body-politic.

This is partly due to a peculiarity of the educated youth. Individualist to the core, the middle class young man refuses to recognize the social basis of his unemployment. As a typical *petty bourgeois* he attributes his failures to his personal ill luck and is always willing to cherish any illusion which helps in nursing his egoism. This accounts for the general demoralization among the educated youth, created by a few competitive examinations and the prospects which the Government employment offers to one in many thousands. Unless young men recognize the obvious fact that they suffer *not as individuals but as a class and the cause of this suffering does not lie in accidental misfortune but in deep-laid and fundamental social evils* very little hope of solution can be held out to the educated and unemployed youth of India.

In what follows we have tried to deal with the problem in its national and international aspect. This is followed by somewhat

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close examination of the policy of the Government of India and the provincial Governments towards the question, in particular the investigation of the U. P. Unemployment Committee 1934 (otherwise known as the Sapru Committee) and its proposals. The last part of the discussion deals with the lines of the solution which we propose for the relief of the educated unemployed.

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We are discussing the problem at a time when fortunately all that is important on the subject—facts, opinions, proposals, etc., have been formulated in a concrete shape. The Central and the various provincial Governments and Legislatures have expressed themselves on the problem; Committees have investigated its various aspects and commissions in other fields have already recorded their views on related aspects of the questions. So that more or less, we know exactly the nature of the problem to-day and what to expect from various quarters. As a matter of fact, of late, the reactions of any social demand have taken such clear and patent lines of response that we can almost foretell in advance how particular classes will react to a given situation.

It is, therefore, only fair if we on our part form some very clear opinions on certain aspects of the problem of Educated Unemployed, for even though we may not be able to solve the problem immediately we shall know how to proceed about it.

Before we proceed any further a peculiarity of middle class unemployment must be pointed out. It is very necessary to understand that in India the problem of educated unemployment directly arises from the contemporary position of British Imperialism in the world. In India to-day, the problem of general misery and unemployment does not stand where it did sometime earlier—we mean the patent incurable poverty and the low standard of life for the vast majority of peasants and working population; the complete demoralization of millions of beggars, invalids and other varieties of parasitism which are only too familiar a feature of our national economy. We did not notice this state of affairs because a thin covering of comparative middle

The Problem of Educated Unemployed in India

class prosperity which concealed from our view the fundamentally diseased condition of our nation as a whole. This tiny Indian middle class came into existence not as a result of a free national economic expansion nor as a result of a change in the basic condition of our social life, but purely as a by-product of imperialist development in our country, as the camp follower, so to say, of a foreign ruling class.

With the establishment of British rule in India, from 1856 onwards, when the railways, roads, post, telegraph and other modern methods of economic exploitation and political subjection were introduced and developed, a number of auxiliary services, technical cadres and certain other professions necessarily sprang into existence, and to feed them a number of educational and technical institutions had to be provided. An indigenous industrial revolution would also have given birth to similar institutions but with the fundamental difference that in such economy industrial and technical expansion and agricultural and educational developments would have balanced together. As it is our educational and technical institutions have existed purely as an appendage to the Imperialist rule and it is only when the Imperialist requirements were fully met, that the surplus of our educational and technical product began to look for an independent social basis in the country. It would not have been difficult to utilize this surplus if Imperialism was compatible with the economic expansion of a colonial nation under it. As it is, Imperialism and an economically developing subject nation are contradictions in terms. The slight industrial development that we see in India is primarily a product of the peculiar conditions of the Great War and proves nothing. The other feudal classes of Indian Princes and landlords which appear to be prosperous, are rather a drag on, than a help to, our national economy.

This point is important to bear in mind when discussing the problem of middle class unemployment in India for the future of our engineers, our doctors, our educationists, lawyers—in a word our intelligentsia as a whole—is inextricably bound up with the position of British Imperialism in the world market and every turn of fortune in the world position of Imperialism reacts directly on the position of the middle class in India.

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The International Background

It has been generally admitted that the problem of the unemployed to-day is not peculiar to any one country but is a world problem. What do we mean when we characterize the problem of educated unemployed as a world problem? It did not exist in its present form before 1914. The problem does not exist, say, in a country like Russia or even Turkey. This means then that the problem of unemployment and growing impoverishment is necessarily connected with the predominant form of the world economy which prevails outside Russia or Turkey and which is undergoing a period of acute crisis on a world scale to-day. The world crisis of capitalism which definitely set in in 1929 nowhere shows any signs of abatement after seven years of attempts at capitalistic reconstruction. If a slight relief is now being felt in some countries because of the growing armament industries and the war preparations on a world scale, it only proves the utter impotence of the capitalist system in giving bread comfort to humanity in this age of science and machine. Curiously enough the present world crisis is a crisis of overproduction, of poverty in the midst of plenty.

For purposes of our immediate discussion it is important to realize that, as an integral part of the British Commonwealth, India is now linked up with the world market and is bound to be affected even more acutely from its reactions. After the Great War and the few years of boom that followed its wake, it was being generally felt that British Imperialism like the rest of the capitalist world was again drifting towards an economic crisis even more complex than before. In the post-war market many new factors appeared. Japan, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Rumania and other countries were now comparatively industrialized; Russia closed its market to world capitalism; Turkey soon followed its footsteps; even China and India developed an indigenous capitalism. Mechanical and technical advances further pressed on the diminished resources of a shrunken world market. All this was a fatal blow to England. And though British Capital sought new markets in what are known as mandated territories and in the South American States, the pre-war domination of British capital and hence its decisive political position in the world was lost for ever. England

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is now no more the classic country of Free Trade and Liberalism. It is as much protectionist and 'dictatorial' as any other. With the development of the world crisis the whole situation was precipitated in view of the impending danger of world war. The Disarmament Conferences, the Economic Conference, and the Naval and so many other conferences that were invited to solve the Capitalist and Imperialist contradictions on a world basis have utterly failed to register any improvement in the situation. As a result, the contemporary capitalist world is one vast military camp where alliances are being sought and armaments piled up for the inevitable conflict. Japan in China, Italy in Abyssinia or Germany by violating the Locarno Pact, have only made a feeble beginning towards what is soon going to develop into a general engagement over a world front.

In a word, the impending war and the present world crisis determines the fundamental policies of British Imperialism and the outlook of our British rulers with regard to India.

Indian Situation

What does all this imply for us in India? It means that to meet this grave world crisis and this war situation, British Imperialism must exploit even more intensively than ever before the meagre resources of our country. It must pass, through every constitutional and administrative contrivance, its burdens to India. The Indian market and Indian men and money are more in demand to-day than ever before to save a threatened Empire. This lesson is profusely illustrated by every political and economic measure laid down in India during the last decade—the new constitution, the Ottawa Pact, the currency issue, the export of distress gold, the Mody-Lees Pact, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Press Act, etc. The central problem of every present-day Imperialism is exploitation and yet more intensive exploitation of colonial lands. Whatever their ethical and subjective reactions, the grim world situation impels our British rulers not only to deny us the pretence of a constitution we had under the Montford Scheme but also every possibility of economic growth and expansion for the simple reason that we cannot grow as a nation except at the expense of British Empire as it is constituted to-day. You cannot give to

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Paul except by robbing Peter and it is a sacrifice poor Peter can ill afford at the present moment.

And what is the effect of this national and international situation on the educated middle class whose fortunes we are discussing? This class finds itself in a very anomalous and embarrassing situation to-day. The Imperialist openly discards it and the poor country, grown poorer during these years, does not seem to want it either. Generally speaking the educated youth do not find the same scope as before in Government services or in any of the professions of law, medicine, engineering, trade, commerce or agriculture and industry. We, the educated unemployed, look to the Government for help; the Government in its turn looks to the world market and trade conditions, and the world market looks up to the next world war to save it! Hence we find even in our country a growing defence and military budget, more arbitrary powers and political repression, more retrenchments, hence also no serious effort at any industrial expansion or agricultural advance, absolutely no opportunity for the operation of 'nation-building' and socially ameliorative schemes. Unless we decide to overthrow the whole system of capitalist and Imperialist economy, we do not see how we can rationally expect to get anything out of British Imperialism to-day.

This is one aspect of the picture. Let us now look at the other. As a result of the world depression and national impoverishment we find that the last fifteen years of Indian social and political history are full of unprecedented national discontents. We find, for instance, that the poverty of the peasantry led to the Moplah Rebellion, Burma, Kashmir and Alwar risings and to so many other minor outbursts, in British India and particularly in the native States. The industrial workers of Bombay, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Cawnpore and other centres resorted to frequent strikes and even general textile strikes. All this could not be attributed to the mischief of a few Moscow agents unless these mischief-mongers really interpreted the true feelings of the Indian proletariat and the peasantry. The civil disobedience movement, the demonstrations of Nawajawan Bharat Sabha and the generally vocal national agitation were symptoms of the same nationwide evil of poverty and misery.

The Problem of Educated Unemployed in India

The middle class as a whole kept away for a long time but when the national poverty became more aggravated and acute and began to drag them down to the common level they were also affected with discontent and began to be expressive. The beginning was first made in Bengal where education was comparatively widespread and the masses were composed of one of the poorest agricultural populations of the world. Here, in the province of Bengal, young men committed suicides by hundreds; openly and secretly supported the terrorist and other subversive movements and in general became criminally-minded—the only course that was permitted to them by the existing social order.

Of late this wave of acute mass poverty, as also of middle class unemployment has spread all over India. We, in U.P., feel it perhaps more than other Indian provinces for we have a terribly impoverished peasantry which carries on its back not only the bureaucracy but also the landlords and the taluqdars, the money-lenders and a variety of religious and other social parasites with hardly any big industry except textile and sugar and with no less than five universities which draw about 14,000 graduates and undergraduates every year. But it should not be forgotten that all other provinces, even the native states, are suffering no less from this epidemic of middle-class unemployment.

Knowing as we do something of the psychology of our administrators and their outlook on Indian social problems, it would not have very much mattered to them if the problem of unemployment was confined to the inarticulate masses of the country. But once it began to affect educated young men, the whole problem assumed a different administrative aspect for these youth were vocal and could be politically dangerous. Not that the Imperialist Government could do any thing to relieve that greater unemployment among the producing masses; but it certainly pretended to be doing something, just to keep these youth in expectancy and away from mischief. For instance in Bengal where the evil was first most acutely felt, every imaginable effort was made to keep young men from being articulate: religious and spiritual movements were revived; Scouting and Bhratichan movements were encouraged; armies were marched through the country-side; agricultural colonies were started; lectures were delivered on the

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dignity of labour and on the virtues of piety and asceticism and schemes are now in hand to train the detenus in what, for want of better term, are called light industries. Of course communalism and communal movements, even in labour politics, were very much in evidence. A number of youth conferences were also called and parents' conferences were organized to instil in their minds a healthy fear of politics and social awakening. If the line so far adopted by the Government has not been very fruitful it is not for want of energy or attention on the part of the Government or its employees but through sheer bad luck. The youth, even in this ancient land of the Upanishads, refuses to be entirely spiritual: it insists on laying undue emphasis on the wants of the flesh; the young men must have employment or maintenance allowance from some quarter or they threaten to get socially conscious or politically active. And so the insoluble contradiction is somewhat as follows: to support or employ these young men in productive labour, the Government must permit the industrialization of the country on a big scale or as an alternative, divert huge funds to maintain them. But Imperialism is incompatible with the industrial expansion of a colonial country and has already drained the country of the wealth which could be employed in these schemes of social betterment. Hence every serious attempt at the solution of a social problem, to begin with, resolves itself into a political programme for a radical transference of political and economic power from the British Imperialists to the Indians.

Government Attitude Towards Unemployment

Take for instance the specific case of educated unemployment and the attitude which the British Indian Government has adopted towards the problem. As early as 1926, the question of middle class unemployment came up for discussion before the Legislative Assembly. When the Government of India was pressed for investigation, it passed it on to the Provincial Governments "at least at the earlier stages" and of course knowing full well that the Provincial Governments like their central prototype "are not unmindful of their obligations in the matter". Two years later when an Hon'ble member of the Council of State asked the Government to take "adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country" the Government member

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got terribly annoyed and explained for the benefit of the Upper House how Government had balanced its budget and had carried out "various sound measures of economic reconstruction". As to the specific issue raised by the Hon'ble Member, the Government resisted his resolution as "it would have forced the Government to depart from its sound policy" and the motion was rejected.

At the Universities Conference held in Delhi in 1934, His Excellency, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, speaking on the problem of educated unemployed observed that "unmerited disappointments accentuated by irksome inactivity, are apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels". His Excellency, therefore, gave the broad lines of the policy which the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have been consistently following in the matter. "I am well aware," said Lord Willingdon, "that the Universities cannot by themselves create development in industry and commerce. In this respect they are enchained to forces over which they have really no control; but it is undoubtedly within the province of educational authorities so to adjust the general scheme of education that the bent of students and pupils shall be turned towards occupations best suited to their education and capacity." Accordingly the Universities Conference resolved that, "A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in the radical readjustment of the present system in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education, either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions." "This" noted the delegates "will enable universities to improve their standard of admission."

A few months later, in August 1934, the U. P. Government passed a resolution, for the constitution of a secondary course to provide, as it puts it, "a general education complete in itself and untrammelled by University requirements." In pursuance of the same policy the Government of India has now established a Central Advisory Board to operate this policy of improving "the standards of university admission" and of giving a general education complete in itself, at the secondary stage, uniformly all over British India and the native states.

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The Educational Commissioner to the Government of India has not been slow in popularizing the same policy. In the review of the educational progress for the year 1933-34 he says, "the problem of continued unemployment of large numbers of university products has continued to exercise the minds of all those responsible for the control of higher education. The time is coming, when the question of deliberate restriction must be seriously considered both in the interest of efficiency and in the interest of lessening educated unemployment."

In this matter the Government of India are following a very clear and consistent policy which amounts to this: we don't want any longer all these universities for our requirements; we are unwilling to permit any great industrialization or economic expansion; hence the universities and higher education in general must go, particularly now that it is producing in the country a politically conscious and hence an undesirable element. The University Conferences, the Provincial Governments and all the paraphernalia of the Government are now busy vindicating this clear and well-thought-out policy.

II

In the United Provinces the question of educated unemployment was first opened as late as 1925 when the U. P. Council passed a resolution recommending the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials "to suggest ways and means of alleviating the conditions of unemployment prevailing among the educated classes of these Provinces." For two years, however, nothing was done. In 1927 a committee was appointed under the then Education Minister, a liberal politician of these provinces. The committee came to the conclusion that, "The existence of an increasing class of the community superior in education and intelligence to the masses but without occupation and discontented, unemployed and liable as a result of idleness quickly to become unemployable, constitutes for the State an economic loss and a political danger." True to his liberal traditions, Rai Rajeshwar Bali thought fit, after relinquishing the office of Education Minister, to add that "State action alone can undo the evil to the extent to which it is due to its past policy and provide

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reasonable facilities for the development of private enterprise and effort among the people." The political danger remained but the Liberal politician wanted to extract some concession for "private enterprise" or in other words, for the Indian capitalist by threatening the Government with the responsibility.

The Sapru Report

However, nothing was done for another seven years and only when the Government of India had finally made up its mind in the matter, the Sapru Committee took up the threads of inquiry and at last produced a detailed Report about the beginning of this year which holds the field at the moment. It will be interesting and instructive to examine the work of this Committee at some length.

The Sapru Committee Report is easily the first investigation of its kind, conducted by non-officials some of whom at least have a reputation for learning and integrity and as such deserve a careful and sympathetic consideration. But it will be difficult to conceal the fact that the Report as a whole suffers from certain grievous defects.

In the first place the terms of reference of the Sapru Committee were defective and narrow. The U. P. Government asked the committee to go into the question of unemployment among educated young men and "to suggest practical ways and means for reducing the same." The members presumably agreed to these terms without first stopping to enquire how far the U. P. Government was prepared to help them with funds for immediate relief or for other schemes of permanent value. With these vague and general terms of reference the Government could always turn round and say to the Committee: "Your recommendations are not practical; moreover, they involve expenditure." We suppose we have known the intentions of the British administrators long enough by now not to be deceived by their vague promises to keep off the immediate danger. Sir Tej Bahadur, at least, had very good reasons not to have forgotten the lessons of the Round Table Conference so soon. However, one can never be sure of a Liberal politician, however eminent, in this country. In accordance with these terms of reference, when

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the committee issued its questionnaire it was rather academic and superficial and somehow reminded one of the methods of approach of the Royal Agricultural Commission of an earlier day. The committee deliberately set about circumscribing the scope of its investigation and concentrating on minor and trivial aspects of the problem. In the evidence submitted to the committee, in the personal memoranda, appended to the Report, in the main body of the report itself one feels that the committee desires to avoid the wider and real aspects of the problem which some of its members seem to appreciate very vividly. However, for some unknown reasons, instead of writing a regular minority report the members thought fit to submit some personal memoranda to the Report.

Except in Question No. 5 which very naïvely asks "if there is general unemployment in all classes and among all occupations and what bearing has such unemployment, if it exists, upon unemployment among the educated class," the witness was not allowed to put a coordinated view, a somewhat intelligible perspective of the problem as a whole. As a result, if a perusal of the Sapru Report leads one to the conclusion that the question of educated unemployment is more or less independent of the general economic condition of India and, in any case, the world situation of imperialism and the position of the world market has nothing to do with it, the impression is calculated and deliberate and one finds it very difficult to forgive the Sapru Committee for inculcating and disseminating false and deceptive view on Indian economy and thus giving a totally misleading background to the whole question of middle class unemployment.

We have put the position somewhat forcefully for a very good reason. A similar enquiry on an All-India scale and All-India decisions on the basis of such provincial enquiries are bound to be taken at a not distant date and we should refuse to submit meekly to these Imperialist manoeuvres of putting us in the wrong for their own sins of commission and omission. Nobody knows better than the British rulers that the problem of middle class unemployment directly arises from our political and economic dependence on British Imperialism and as such, the problem cannot be solved by tinkering on a provincial plane or by

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divorcing it from the political aspects of the situation. It is like an attempt to cure a minor ailment when the whole system is facing an acute paralysis.

Lest these observations be misconstrued,—we hasten to quote from the evidence of some responsible officials of the U. P. Government. The Inspector-General of Police of the United Provinces deposed before the Sapru Committee that, "Speaking generally, there is undoubtedly general unemployment in all classes and among all occupations." He further added "The economic depression has much affected unemployment both among educated and illiterate people. Profits from cultivation are insufficient for all who depend upon it for their livelihood." (p. 28 of the Report). Similarly Mr. Wall, the Principal of the Allahabad Training College told the Committee that "unemployment has increased because the demand for employment has increased (*misprint for 'decreased'*) as family incomes were inadequate to meet the cost of an improved standard of living of the people" (p. 30 *ibid*). We are thus led to enquire into the more fundamental reasons as to why profits from cultivation fell in spite of fairly good crops and improved output? Or again, why did the family income suddenly become inadequate to meet the costs of an improved standard of living in India which, by the way, does not at all compare very favourably with any of the civilized countries of the modern world? On these points, the Sapru Committee refused to consider or invite evidence.

There might have been some ground of convenience for the Sapru Committee to differentiate the educated from the uneducated unemployed but when in actual practice the Sapru Committee started to distinguish the graduates and the Intermediates "with a considerable peculiarity" on the one hand from those of lower educational qualifications on the other, it almost abdicated from its professed task. The Committee is of opinion that the evidence in the case of non-graduates and others of lower academic status was "neither specific nor adequate to make any recommendations in their case". But when the Committee actually set out to formulate its proposals they started to provide for the graduates at the expense of the non-graduates and the so-called 'gratified' at the cost of those who were not.

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In some cases, viz., the Assistant Superintendent of Vaccination the Committee emphatically recommended that in future these posts should not be given to those "who are not Matriculates" as is presumably the case to-day in some places. Similarly in its anxiety for efficiency the Committee recommended the prohibition of the practice of dentistry except by qualified men and the penalizing of employment of unqualified men as Pharmacists, etc. Far it be from our mind to support inefficiency as such specially in social services but we certainly do not believe in closing the doors of employment on those of lesser qualifications to-day by replacing them with better and more qualified men. The better plan would be to encourage the present incumbents of these posts to qualify themselves at public expense. A proposal which employs some graduates and qualified men in one direction while creating unemployment among those of less academic qualifications in another is hardly worthy of a committee which set out to solve the problems of the educated unemployed as a whole.

In general one feels that those of lower qualifications are altogether missing from the purview of the Sapru Committee although on its own showing (*vide* Table II Appendices) the graduates are roughly in the proportion of 1 to 17 as compared to the number of Matriculates and Vernacular Finals.

The Committee finds that whereas in a particular year 26 M. As. and M. Scs. and 131 B. As. and B. Scs., were unemployed, the corresponding number of those of High School was 949 and for Vernacular Finals 1,643.

A Committee that deliberately ignores the interest of the great majority of educated men can hardly be considered to be performing its task to the satisfaction of the educated unemployed. Among other, though minor defects of this committee, may be noted the limited number and quality of the witnesses examined. The committee was authorized to visit not only the University centres but also "such other cities in the U. P. as they considered necessary." In its modesty the committee confined its itinerary to five University centres and the city of Cawnpore and examined only 127 witnesses, 30 out of whom were official. One looks in vain

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for the names of the unemployed or those who knew the problem at first hand among the witnesses or the personnel of the committee.

The Sapru Proposals

As a result the recommendations of the Sapru Committee betray lack of grasp of the situation and are by their very nature inadequate, halting and more or less utopian where they are not retrograde. In one direction, *viz.*, on the problem of immediate relief to the educated unemployed the committee has thoroughly exposed its reactionary character. The members do not hold out any hope of unemployed insurance by the present Government or even by the Government that will succeed the present under the new constitution in the near future and they seem not to disapprove of this position. In their personal memoranda too, members have thought fit not to embarrass the Imperialist Government by demanding immediate relief of the unemployed youth. Two of the members have vaguely hinted at the ultimate responsibility of the Government of India in the matter but of a positive demand for relief there is none.

As to its specific recommendations the Sapru Committee has confined itself to a few services and professions. In the case of Engineers we see the evidence of the Chief Engineer U. P. that 658 persons applied for jobs to the Engineering Department during the last five years but none was recruited. The Committee now passes it on to the local bodies and its contractors to employ the Engineers and Overseers as employees or in the case of contractors even as partners.

In the case of qualified Medical men, again, the Committee finds that in the one town of Allahabad at least fifty Medical men are able to make both ends meet. It would not be altogether rash at this rate to suppose that a few thousands of medical men in U.P. are badly off and a few thousand others are not doing particularly well. The Sapru Committee now asks these men to go and settle down in rural areas and persuade our old friend, the local bodies, to employ more medical men for inspection and treatment of school-going children. Fruitless to say that in this case as in the previous one the financial position of local and

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other bodies who are asked to employ them has not been examined and proposals are more in the nature of pious prayers than well-thought out recommendations.

The case of lawyers is even more instructive. We understand from the evidence of a distinguished member of the Allahabad Bar, Dr. Katju that "a large majority of practising lawyers are unable to earn incomes to maintain them in ordinary comforts." And the Sapru Committee now comes to their rescue. It professes to solve the problem by elaborating the legal process and making litigation more expensive. As a measure of efficiency it is further recommended that legislation should be enacted guarding against unqualified draftsmen and that legal education should be extended to three years.

Among other things, the Committee recommends the restoration of the retrenched posts by the Government and increase in the existing cadres, the institution of regular local Self-Government services, etc., etc. Besides these recommendations, the Sapru Committee discovers that there is need for creating and developing other new professions, *e.g.*, Accountancy, Librarianship, Insurance work, Secretarial work, Veterinary Surgery, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Architecture, Journalism, etc., etc. It also finds that "in a well-balanced economy industrial and agricultural development must be linked together, for without developing both we cannot add to the material prosperity of the country or the economic soundness of the average purchaser." India being predominantly agricultural, the Sapru Committee has not forgotten the conditions of Indian Agriculture in its survey. It recommends that graduates and diploma-holders in agriculture should be encouraged to follow scientific farming as a means of their living, for are not the illiteracy and ignorance of modern methods among the agricultural population "to a very great extent responsible for the backwardness of agriculture"?

As a whole the Committee viewed the problem of educated unemployment as "a problem of protecting efficiency against inefficiency" and as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru puts it before the U.P. Council this was "a very different problem from the problem of employment among the masses." It is presumed that all the

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improvements which the Committee suggests in almost every aspect of our administrative, social and economic life could be had for the mere asking and that no other social and political pre-requisites were required.

* * * *

Such in brief, is a rough sketch of the problem that faces the country and the solution that the Sapru Committee offers for it. Sir Tej and his committee wanted to ward off the dangers of Socialism and of deluge which the Chairman vividly saw overtaking us all in U. P. And the way was found curiously enough through proposals some of which cost the Government nothing more than "some little time in preparing legislation or in taking certain steps to re-organize certain professions. Even in the case of other proposals Sir Tej was only anxious to know that the Government have "a well-considered, well thought-out programme of steady, uninterrupted and earnest work towards *the ideal* which we have ventured to put before the Government and before the people of this province."

It is interesting to see how the U. P. Government responded to these ideals of the Sapru Committee. To begin with the Revenue Member announced a deficit of 73 lacs in the budget after the publication of the Report. He found it hard to see how it will be possible to finance any measures of the Sapru Committee, "urgent and vitally important though they may be." Soon after the Revenue Member, the Governor of the U. P. told the Council that this "serious gap between the income and expenditure" was going to extend for five years to come and that instead of any improvements, the Government was contemplating certain measures of retrenchments. In fact, a note proposing an economy of 20 lacs and even affecting the Police Department was laid on the table.

When the Sapru Report came up for decision before the U. P. Council, the Government made it plain that they were prepared to implement the proposals of the Sapru Committee to the extent of 3 lacs only provided the Council agreed to fresh taxation. This sum of money, as the Special Officer of the U. P. Government explained, was likely to absorb about 500 young men

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out of an annual output of, say, more than 10,000 men. Thus leaving the preponderating majority still unprovided. Thus without attempting to solve a minor social problem to the satisfaction of anybody concerned, we are now being asked to tax the masses of our country which have been already reduced to starvation and beggary by the permanent burdens of Imperialism. Educated unemployment in its present form is a middle-class problem and does not extend to any appreciable percentage of the masses. What will be our position when the much bigger question of national health, of universal literacy, better housing and sanitation, free reading rooms and libraries for every village and town, reduction of rent and a thousand and one elementary decencies of civilized life come before us in the near future? Shall we ask the masses to stew in their own juice to pay for what they demanded and not embarrass the imperialist exploiters and the Indian vested interests with their demands?

The Government of India has more or less announced its solution to which a reference has been made already. The Sapru Committee as a whole subscribed to the proposition that the remedy for the evil of educated unemployment "does not lie in stiffening university standards or restricting the number of entrants". The Chairman, however, as a highly cultured man, found it very necessary "to regulate the entire system of education from top to bottom so that we may make it impossible for men who are not likely to make good by university education to proceed there" (U. P. Council speech). And whatever Sir Taj might have personally meant, he has given some badly-needed arguments to the Government. In short the only substantial result of official and unofficial investigations is that instead of more education in future we shall have less education and the proportion of graduates which is now 1 to 34,809 in U. P. will be still lower.

III

The Lines of a Genuine Solution

We have so far tried to analyse the situation with a view to bring out two cardinal facts, *viz.*, (1) that educated unemployment directly arises from the course of the world development

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of capitalism and the political and economic dependence of India on Britain ; (2) that all solutions which do not sufficiently realize this fundamental position are unreal and utterly inadequate to meet the demands of our solution. We will now pass on to the last and most important question : can anything be done to relieve the educated unemployed in spite of these difficulties and, if so, how shall we set about it ?

As to the first part of our enquiry, we are emphatically of the opinion that a solution of the problem is not only necessary but also thoroughly practicable and our duty is to start preparing the public opinion for it.

Let us look at Indian conditions from a broad standpoint and what do we find ? Thanks to the Imperialist connection whenever we are permitted to begin we shall have to begin almost on a clean slate. There is no heavy industry worth the name ; literate population is less than 10 per cent. ; the condition of national housing is primitive and even barbarous and our national vitality—to mention just a few of the aspects of national life—is about the lowest in the whole world. If the educated classes of our country realize that instead of being linked up, as they are to-day, with Imperialism, our fortunes are bound up with the vast producing masses of this country and begin to look at the national problems not from the point of view of the parasitic Indian classes or the profiteering foreigners, but purely from the point of view of the toiling masses, we think the solution of the problems of educated unemployed is much nearer than they imagine.

And how ? What is wanted to-day first of all is, to quote the memorandum of Dr. Tarachand and Dr. A. S. Siddiqui, "a well considered and comprehensive scheme of employment not merely of the educated classes, but of all sections of the community." This means that for the least skeleton of a civilized national existence we shall have to plan the national life all round. To reconstruct the life for the millions of our countrymen and women we shall require not only the services of the few thousand unemployed young men on the spot but at least ten times the number of existing technicians, doctors, engineers, teachers, agronomists, etc. As a matter of fact we shall have to open many

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more new universities to make anything like a serious beginning of any minimum programme of National Reconstruction. Let us illustrate my point from U. P.

Take for instance the position of literacy in the United Provinces to-day. It is estimated by Mr. Harrop, the D. P. I., that "there are in round figures some 18 lakhs* of boys and some 30 lakhs of girls between the years of 6 and 11 for whom no education provision of any sort exists." Under these conditions no provincial autonomy or any variety of Swaraj would be worth the name unless these children were immediately equipped with the rudiments of education. And if one subscribes to this let him calculate for himself how many teachers, instructors, supervisors and Inspectors we would require to educate 48 lakhs of children in an efficient manner. The present number of graduates and undergraduates, matriculates and vernacular finals would hardly suffice to cope with this new demand.

Or take, again, the question of Public Health in U. P. It has been estimated that for as many as 20,000 of our population in municipal towns we employ one Sanitary Inspector. And of course, there is no provision for sanitation in rural areas. This shows why our towns and villages are unspeakably filthy and unhygienic. The percentage of doctors for the people is still lower (according to one estimate it works out at one doctor per 75,000 persons). Until recently we did not know of medical provision for school-going children. Now that a few cities are providing for it in the present form the provision is utterly inadequate to meet the demand. For instance one doctor in Allahabad is expected to examine and keep the record for 23 educational institutions. It is not difficult to see that such arrangements are almost as good as no arrangements at all. This means that if we have to provide for any like a sensible health scheme for our towns and rural areas, we shall be wanting over and above the existing number of medical men, thousands of others and may have to open many medical colleges in the future for the supply.

It is the same for engineers. We can't live very long without a national housing scheme and newly-planned towns. No village of U. P. and generally speaking of India, is a fit habitation for

* 100,000=1 Lakh

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human beings and if we have to develop culturally as a nation we shall have to lay its foundations by rebuilding the entire villages and a major portion of our towns on new lines. This will mean that not only Engineers and Overseers but creative architects and an army of draftsmen will have to be trained for the task.

As a matter of fact it is unnecessary to go on multiplying these instances. For a country like India to be built up in any case fresh from the bottom upwards and for the reconstruction of the life of say 350 millions of people, millions of educated and trained people will be required to assist in the work.

Looking broadly again, our resources of motive power, of mineral resources and material wealth, our alluvial soil and rich forests are in excess of what Russia, Turkey or U S A command for their respective populations. In this age of scientific, technical and mechanical developments, it is a crime against humanity if all our vast resources are allowed to go waste.

Take for instance the case of a comparatively backward country—Russia. Under a healthy social and political system, this vast country has been transformed within a decade from the position of a mediæval country like China or India into an advanced country of the western type. Russia is not only equalling but actually surpassing contemporary capitalist civilization in scientific and technical advance. Its cultural benefits to humanity are still more remarkable. While Europe and America are suffering lower wages and growing unemployment, there is not only no unemployment in the land of the Soviets but there is actually a progressive and rising scale of wages, fewer hours of work and more and more social benefits. The Russians are enjoying all this to-day, skipping over a whole series of historic changes—Renaissance, Reformation, Industrialism, etc.,—and history seems to have prepared India for the same destiny.

In a word, history places before us a more glorious ideal than the Sapru Committee and a more practical one.

Coming back to our immediate problem of educated unemployment and its solution we suggest that we divide the

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unemployed into two categories : those who are unemployed to-day and must be provided either with employment or in any case with maintenance allowance ; those who are likely to become unemployed in the future. In the former case we suggest that we give them maintenance allowance as a matter of right immediately. For this purpose all educated unemployed should be registered in every town, city and rural areas and relief centres must be opened without delay. This is the most crying need and has to be met before anything else can be attempted.

As for those who are likely to be unemployed in the future we should definitely take it in hand the programme of national literacy—in U. P., the education of those 48 lakhs of children about whom the D. P. I. himself points out that no provision exists—and the organization of National Housing and National health, both in the urban and rural areas. We must see to it that every man, woman and child, say in U. P., acquires the three R's, lives under hygienic conditions and in a healthy home and surroundings. Let us say this programme occupies us for the next 10 or 15 years. Once these foundations are laid, but not until then we can take up, say, the programme of heavy industry and raise our production.

As to the nature of our future economy, there are various suggestions. Lala Kamlapat Singhania, the mill magnate of Cawnpore, recently speaking to the U. P. Merchants' Chamber told them that the future of not only the educated classes but of 48 millions of U. P. lay in a rapid commercialization of the provinces. Others, the Congressmen in particular, are of opinion that the future of India lies in cottage industries. We do not wish to enter the controversy beyond trying to correct a common misconception about the cottage industries. We should all be grateful to Prof. Godbole of the Benares University for explaining to the Sapru Committee that for a programme of cottage industries as the term was understood in Switzerland, Japan and other modern civilized countries, mass literacy, an average knowledge of science like chemistry and physics and the motive power, *viz.*, Electricity, as also gas, was the first prerequisite. Our provinces are rapidly developing the motive power of electricity but we are totally lacking in compulsory primary education and the rudiments of science.

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And now we come to the crux of the whole problem: how shall we subsidize our schemes of immediate relief and national reconstruction? We suggest that we tax the agricultural incomes which have so far resisted every attempt at cornering them. We should further impose substantial super-tax and if necessary death-duties to implement our financial resources—in a word we should make our rich and feudal money-lenders and zamindars of the rural areas pay for these improvements. If even these measures do not cover our expenditure, we should then definitely take over the funds of the religious and charitable endowments and divert them to these channels. We suppose the funds collected from a tax on agricultural incomes, the super-tax and the death duties from the religious and charitable endowments will meet the expenditure on immediate relief of the unemployed and the programme of national reconstruction. But should funds be wanting, and in any case for a bigger programme, we shall have to face the problem of Imperialism which is not likely to allow us to tax its feudal allies and the rich in this country. Any serious programme of national advance is thus incompatible with the waste and exploitation which Imperialism implies. The real fight against British Imperialism cannot be postponed very long. Imperialism as a system has nothing to offer except starvation, ignorance, misery and death through world war. As such the struggle before the unemployed, educated and uneducated in India and abroad, is a bitter and prolonged one which may not be evaded for a very long time now. Healthy and progressive life, scientific and technical developments and a cooperative society on the whole is absolutely incompatible with Imperialism, the competition and class society structure and the system of exploitation which it entails. Youth has no resource but to fall in line with the toiling masses and fight against all forms of exploitation to the finish. No serious attempt can or will ever be made to solve the problem of unemployment for it logically follows from the Imperialist position all over the world. If any thing Imperialism is preparing for another world war. That is its way of looking at our problems.

The educated unemployed should also learn how to organize for this fight on the basis of their immediate demands for the programme of National reconstruction. Let us, the educated

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and unemployed youth get what little satisfaction we can from the fact that our present unemployment in a very small measure and to a meagre degree brings us in personal touch with what millions of countrymen and women suffer in a more acute and aggravated form every day of their life without even the satisfaction which comes through intellectually appreciating one's position in a perspective. We are further certain that if this tendency continues and our ranks keep on recruiting some more of the unemployed intelligentsia who have the physical and moral courage to suffer like the masses with hunger and oppression, India need have no rational basis to despair of a glorious future that awaits her after thousands of years of misery and backwardness, of a society built on the basis of social equality and absence of exploitation. It is this great opportunity which will compensate the unemployed for their sufferings.

FROM LAHORE PAPERS—STORIES THAT COULD BE MULTIPLIED ALL OVER INDIA

"I am starving on account of poverty. I have failed to find out any source of income. Therefore there is no use of existing in this world" with these words a young man jumped into the river Ravi from the Bridge. A chowkidar of the Public Works Department who heard these words raised an alarm as a result of which some boatmen followed the young man and rescued him from drowning. The youth has now been arrested by the police on a charge of attempt to commit suicide.

—*Tribune*

* * *

A 21-year old boy, committed suicide in Lahore on Sunday. The motive is described to be failure to get employment.

It is stated that the young man had applied for a post in the Judicial Department and was rejected. He failed to secure another post and on Saturday night he took opium and was picked up dead on Sunday morning.

—*Civil and Military Gazette.*

INDIA IN THE GOLDEN AGE OF MYSTICISM

[BY CYRIL MODAK]

FROM the 13th to the 16th centuries may very fittingly be called the Golden Age of Mysticism. For it inspired a universal religious renaissance as remarkable in extent and moment as the Revival of Letters that followed the sacking of Constantinople. In Italy Jacopone di Todi was setting Franciscan spirituality to music. In Germany Suso was penetrating the "Divine Dark" with mystic insight. In Belgium from his forest hermitage Ruysbroeck was teaching of 'the inflowing and outflowing tide of His love'. In England Lady Julian of Norwich was envisioning Reality as 'Life, Love and Light'. In France Mme. Acarie, walking on crutches, was inspiring men like Francis De Sales and fast becoming 'the conscience of Paris'. In Persia Jalaluddin Rumi was soaring on the wings of Sufism to the heights of mystical vision. In this Golden Age of Mysticism our first chapter opens. In North India from the burning words of Ramananda an irresistible spiritual influence drew people of every rank and race as did the preaching of George Fox in 17th century England, Europe, and America.

The terms 'Bhakti,' 'Bhagwan' and 'Bhakta' are derived from the Sanskrit root 'Bhaj' which is 'to adore' and mean 'devotion,' 'Adorable One' and 'devotee,' respectively. This doctrine of 'Bhakti' in many ways is the highest and purest expression of the religious genius, just as the Vedanta is the highest and purest expression of the intellectual genius of India. It is becoming more and more apparent in the process of time, especially after the meteoric figure of Sadhu Sandar Singh has appeared, that if in the years to come Christianity is to relate itself to Hindu thought, as it must to prove a dynamic force, it cannot afford to ignore Hindu Bhakti and the experience of the devotee. It may even be said that the whole system built around this Hindu doctrine of 'adoring devotion,' when properly understood, will be found to possess thoughts and nuances of thought, teachings and subtleties of illustration worthy of the respect of all serious

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students of Religion and Philosophy the world over. Further, perhaps one of India's greatest contributions to world-thought is her doctrine of Bhakti, which is just beginning to attract the attention of scholars of Oriental lore and writers on Mysticism.

Throughout the long history of Hindu thought, from about 3,000 B.C. to the 13th century A.D. the role of the emotions in the religious life of man had been suppressed for the most part. Yet, we find a strain of Bhakti running through this period of 4,000 years, even though like a slender silver stream treading its way in a vast desert, now lost to sight, now appearing yonder, disappearing, and reappearing again. At last in the 12th century A.D. while in Europe Abelard defiantly taught that reason should precede faith, in India against the arid intellectualism of the *Vedanta* and the selfish sacerdotalism of the *Brahmanas*, against the insipid rigour of Buddhism and the mocking witchcraft of the aboriginal mystery-cults, this ancient doctrine of intense, ardent, self-donating, adoring love was being organized into a system by Ramanuja.

The Bhagwat religion of Bhakti seems to have been founded sometime in the sixth century B.C. by one Krishna Devakiputra, son of Vasudeva, who is familiar to readers of the Chhandogya Upanishad (III. 17) as the inquisitive student of the learned Ghora Angirasa. He was a *Kshatrya* by *Varna* belonging to the sturdy and romantic Yadva clan of or around, Mathura. By the fourth century B.C., as with founders of other religions and sects, he was himself raised to the level of the divine and under his patronymic came to be identified with Bhagwan. Bhagwat Bhakti was poignantly monotheistic in its original form. The Supreme Being was taught to be infinite, eternal, and full of grace. Salvation was held to consist in a life of perpetual bliss near Him. But by the third century B.C. as interest in metaphysical speculation increased by the spread of Upanishadic influence a buttress of reason was constructed for the monotheism of Bhagwat Bhakti.

The Sankhya and Yoga schools of thought attracted the attention of Bhagwat thinkers. To the pure atomism of the *Sankhya* they added a god. The exercise of Yoga they harnessed to theistic purposes. The *Purusha* or male of the Sankhya came

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to be spelt with a capital 'P' and became identified with Parampurush or Supreme Man. Yoga no longer remained a matter of uninspired concentration but became a devotional process of fervently fixing the mind on God.

It was when Buddhism was beginning to win converts with amazing rapidity that the Brahmins sought the alliance of the Bhagwats to stem the tide of religion of Ahimsa. This gradually led to the absorption of *Bhagwatism* by *Brahmaism* and the consequent identification of Bhagwan with Vishnu. There also crept into it, as an inevitable result, some of the polytheistic elements of the *Brahmaism* of the lower classes of the midland.

We turn now to the Gita and the post-Gita period. The noblest ethical teachings of the *Bhagwadgita* are believed to be of Bhagwat origin. With the Gita the first definite theory of incarnation came to be propounded. It was taught that Bhakti could be looked upon as a means of salvation, equal if not superior, to *Jnana*. The doctrinal accretions which Bhagwat Bhakti had acquired in the course of many centuries came to be established as recognized theories in the chapters of the Gita. The type of devotion expounded in the Gita, although overshadowed at times with philosophical inconsistencies, is of great inspirational value. It teaches that devotion to the Supreme Being is a means of getting the wisdom which enables man to act aright. It says that devotion is important to earn God's grace whereby the binding effect of deeds is 'burnt to ashes'. Only through undiluted devotion can a man learn to realize God's pervading presence everywhere and have a sacramental view of morality and knowledge. As in *Karma-Yoga* the volitional self is to be trained, and in *Jnana Yoga* the intellectual self is to be disciplined, so in *Bhakti-Yoga* the emotional self is to be sublimated for the worship of the Adorable One.

From the 6th to the 10th centuries A. D. Southern India was plunged in great religious turmoil. The devotees of Shiva were secretly rebelling against the progress of Buddhism and Jainism. There was persecution. Shaivite Bhakti was as it were under the horrors of an inquisition. But on the other hand in his celebrated Vedanta, Shankara had systematized the ancient

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Brahmaism and furiously attacked not only the doctrines of Buddhism but the monotheism of Bhagwat, or now Vaishnavite Bhakti. Thus almost side by side under the pressure of persecution grew up the Shaivite champions of Bhakti, Tirujnana Sambandha, Appar, and others, and the Alwar-singers of Bhagwat or Vaishnavite Bhakti, whose lineage was made illustrious by Ramanuja when Bernard of Clair-veaux was rebuking the papacy and preaching a Crusade in Europe. It is interesting to remember that the *Vishishtadvait* or the qualified monism of Ramanuja did not achieve its greatest triumph in curbing the unbridled snobbery of the *vedantist* followers of Shankara, but in furnishing a philosophical basis for a sacramental view of life, for an intimately personal relationship with God, for a hope in salvation which did not mean absorption but the eternal joy of the Lord's presence.

In the vicinity of 1300 A. D. Ramananda was born at Allahabad to Pushpasadan Sarma and his wife, Susila. At six years of age he was admitted to the hermitage-school of a reputed Vaishnavite Sage, Raghvananda, who lived and taught in Benares towards the close of the 13th and the middle of the 14th century. Raghvananda seems to have found all the inspiration and solace of his life in the teachings of Ramanuja, and transmitted his own zest for the doctrine of 'qualified monism' to his brilliant young pupil. So impressed was the sage with the unusual intellectual attainments and the sincere devotion of his disciple that he nominated Ramananda as his successor. The young teacher soon found himself travelling to distant parts earnestly preaching Rama-bhakti as the safest path to salvation. One of his best known books in Sanskrit is *Vaishnav-Matantar-bhaskar* being an elucidation of the various cults of Vishnu.

It seems a generically accepted belief that Ramananda in the 14th century brought to the north the religious revival which Ramanuja initiated in Southern India. But why did he? What incentive pushed him out of the hermitage of a Sanskrit *pundit* to preach in the common vernacular to the people? It seems likely that Hindi and English writers on the subject have unjustly neglected the importance of the Radha-Krishna cult of Bhakti, sponsored by Madhvacharya and his successor—Nimbarak, in the making of Ramananda. The irrational eroticism of the

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Radha-Krishna cult as it prevailed at and around Vrindavan may have very well repelled the more ascetic temperament of Ramananda. In his zeal to reform the prevailing mode of Bhakti he naturally accentuated the purer devotion of Rama, using Ramanuja's weapons in his own combat against the school of erotic bhakti. Thus although Ramananda did in fact bring to the north the flame of pure Bhagwat bhakti which had kindled the torch of Ramanuja and his predecessors in the South, he did so in his struggle with the cult of Madhava, and for this reason did it with such ardent evangelical zeal.

This revival of Bhakti in Northern India in the 14th century A. D. gave it the comprehensive outlook of Ramanuja's Vishishtadvait philosophy. In the hoary Vedic age *Shradha* was the keynote of religion, rituals and sacrifice, charity and good works all needed the spirit of *Shradha* or faith. Later, in the Vedantic period *Bhavana* or contemplation took the place of faith. In the period of the revival of bhakti devotion took the elements of faith and contemplation and gave them the wings of joy. The ancient heritage of Bhagwat Bhakti came at last to be discovered and honoured and vitally transmitted in richer interpretation.

The influence of this revival and of the philosophy which sustained it soon made itself felt outside the strict limits of religion. It was recognized that the barriers of caste imposed by astute *brahmins* must be destructive and inimical to spiritual progress. None saw this more clearly than Ramananda's greater disciple, the weaver-poet of Benares, Kabir. Once he had become a disciple of Ramananda, proved his sterling qualities of heart, and head, and gained his preceptor's respect and confidence he did not let the grass grow under his feet in an attempt to convert his teacher and jointly attack the vicious system perpetuating social inequalities. We find that after Kabir's initiation there were among the disciples of Ramananda a courier, Raidas, a barber, Sena, a Jat, Dhanna, and a penitent courtesan, Padmavati. It is clear from the story of Kabir's initiation that he was forced by Ramananda's orthodoxy to use a clever ruse to win the teacher's acceptance. But after Kabir and his uncompromising onslaught on caste Ramananda did accept disciples from the lowest strata of Hindu society.

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This was not all. Ramananda decided to use the vernacular for the propagation of his teachings. This offered Kabir the impetus to give to the crude Hindi of his time and place the capacity to express some of the finest poetry of the language. It had a marvellous effect. All knowledge and culture had hitherto been recorded in Sanskrit, believed to be the language of the 'Shining Ones'. Locked within the high walls of *brahmanical* learning lay the great ocean of India's philosophy and religion and only *brahmin pundits* held the keys. But now there seemed to be a sudden bursting of the stone-walls and a flood of knowledge began to sweep to the remotest corners of illiteracy promising to quench the thirst of millions of eager souls. In truth the dæmon of reformation was abroad. Every gust of wind seemed to be a storm inclined to overthrow some old fortress of *brahmanical* formalism. Every ray of light seemed a gleaming shaft threatening to pierce the heart of *Velantist* intellectualism, if heart it had.

From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, covering a period of half a millenium flourished the poet-saints who sang their mystic songs in Hindi. It was a period beginning with Sikandar Lodhi, from the turmoil of Mughal invasions under Babur and his successors, down the centuries of Mughal rule, to the tottering of an empire buttressed with golden wine cups, and the advent of the diplomatic East India Company. It was a period beginning with the overthrow of Buddhism and Jainism in the south, from the persecution of the Hindus under the first, Sultanate of Delhi, down the ages of Islamic attacks on Hinduism, to the dawn of the Christian power in India. It was a period from temples to temples and mosques, and from temples and mosques to temples, mosques and churches. It was a period when current, under-current, and cross-current met in one land. One can scarcely imagine the influences at work during these five centuries, influences that ranged from iconoclastic tendencies to broad tolerance from pantheism to theism; influences that arose from blending of cultures, and the splitting up of sects into sub-sects; influences caused by ampler knowledge and a wider horizon.

Beginning with Kabir and Raidas as disciples of Ramananda,

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and Surdas as the disciple of Vallabha, we have Princess Mira and Guru Nanak as noble and gifted representatives of the 14th and 15th centuries, contemporary with Richard Rolle of Hampole, Walter Hilton, and Catherine of Genoa. In close succession follow Tulsidas, Dadudayal, Malukdas, and Sunderdas to keep the flame burning in the 16th century while St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross gave the Spaniard a new zest for God. Then come Dharidas and Yarisahab as the devotional poets of the 17th century about the same time as Pascal, Fenelon, and Brother Lawrence flourished in France. Gulalsahab, Bullasahab, Jagjiwandas, Charandas with his disciples Sahjobai and Dayabai, and Bhikasaheb represent the 18th century when William Law interpreted Boehme and Blake wedded mysticism to art. And as contemporaries of Henry Martyn and Abbe-Huvelin in the 19th century we have Paltudas, Pratap and Tulsisahab of Hatras singing of the beatific vision. Out of the long line of about fifty poet-saints of Northern India only twenty-one have been mentioned. Of these Kabir, Raidas, Nanak, Dadudayal, Malukdas, Jagjiwandas, and Charandas became founders of small sects, the most important being the Kabirpanth which still exists in the villages of the Central and United Provinces.

When the Hindu mind rebelled against the colourless tyranny of speculation and accepted the sweet sovereignty of love it found its rich poetic genius liberated. That first delight of freedom was uttered in songs of praise and devotion which could not be sober and balanced, because they had to be lyrical and profuse and extravagant. Our poet-saints found at a sudden turning of the road that the far-removed, almost inaccessible, Reality which they sought was the Adorable One who was their "Comrade of the Road" and they enthroned Him as their adored and beloved Lord. The thrill of that eternal moment in their experience is recorded in songs vibrantly rapturous with love, devotion, and worship. Love had cut the Gordian Knot of speculation. Love had revealed the vision of ineffable Reality. Love had healed the pain and strife of their hearts. They had found God to be Love. Why should they not sing forth, "Love by the love is drawn, life by Love sustained, Creation is enfolded in love, the love that seeks the good of others. For immoral life is gained by love, Love for

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the Lord finds the Lord ! " as Surdas says. Or with Mira,

" The chains of restraint are for victims of earth ; for me there is freedom, the freedom of love." Or join Kabir and say,—

" I would caress this day ! It is dearer to me than all other for my beloved is a guest in my house to-day.

My chamber is radiant with His Presence ; my courtyard is blessed.

Lost in admiring His great Beauty, my longings sing His name and are glad :

I wash His feet with my tears ; I gaze into His face ; I offer my body and soul, and all I have to my Lord."

Or as Dadudayal says,

" Thy love, devotion, hope, all are thine, my Beloved ! My heart is ever waiting on thee ! "

And again,

" I am his devotee. I am drinking his love to satiety ; And inelicate with devotion I forget the meaning of redemption ! "

Great importance is attached to the " True Name " ; and to grasp the pure and entire significance of this feature it must be understood that whatever the name loved and honoured by each denomination, be it Rama or Vishnu or Krishana, the idea behind it is that God, having become human by voluntarily taking upon himself the *upadhis* (limitations) of Nam-rupa (name and form) becomes more personal for each soul with the name that thrills the devotee and the form that arrests his love, thus Kabir says,

" Drink the divine nectar of His Name,

Empty the bowl of his love,

And be drunken, my heart ! "

Or Dadudayal sings forth,

" For love is his form, his person, his complexion is love !

And love is his caste ! "

Or again,

" Remember His Name, that is the royal road to salvation."

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Tulsidas also agreed that the continual remembrance of His Name kept the mind from evil thinking, the continual utterance of His Name kept the tongue from evil speaking, and the continual comradeship of His Name kept the body from evil ways. Thus he says,

“When temptations beset you, your salvation is in His Magical Name.”

The sacramental view of all life became a concomitant of the devotional approach, and changed the ethical outlook of the reformed *bhakti* school. On the one hand polytheism was discredited and with it the sportive interludes of the ‘Shining Ones’; and on the other, the voluptuous romances of the *Puranas* were no longer held up as being exemplary. Purity of thought, integrity of conduct, and virtuous deeds were taught to be of greater importance than the mockery of rituals.

Mira says,

“Vain is this foresaking of gladness, this donning of the hermit’s guise,

If being a saint you know not saintliness ;

Beware the wages of sin is death ! ”

Or as Sunderdas sings,

“Wrap your thought round the feet of the Lord,

Think of none other !

Crown Him on your head,

Worship Him with body and mind ! ”

Devotion seems to have whetted their ethical sense, for in *bhakti* literature there is a reiterated note of the burden of sin so contrary to the trend of monistic theories. According to the logic of pure monism the intelligent being has only an instrumental value and can be neither a sinner nor a saint. The instrument is a moral. The agent is morally responsible. But *bhakti*-thought looks upon the individual as the agent, the doer of his deeds, responsible for the moral choice. Dadudayal in the presence of the All-Holy cries,

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"Before Thee I am guilty in every nerve and vein; a s
am I every moment:

Master, forgive me!"

Charandas, convinced that the Lord will sanctify his devotee, sing,

"O my soul, remember the Lord!

All sins of life shall then be purged, in the sacrificial fire of devotion."

Another noteworthy characteristic is the strange and sometimes inexplicable antagonism that these independent thinkers, Kabir and Raidas and later Dadudayal and Charandas, cherished towards iconology. Raidas distinctly declared,

"I will not pluck leaves, for thy iconic worship,
But unite in the simple union of love."

Kabir boldly denounced idolatry,

"The images are lifeless, they cannot speak:
I know for I have cried to them."

Or again,

"Alas the true fountain of life is beside you,
And you madly set up a stone to worship."

Dadudayal cautions,

"Beware, as moss does not cling to a mirror
So nothing affects an idol."

This was the attitude of the Ram cult to a great extent, and on the whole there was a very definite consensus of opinion against the worship of idols.

Another feature that arrests our attention is the marked theistic tendency of this Bhakti movement. Or Kabir, Westcott argues, "The term *Mutwahid* or 'believer in one God' which is given to him in the *Dabistan*, confirms the view that his doctrine is essentially theistic and not pantheistic."

There is no mistaking Kabir's attitude which avoided the bedrock of Hindu pantheism. He says,

"I see with eyes open and smile to behold His beauty everywhere:

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I utter His Name and whatever I see reminds me of Him ;
Whatever I do becomes His worship."

This deliberate breaking away from the chains of pantheistic inclinations had an effect on the thinking of Kabir's successors.

Almost two hundred years afterwards Dadudayal sings,

" Look within to find Him, O my soul.

Though the Guru has taught that the Lord is transcendent,
As butter is churned from milk so churn the mind to truth."

As was natural, the path of bhakti, was proclaimed superior to that of *Jnana* or *Yoga*. It may be remembered in this connection that long ages before this movement came into existence, in the *Bhakti-sutram* of Narad and also in the *Bhakti-mimamsa* of Sandilya it had been maintained that devotion being comprehensive includes every method, and, as such, is supreme. Thus we hear Charandas like many others say :

" Bhakti will yield the flower of salvation

And the flower yield the fruit of bliss :

For, putting on immortality you will dwell in the heavens,
nor heed revisits to earth !

Practise remembering the Lord, O my soul,
Of all practices this is supreme ! "

In the 17th century Paltudas says,

" The soul smears himself with ashes,

Takes the deer-skin seat of patience,

Paints the red mark upon his forehead,

And tells the innate rosary of devotion ;

Such is the Supreme yogi."

We see that the power of fervent bhakti at its highest can even attempt what in India seems to connote the impossible, to annul the terrors of transmigration, a belief that looms so terrible above every religious experience and aspiration of most Indian saints and to preach the equality of all men. The bhakti movement which we have been considering decidedly attempted these two things. Dadudayal calmly says,

" Ask no caste of a saint ;

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The priest and the warrior, the tradesman and the slave,
all alike seek one God.

The barber has sought God, the washer-woman, the
carpenter ...

Raidas, the courier, was a seeker of God:

The sage Swapacha was a tanner by caste.

At the end there is no mark of distinction."

Let us hope, then, for a renaissance of this potent religious revival in our own time, that it may unravel the tangle of philosophical, religious, and social problems of to-day, and that not in India alone but throughout both hemispheres, wherever men live, and think and yearn after God. East and West are again coming to a mystical view-point. The rigidity of convention is slackening and men regardless of creed and colour are beginning again to feel after a personal realization and personal experience of the All Holy. The publication of books like *The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse* followed by a book of *Amercian Mystical Verse* and *The Persian Mystics*, is evidence that in literary circles of the English-speaking world a taste has been created for mystical literature. If not the ecstacy, if not the extravagance, we assuredly need the fervour and the conviction of a mystical religion. Great thinkers of this century, and the last, have felt this need; and if Indian thought has anything to contribute, it is in the realm of Bhakti. Thus in the words of my friend, Verrier Elwin, late of Merton, Oxford,—

"Bind, bind us to the mighty past !
To holy lives that echo still :
To ancient Beauty, first and last
Of the grand process of God's will ;
To all whose lips have spoken sooth
From the high battlements of Truth."

We are inheritors of the rich legacy of the past. Let us evaluate, and with modest pride, elaim, enjoy, and use it ; and using it abolish geographical boundaries and racial or political frontiers which have broken the world of humanity into absurd multi-coloured patches.

INDIAN PUBLISHING AND HOW TO IMPROVE IT

[BY FREDA M. BEDI]

THOSE who come into contact with Indian publishing—and for the purposes of this article we shall limit ourselves to productions in English—cannot but be struck by the low level of quality. It is no exaggeration to say that hardly one book in a hundred is in any way creditable either to the compositor or the publisher. This statement is not made in a spirit of carping criticism, but is a bald statement of a truth, which may be verified by anyone who is at all conversant with the Indian book market.

Reasons

The most inexplicable part of the whole business is that it is the bigger presses which are often the worst sinners. It is understandable, in view of the very bad economic condition in India to-day, that small presses should in their struggle for very existence attempt to economize by paying little money to their staff and getting inferior proof readers and compositors, and should use poor quality paper. It is also understandable in these small presses that when type gets bad or out-of-date no attempt should be made to replace it because there is no money to do so. But it is amazing that the bigger presses all over India, in Madras, Bombay, and Northern India, (it is invidious to mention names) should maintain such a 'stick-in-the-mud' attitude in the face of modern improvements in production and printing. Calcutta is perhaps a little better than most particularly in the matter of illustrations, and some books have been produced which show a sensitive appreciation of the finer points of book production, but even there the proportion of presses attempting this reform is small compared with what one might expect. It is significant that Bengal, which has always led in the cultural renaissance of India, should in this field also be the pioneer.

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Reform Or Die

In the bitter struggle for existence that is going on to-day in every sphere of economic life, it is essential that the Indian Publishing trade should reform itself, or it will inevitably suffer to a much greater degree than it is doing at present. The complaint is often heard from booksellers as well as publishers that there is no desire to buy books in India and very little desire to read. It is a fact that very few of good booksellers ever stock Indian publications in great number, or, if they do, do not give them a good display. On entering most of the first-class book-shops in India the first sight that meets one's eyes is a well-shown collection of England-produced books with gay paper covers. The Indian producer may well grumble at this, but, looking at the matter with an unbiassed mind, is the reason very hard to find? The covers of most India-produced books are so ugly and boring that no self-respecting bookseller would bother to give them a good display. We are all familiar with the faded red cloth horrors that call themselves "books". Anything more repellent to the intending reader would be hard to find. The very sight of a European book, with its brightly painted dust cover is enough to make a man wish to read it. It is a strange fact that India, which is the country where a "dust cover" is most essential, should produce few books with anything more than an apology for a paper cover.

Good Indian Presses

Two outstanding examples of presses who have, however, managed to produce good books which do them credit both in the matter of production and artistic merit are the Kitabistan Press of Allahabad, and the Model Electric Press in Lahore. It is not supposed that they are the only ones—there must be many small presses in Northern India, Bengal, and South India where these attempts are being made—but these two presses are taken as example of what can be done, when the will to improve is there. An outstanding production of the Kitabistan Press is Jawaharlal Nehru's book *Glimpses of World History*. The type is clear, the paper of good colour, and the binding of white khaddar, with the title printed in dull red. The red and white dust cover of

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thick *matt* paper is also attractive and well-designed. The amazing part of it is that, in comparison with some of the rich presses who produce the usual wretchedly printed examination books for long-suffering students, these presses are so small as to be insignificant, with very little capital behind them. It is obvious that what a small press such as the Model Electric Press can do in its *Song of Eternal Peace* by Nirmal—an excellently-produced little book—can also be done by some of the big presses with a little more care and forethought.

The difference in cost between worthless paper and good paper for the normal-sized book is very small in proportion to the cost of the whole book—there is no excuse for inferior paper being used for books that have to be kept. Let Indian publishers leave inferior paper to such things as ephemeral pamphlets, posters and daily papers.

Employ More Artists !

The display of books is also an important factor that should be given over to an expert. It is surely not too much to ask that every moderate-sized press should have among its staff at least one man who is an artist—not a man who has learnt his art in the press, but a man who has either learnt art at a good art school, or a man of distinct artistic talents who is well in touch with modern developments in book decoration. There are many presses too which have made big strides as far as quality of paper and binding is concerned and which yet fall short in their work because the whole effect is not as good artistically as it might be. As has been mentioned before, in Bengal matters are distinctly brighter than in the rest of India in the production of illustrations, and such presses as the Calcutta University Press produce excellent “sober” literature whose distinction of style matches the academic distinction of the contents. There is no reason why the improvement in artistic display should not spread to other parts of India also, and presses can be assured that the money spent on an art expert will be amply repaid in increased sales of books.

Organize Sales

Another fruitful field of expansion for the Indian book trade is in its organization—more advertisement, better catalogues,

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and monthly lists of publications. It is a platitude to say that, except for a limited area round the Press itself, in the majority of cases the people of India rarely know what books are produced outsidess their province. Very few people but Bengalis know what is being produced in Bengal; with the exception of Natesan and Co., Madras firms are little known. From Bombay we have Taraporevala and little more. The Head Librarian of the Imperial Library in Calcutta once said to me that the disorganization in the Indian book trade was so appalling that even he, as the head of the biggest library in India, often got to know of Indian publications through some review or mention in the English press and never directly. With the best will in the world to buy, and encourage the reading of good Indian books, he never even received the notification of all publications. Anyone who knows how libraries buy books will realize that an attractive quarterly catalogue, artistically printed in colours giving interesting details of the books newly put on the market would be great inducement not only to libraries to buy books but also to individual buyers. If the good book publishing firms made their own lists of customers likely to be interested, or asked through newspaper advertisements for the names of people who would like to receive their quarterly book news, there would be a great impetus in the sale of books.

In addition to this, a monthly list of all books written in English and supplementary lists for the vernaculars should be produced by a central All-India body to which every publisher in India should send the names of his publications, so that every month librarians and book lovers all over India could see at a glance all that has been published during that period. Some effort in that direction has been made by Taraporevala of Bombay, but it falls far short of completion and artistically it leaves much to be desired.

An Indian Book Club

Another method to "ginger up" the sale of Indian books would be to organize an Indian Book Club, on the lines of the Book Society in England and a similar body in America. A committee of people interested in books could be formed—writers and book lovers, about ten in all—who every month would choose out "the best book of the month" from the Indian publications,

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with a supplementary list of books recommended by the Society. Members of the Book Club would be people who would be willing to spend at least Rs. 4 per month on books—they would give an undertaking that every month they would pay per V.-P.P. for the book sent to them by this Book Club Committee, on the condition that if they did not like it, after reading it they could return it and get another of the recommended books in exchange, and so on until they were satisfied. No entrance fee is charged in the West for membership of the clubs, the selectors getting their wages and the office expenses being paid by the percentage on sales given to them by the book firms. So this valuable service is rendered to the book lover absolutely free of charge, and has proved a very affective stimulant to the booktrade, besides making good books well known and giving them the publicity they deserve. Such a club divided into Rs. 2, Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 per month members could well be started here, and if publishers realized that every month they could be sure of getting a recommendation of the Society for good readable books a great impetus would be given to the production of books of literary merit and general interest, rather than the usual "examination" helps that flood the Indian market.

Indian Publishing has only to look a little way to find itself faced with a number of new ideas that would put life in it. There is no reason why, with this encouragement, India should not produce a good number of brilliant young writers, mirroring present-day social conditions and trends of thought, to form the backbone of the Indian national renaissance movement, instead of letting them, as is now the case, languish for want of proper recognition, unable either to find publishers for their books or to sell them if they are published because the advertisement is so haphazard and disorganized, and the printing and binding so unattractive.

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THE GROWING PROBLEM OF MARRIAGE IN INDIA*

[By J. M. GANGULI]

THIS is a subject, which some recent tragic occurrences in Calcutta have brought prominently and significantly to the front. The union between the two sexes, which has been legalized and sanctified by the institution of marriage ever since the dawn of human civilization, is so natural, so instinctive, that one would wonder how it could ever become a problem, the satisfactory solution of which would baffle society. Young souls at the approach of youth yearn for union with the opposite sex; they want to go out and select a partner with whom to pass their life in love and peace. But, for the sake of order and stability, society has always sought to regulate that strong sexual instinct by imposing restrictions on the impulsiveness of youth, which seldom pauses to take a long view of the consequences and responsibilities which follow its acts. Youth has, no doubt, rebelled against such restrictions on its free will, but elders having found from experience that youth is liable to blunder, particularly in the selection of its life's mate, have pondered over how best to ensure the married happiness of the young. For that purpose, religious and legal bars have been placed so as to restrain youth from hastiness and indiscretion; and the guardians of youth also, in all societies in the world, have taken upon themselves to help and guide their wards in matrimonial matters, and even to select for them their partners of life.

In the East, and particularly in India, parents and guardians have been very solicitous in handling the marriage affairs of boys and girls. The special solicitude of Indian parents has been due mainly to two causes. Firstly, on account of the custom of marrying boys and girls at a young age, when they were incompetent to judge and act by themselves, parents had naturally

* A lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club at the Great Eastern Hotel on the 14th April 1936 on "The Growing Problem of Marriage in Bengal". Conditions in other parts of the country are gradually becoming more or less the same as in Bengal; and so some verbal alterations have been made so as to make the remarks and observations in the speech applicable to India as a whole.

N. B.—The Editor does not necessarily agree with the views expressed here. He would like letters or articles on the subject for future issues.

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to do everything relating to the marriage. And secondly, under the joint family system the responsibilities of marriage, at least for the first several years, devolved on the parents, who, therefore, undertook to arrange it.

At the present day, however, both the above conditions have been changing. Boys and girls are not getting married early, and the joint family compactness is also breaking. As a result also of the clash between old and new ideas there has been violent tumult in Indian society, not so much in the villages as in the big cities, where it has been most affected by modern ideas. Indications of that clash of ideas have been coming off and on, but they were generally in the form of a revolt on the part of a young man or woman dashing out to have his or her own way. Such incidents, however, caused no misgivings, for occasional aberrations from the settled order of things could not be helped, and they were but natural.

What is inviting our attention to the problem of marriage in India is the increasing frequency of those tragic occurrences, in which grown-up unmarried girls are found to seek to end their lives by suicide. Recently in Calcutta four such grown-up unmarried girls resorted to suicide. That provokes thinking. What is wrong with the society that miseries and disappointments should increase, leading to such tragedies? Why cannot grown-up girls get married? For, had these girls been married and living a happy and contented life they would not surely have thought of suicide.

There are several reasons for which boys and girls cannot easily be married in India nowadays, specially among the educated middle classes. So far as the boys are concerned the reason is generally economic. Most of the educated middle classes are unable to support themselves, not to speak of a family. In former days, under the joint family system the ability or non-ability of a young man to support a wife hardly mattered, for the wife did not become a burden on the husband, but merely another unit in the joint family, making little perceptible difference in the family expenditure or in the family responsibility. But, under the influence of present-day individualistic ideas, and due to more and more adoption of urban life, which is more expensive as there is no joint income from family property—only individual

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earnings from service or profession,—the joint family system is going out of popularity. Whether that be good or bad there is no doubt that the disappearance of the joint responsibility system has a significant bearing on the present-day marriage problem in the country.

Another thing is that people cannot live together now with the same goodwill and harmony with which they lived formerly. A young man now knows that as soon as he marries he will have to arrange for and run a separate establishment for his wife will not be able to get on with his family members. The young girl-wife of former days on going into her father-in-law's family developed sympathies in that family, as she grew up there. Her love and affections for the members of that family, where she was transferred at an early age, were formed naturally and reflexively to the tenderness and affection, which she received from the other side. She imperceptibly identified herself with the interests of her husband's family before she was able to realize her foreign origin. It was like the case of a tender plant shifted from one place to another at a time when its adaptability was greatest.

The case is different with a grown-up girl going into her husband's house. Her ideas, her likes and dislikes are sharply formed. She is sensible to her own separate interests. She cannot merge herself, without great effort and without very good previous training, into a different family. The sense of alienism separates her from the rest. She cannot love her husband's father, mother, brother or sister as her own, and as she could have, had she been brought up in that family from an early age. But this alienism does not lead to happiness and harmony; it leads, instead, to family disruption.

Formerly, if a member of a family earned less, or even could earn nothing, his brother, who earned and supported the family, would not mind. He would not grudge his brother's children sharing equally all privileges with his own children. He would rather see that no discrimination was made between his children and his brother's children. Nor would his wife grumble at that, for she had developed, through years of association, sympathies and affections for the other members of the family.

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But, now, the modern educated wife would go and at once take care that her husband's money was not wasted on the aliens and the unwanted in the family. And whether it be due to her stronger personality or, I tell you in whisper, to the increased hen-peckedness of husbands with the progress of civilization, the husband submits to her murmers, and she has her way. The family tie is broken.

That eventuality a youngman has in view now when he contemplates marriage. He knows that on marriage he will need a separate establishment to please his wife. If he has not to separate immediately, he will have to do so not long after marriage.

Some may say, what is the wrong in it? Some may even argue that it is rather good as it will teach self-dependence. But without discussing that point here I may only remark that good or bad at least some amount of jointness will remain in the Indian family for many years to come yet. There will be relatives and relations living together, especially in the middle class families, with which really I am concerned in this lecture; and the western ideas and custom of separate living will not be practicable here for a long time at any rate, in spite of all ravages of modernism.

Thus, the poor youngman has to bring into his calculations, before marriage, the expenses of a separate establishment and not merely of some contribution to the joint family funds. But how many middle-class youngmen can hope to be able to run a separate establishment, particularly when that establishment is to be such as to provide all comforts to a modern wife, who would not like to do the domestic work herself as wives did with pleasure in the Indian family not long ago?

While such considerations deter many a youngman from thinking of marriage, there are more reasons which are making the question of girls' marriage a serious problem to-day. Many, who do not go deep and analytically into the matter, would say that it is the dowry system, which is the cause of the trouble. But that is not so. It is, on the other hand, the training and education, which the girls are getting these days in schools and in their own family, which give rise to ideas that come in the way of their

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marriage. Their education does not teach them practical domestic economy, and their family training does not encourage them to do the household work themselves. Very few school-going girls can be found now to do any domestic work. They cannot even light up an oven, much less do any cooking. They do not even serve food to their brothers and sisters. If, under force of circumstance, they have to do such things, not only they but their parents also consider themselves unfortunate. The dignity of labour, the virtue of self-help, the duty of at least doing one's own things by oneself,—such things are nowadays not taught them either by example or precept. On the contrary, the craze for luxury and fashion they are directly or indirectly encouraged to indulge in.

Naturally, their ideas regarding marriage get perverted. They can only think of a husband, who is beautiful in appearance, has some University Degrees and has sufficient means to enable him to have a decent establishment with servants, maid-servants, and cooks. A motor-car will be an additional qualification of the husband. Another thing of importance is that he should have no relatives living with or depending on him, so that the wife's free will may not in any way be restricted. The man in the husband, his qualities of head and heart, do not matter to her. She is more concerned with the physical comforts, which she is to get through her husband. I won't listen to those, who might shriek at the apparent bluntness, with which I have stated the thing, but I would ask them to go out and see for themselves if that is not very often the case with the grown-up schooled girls these days.

A combination, however, of so many qualifications is difficult to find. And yet, it is a fact that almost every father looks for such a bridegroom for his daughter. When he complains that the boy's father is very exacting he does not state the truth, or does not appreciate the real position. A prospective husband or his guardian wants either physical beauty in the girl, or education and accomplishments; otherwise he would want a dowry. Very seldom he demands more than one of those things. But the girl's father would want good appearance, good education, and good means on the other side, no matter what the commodity he may have to offer in return may be like. What his daughter looks like, what her education and accomplishments

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are, what his own social status and financial means may be,—he would not take into account. But yet, he would want a husband for his daughter, who must be ideal in every respect. He would keep his daughter unmarried, waiting for the chance, when he could strike a lucky bargain.

But, while thus waiting he would hardly take care to keep his unmarried grown-up daughter well and pleasantly engaged. The evil influences of town life work on the girls more in their idleness. Their desires are excited, but satisfaction does not come; their ideas become unrealistic; and their outlook of life becomes impracticable. Dissatisfaction and boredom thus become inevitable, and they become intolerable in idle and vacant hours, and through a realization of wasted youth. The idea of ending such an uninspiring and miserable existence by suicide cannot, therefore, be unnatural to such girls.

If such be the condition of unmarried girls the position of married girls is also becoming bad. For, if the father of a girl fails to get a combination of all the desired qualifications in the boy, to whom he has ultimately to get the girl married, he not only feels disappointed himself, but propagates his sense of unhappiness to his daughter. He won't say anything good to her about her husband or her husband's family, though that would very much help the girl to be attracted to her husband's family, which would mean happiness to all; but he would find fault with the husband, and with his relatives, and would point out to his daughter how those relatives were cruel and unjust to her. How can the poor girl, under such circumstances, be consoled and get compromised to her married life. No wonder, that she feels unhappy and discontented after marriage, and sometimes thinks of taking her own life in disgust.

Thus Indian society is drifting to-day. It is not the girls who are responsible for it. If their education has been without a religious background, it is not their fault. If they do not learn to look upon life not as a period for mere personal enjoyment, but as one which should be utilized for becoming useful and serviceable to others, it is not again their crime. It is strange, no doubt, to hear girls, who have hardly even

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completed their education, saying bare-facedly that they do not believe in a God,—though the wisest and the most learned men have felt themselves undecided on the point. Those of them, who shrink from saying as much, have only a sort of conventional faith in the Supreme Being, which hardly affects their mode of thinking or living. But that is not their fault. It is their guardians, their father, mother and brothers who, instead of encouraging a religious and thoughtful bend of mind in them, rather discourage it by their own way of living.

If you want your children to be good and ideal you must yourself lead an ideal life. But what about even our elderly people? They seldom devote a single moment of their days to any religious ceremony. With very few exceptions they do not even read good books, but read trash novels and the criminal column reports in the newspapers, particularly those relating to sexual matters. If you meet even the educated old men in their morning or evening walks, you will be surprised at the up-to-dateness of their knowledge of such cases. How can they inspire their daughters with noble ideas? Then, again, they would often take their grown-up daughters to the cinemas, where most of the scenes are such that one has often to turn one's eyes away from the screen. But these cultured gentlemen do not feel ashamed to look at such scenes with their grown-up daughters sitting by their side.

As regards domestic training they would give none to their daughters, who would get up in the morning, take tea, read or have music, and then go to school or college. They spend the day and the night just in the same way, idly, uselessly, and thoughtlessly. It may not matter in a well-to-do family, where nothing matters much, but in a middle-class family such training and such disinclination for work are bound to lead to disappointment and misery. Because of such training, however, there is a hankering for high connections and an endless waiting for the same. The father of the girl will always seek connections higher than his family or his daughter's attainments deserve. For that purpose he goes and approaches people, and tries to win them by offering a dowry. That is how the dowry system originates. It begins with the attempt of a girl's father to induce the father

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of a boy more qualified than his daughter to marry his son to her. If the girl's father were to appreciate his own position and his daughter's worth correctly, and if he would be content to have a son-in-law who would in all respects be an equal match for his daughter there will be no trouble, and no question of exaction of dowry. Just as the question of bribing comes when one wants special privileges, so the question of dowry comes when one wants favourable marriage connections. If he, who offers, would not want anything in excess of the price of his offer, the other side is bound to be sober.

That sobriety in marriage negotiations, a sense of proportion, an ability to assess and judge the correct value of things and the strength of mind to remain satisfied and contented, and not to seek unequal bargains,—these are needed to solve the present-day marriage problem for girls in the country, and to bring peace and equilibrium in the social structure.

But, for that purpose, the present system of education will have to be thought out again. Present-day education and training tend to make the girls want self-pleasure, and induce in them an irreverence for traditions and ancient beliefs. They would taboo them as mere superstition. They would laugh to hear that suicides are crimes, that they do not end miseries but increase and prolong them; or, that it is a virtue to do all domestic work, as thereby one can have the pleasure and opportunity of serving parents, brothers and sisters, husband, his relatives and one's own children. They are not taught to believe in a God to Whom every act, every thought, is known, whether unexpressed or whether committed in the darkest and loneliest place. While these girls are kept unmarried the ennobling influence of religion is not on them, but only the influence of evil, of temptations, of unrestrained hankerings, of bad examples of parents and others, of bad teaching and of bad training.

Our social reformers, and those who are provoked to thinking by the tragic suicides of the married and unmarried girls, and particularly their parents and guardians, must think seriously of the whole thing. For, the problem of marriage is getting serious. Every father is complaining about it. Boys and

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girls cannot get married at the proper age. There are two important points to be remembered by those, who are interested in the question.

Firstly, that, as I have said above, there will remain some amount of joint living in the Indian family for many years more,—some relatives or the other, like the aged father, mother, widow sister, widow aunt, minor brother or sister and so on, depending on and living with us,—and so the wives should have had such training that they may not only live with them peacefully, but may make themselves serviceable and indispensable to them. It is not demeaning oneself to be respectful and serviceable to elders and to subordinate one's selfish interests to the happiness of others. It is rather ennobling oneself to do so; it brings out the best in human nature.

That should be impressed on boys and girls by their parents. And, secondly, if one would characterize the advice to live simple and think high as too grandmotherly, one might as well be reminded that simple living is at least a necessity in the present economic state of the Indian society. So, we have to teach our girls to be economical, to be well-versed in and to take interest and pleasure in all domestic work, and to feel joy in simplicity and in useful living.

If I am referring in particular to girls it is not because I do not care for similar training to be given to boys, but, because of the fact that girls will have to go and live in another family, so their training and their adaptability are specially important.

As a matter of fact, such training, such adaptability, are in the blood of the Indian girls. They are their great heritage, which has won them the admiration of all. Their instinct for service, their unasked for self-effacement whenever interests clash, their devotion to duty, their reverence for religion and respect for elders and superiors, their overflowing love and tenderness for all, their steadfastness to death by virtue, and their incomparable fortitude in taking hardships and privations on themselves for the benefit of others—these are matters of history, and they have made the Indians idolize and worship womanhood in temples.

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They need, therefore, no great teaching, only if they would be let alone.

My prayer to the modern parents is, therefore, not to kill the Indian womanliness in their daughters at a tender age by putting false ideas, false hopes, unrealizable thoughts, insatiable cravings for mere personal comforts, and things like those into their heads, which bring contentment to none, but mere disappointment and unhappiness to all.

And, to those of our ultra-reformists, who would vaguely sermonize on female emancipation and sex equality, without comprehending their true import, and who would not let us sit and think if the mere breaking through the elastic rigidity of our still existing customs in order to get into the unbridled looseness of modernism is all for our good, but who would have us haste after them,—I would venture to say that female emancipation, sex equality, social reform, and all that, are all quite good, only if they are looked at from the right perspective; and that they are no new things in Indian society.

My plea is that there is enough of discontent already to-day from divers causes; let us not add to it by crying for the moon, and by making the youngsters do the same; and by seeking to dump foreign ideas and foreign customs on a society having age-old traditions, without stopping to judge their value and their suitability to local conditions. Such attempts and such tendencies have made problems of simple things.

We need take a long view of life, the fruitfulness and not the mere physical enjoyment of which makes it worth living. And then matters will not be complicated. The simple and the natural union between a man and a woman will not form into a problem. The girl's father will bring up his daughter simply but with noble ideas, and marry her to a boy similarly brought up, without caring for his degrees, or his wealth. He will then not have to wait and go from door to door offering dowry. If his daughter has thus been well trained and well brought up, she will not be depressed in poverty, but will feel happy in living a simple and useful life, and will make others happy by her sweetness, her all-roundness, and the nobility of her nature.

That will solve the growing marriage problem for boys and girls alike.

A MUCH-NEEDED REFORM

Dr. BHAGWAN DAS'S HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL

*The Bill, purely permissive. Its beneficial consequences

THE Bill is a purely permissive measure, based on the sound and simple maxim, "Live and let live". If passed into Law, it will stop the internal corruptive and disruptive decay that has set in, in the Hindu community. It will soften that spirit of hard internal and external exclusiveness which is the most prominent and most dangerous disease-symptom of that community, to-day. It will promote friendly relations with sister-communities also, by sweetening the whole spirit of Hinduism. It will make unnecessary, and thereby prevent, a not inconsiderable amount of hypocrisy and fraud in marriage negotiations, and kidnapping and sale of marriageable girls and women, which, as is well-known, are being practised in several parts of the country, for the purpose of supplying wives to various sub-castes which are short of women for various reasons. One of these reasons has been, in the recent past, the well-known infanticide of girl babies, among some subcastes. This infanticide has diminished, apparently; but, from the nature of the crime and the ease with which it may be committed without detection, it is by no means possible to say that it has been extinguished. The present Bill will indirectly help to make such crime unnecessary also. It will help to shift marriage-conventions from the basis, on which they now stand, of superstition, which is belief *without* reason (*dharma-abhasa, mithya-dharma, murha-graha*, in this case belief in the potency of the mere hereditary caste-name), to the basis of science, which is belief *with* reason (*veda-dharma*, in this case, psychophysical eugenic science).

Hetubhir dharma-in-onyichchen.

na lokam virasam charet, (Mhb., Shanti, ch. 268).

Yas tarken-anusandhatte

sa dharmam veda n-etarah, (Manu, xii, 106).

It will compel no one to contract a marriage outside his caste or sub-caste, but it will save any one who may make such a marriage from

* This is from a statement by Dr. Bhagwan Das himself.

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being hounded out of caste publicly. It will bind no one against his or her will to enter into or keep up any social relations with any one who has contracted such a marriage, but it will prevent any one, on pain of being held guilty of defamation, from making any public proclamation that such a person has lost caste and is not worthy to be associated with, because he or she has contracted such a marriage.

Some other important advantages that would accrue, are, (a) that the method of co-education, which is growing steadily in the country under the pressure of the new conditions, would lead to many happy marriages instead of acts of error and shame, and soiling of mind and body, and, now and then, lifelong nervous disorders; (b) that the suicides of girls, and other evils, now often caused by the growing practice of demanding very large cash-dowries—a practice born of economic distress, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the mammonist spirit fostered by the new civilization—such evils would also be checked by the growth of free choice of each by educated youth and maid, without irrational limitation to the same caste-name.

CONTEMPORARY INDIA suggests to Dr. Bhagwan Dass that his Bill would deserve whole-hearted support only in case a clause is inserted making it refer only to *monogamous* inter-caste marriages. Among the educated, monogamy is almost universally recognized, but much stronger measures need to be taken with regard to more orthodox opinion. A natural result of the enforcement of monogamy must be the permitting of divorce: a door out of marriage with a mad, diseased or brutal husband that is necessary all over the world but that is denied to the Hindu woman.

AMONG THE WORKERS IN GERMANY TO-DAY

[BY JOHN BROWN]

I HAVE been to Germany four times since the revolution of 1933, and have lived among the workers in various parts of the country. As it is not so long since I was drawing dole in England I was particularly interested in the conditions of the unemployed.

I wanted to know how they compared with conditions over here.

The Labour Exchanges I visited were run in much the same way as our own, although the flamboyant coloured posters on the walls were a new feature. These posters spoke of the happy life in the work camps and on the farms. In my old queue at a northern Labour Exchange men of various trades and professions had stood alongside me—shop assistants, miners, riggers, chemists, bricklayers, and salesmen, but in most German exchanges there is a special signing place for each class of work, indicated by a card.

The organization of the big exchanges is very good, long queues in a main hall being led into smaller rooms, where after signing at a table the men pass out into the street. Benefit rates are lower than in England, and also vary according to the wages previously earned. A single young man usually draws about seven shillings a week. Even if no benefit is being paid an unemployed man has to sign regularly. A few Storm Troopers in uniform can generally be seen signing, but most men under 25 are away in the camps or in the services. A means test is vigorously applied, and offenders severely punished.

The unemployed pass the time in much the same way as they do here, although one new method is the playing of cards for very small stakes in the public parks. Little tables are fixed in front of the benches, and on these games are played and money changes hands quite openly. Around each game there is always a crowd of spectators. Those who can afford three

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pence for a mug of beer can spend hours in one of the cafes, where free newspapers and radio help to kill time.

The crowds of unemployed men at street corners that we see so often in our special areas are rare in Germany, and I found them only in Wedding and Moabit in Berlin, in Hamburg, Hagen, and a few other places. The German police do not like crowds of men standing about.

In Hamburg I went to the Storm Troopers' Headquarters in the Huhnerposten, and asked for a room. Was I a member of the party? No. Perhaps from the south? No. English. They were surprised, but I was allowed to stay, and was given a tiny bedroom, barely furnished but spotlessly clean. Four Storm Troopers slept in a big room on my right and two in the room on my left, while the others had small rooms to themselves. At night the young Brownshirts told me of their hopes of getting jobs. They all took it for granted that I was a supporter of their ideas, and were very frank about their experiences. But they were far more interested in getting some kind of steady work than in politics. The men were a mixed crowd. Some young fellows seemed to have been weakened by long spells of idleness, while others were of the hard virile type that I had always admired in the Durham mining villages.

I had heard so many conflicting stories about the labour camps that I was determined to see for myself. These camps are now a most important feature of national life, for every young man, and soon every young woman, who is capable of work, must spend six months in them. The camps are compulsory for all classes, for students must show a camp-leaving certificate before entering the university, and a young man has great difficulty in getting work if he has not been to a camp. At the labour exchanges those who have been to the camps are given first chance of all vacancies.

I enjoyed camp life. But strict discipline and a fairly hard life does not appeal to everyone, and there is always a number of misfits. But that would happen anywhere, and trouble makers are dealt with in summary fashion.

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In my camp near Schleswig 200 of us rose at 5 A.M. and put on our canvas suits. After a run round the wooden sleeping huts and a cold shower we had breakfast—a piece of black bread, marmalade and coffee. We then marched to work behind the Labour Service flag, singing Nazi songs. Work started at six. In a field half a mile from the camp we were divided into three work squads. Skilled men were to help to build a workshop, and the others were detailed off for shed building and road construction.

Work was not too hard, and there were opportunities of slacking. But few took them, for the lance-corporals in charge of each section of four men would have been "let down". At ten o'clock there was a half-hour break for a snack. Work ended at noon, and we formed up to march back to camp. After the midday meal—cabbage soup, rye bread, potatoes, meat, cabbage, and rice pudding usually—we were free until four, unless on the list for wash-up duty.

At four the sheds were washed down and tables and forms scrubbed. At five the day's sport began—scratch football and handball sides being organized. Some of those not playing were paraded for bathing. The evening meal was at 6-45—plain but wholesome—and at 7-15 there was a lecture on Nazi ideas. With questions, this lasted until 9. Every man had to stand at his bedside at 9-45, and lights out was blown at 10. A few of us went out afterwards, but we were exceptions. Had the others had more money, however, things might have been different. Pay was only 3*d.* a day, 4*d.* for the lance-corporals. The commandant, an ex-officer, got about £2.10*s.* a week.

Some days we did military platoon and company drill in the afternoons, and generally speaking the atmosphere was that of an army camp. I do not see how these camps could be run in any other way, as a matter of fact. The men were fit and cheerful, and there could be no doubt that the six months' course greatly improved their physical condition and mental alertness. The students going to the university mixed very well with the sons of the workers and peasants, and ex-Communists often became firm friends of fanatical Nazis.

On Sundays the routine was changed, and there was a half-day holiday. When a party district leader came to inspect

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the camp the canvas suits were folded away, and as the officials stepped out of their big car, to the accompaniment of many heel clickings and salutes, they saw the squads in khaki uniform, all ready for inspection.

The Nazi salute and the greeting "Heil Hitler" were compulsory in the camp, and pictures of the leader and Swastika flags were seen everywhere. Army matters were often discussed, for several men were starting their military service after leaving the camp. The commandant was able and efficient, and well-liked, which was fortunate, for a great deal depended upon his personality. The ex-army type is proving the best for this work, I found, as one might expect. Chief grumbles among the men were about the lack of cigarettes, beer, and cinemas.

Not all camps are the same, of course, and others I visited showed big differences in atmosphere. Thus in one near Barmen-Wuppertal the men were not so cheerful, and did not seem in good condition for their heavy pick and shovel work. Food and lodging are, of course, free in all camps, but vary a good deal in quality. Only the khaki uniform, canvas suit, and tools supplied to entrants are of regulation pattern.

Most of the young fellows look forward to getting work soon after leaving camp, and as the students were going straight away to college, the general feeling was one of hopefulness. The women's labour camps now being organized everywhere will be run on similar lines, but the work will, of course, consist of cooking and domestic science training and farm work. Camps restricted to Jews are now being opened, but these are for the special purpose of training emigrants to Palestine.

There is no doubt in my mind that the labour camps scheme is often misunderstood abroad. That thousands of young men are rescued from demoralization is certain. The militaristic and one-sided political nature of the camps is another matter. The obvious improvement wrought by a term in the camp in young people has made a big difference to the attitude of the womenfolk towards the idea. When a mother sees her son coming back bronzed and fit and optimistic about the future she is half-converted to support of the regime.

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The older and married men cannot go to the camps, and for those who have been out of work for a long time the Goering Plan has been started. This is run by the municipalities on the lines of our relief work schemes. Men are employed for 26 weeks on such jobs as the construction of the new motor roads, and are then eligible for 26 weeks insurance benefit.

Many of the unemployed do not get enough benefit to pay their rent and buy sufficient food. They are assisted by the Winter Help scheme. This worked out in a street where I lodged in Neukölln, a working class district in Berlin in the following way. In every house there was a trustee—an official of the Winter Help, who collected contributions—ten per cent. of the amount of income-tax paid by workers, and the Sunday dinner allowance. On one Sunday a month no family may spend more than six pence for the dinner, and the difference between six pence and the normal sum is handed over to the Winter Help. Then at regular intervals each worker gives a pound packet of food to the trustee. The packet may contain anything in the food line—sugar, salt, flour, or beans, anything will do. Twice a month Winter Help badges were sold in the streets, and prominent party officials shook collection boxes in the faces of pedestrians.

Anybody in need applied to the house trustee, who took particulars of the case to the district office. A card was then issued, and the distribution lists, regularly posted up on the house notice board by the trustee, were watched. Distribution is organized alphabetically, all people with names beginning with letters A-G attending for flour on a Monday morning, and so on. The distributions were normally of potatoes, sugar, and flour. Spare cards are given to the trustees for distribution to suitable people. Such things as fish and coal are often issued by the retailers, who receive a small fee—say a penny for a pound of cod—for their trouble—from the applicant. Old clothes are also collected by the trustees, and these are distributed at the district headquarters. Sometimes people who are working are given grants. Thus a landlady who was having difficulty in making ends meet was given eight fish tickets by the house official. With these she was able to get 8 lbs. of fish for a few coppers.

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The government has given a pledge to the country that no one shall starve in winter, and will probably carry this out, for the Winter Help organization has now a network of cells stretching from the Bavarian Alps to East Prussia. The greatest success of this scheme has been the bringing into active participation in unemployment work of millions of employed people. The unemployed man is not so conscious of the inevitable gulf between himself and the man with a job when he sees collective and individual effort to help being made. He is no longer a forgotten member of the community. Then there is a great psychological difference between receiving a slip of paper from a government official and receiving a packet of food that has been made up by workers. It is also, I think, right that the problem of unemployment should be brought home to everyone who is working. There are still so many people who think that the unemployed could find work if they really tried. If they were forced to make *individual* contributions to help their unfortunate fellows they would understand to-day's problems better than they do by viewing unemployment chiefly as an item of taxation.

When I mention this Winter Help system, which spreads itself over eight months of the year, I should say a word about the remarkable efficiency of its organization. Considering the short time that it has been operating, this is worthy of high praise, and is another example of the Teutonic talent for detailed work.

In Berlin some of the Nazi leaders I met told me of the sweeping reductions they have been made in the numbers of unemployed, and I tried to check up on their claims. Thousands of women have been driven out of industry and the professions by the policy of the government, and they are not having an easy time. Most of them are being supported by their families. A few have found alternative work. Former women lawyers have been compelled to look for work as waitresses in some cases. I cannot say I found much sympathy for them. There is a continual drive to make work, and pressure is put on employers to absorb extra men wherever possible. This, with the war preparations and the labour camps, has accounted for the big drop in unemployment since January 1933. Unemployment among the Jewish population is rising rapidly although the effects are eased by their well-known

Among the Workers in Germany To-day

freemasonry, while a special Winter Help scheme for Jews, controlled by Jewish officials but under the wing of the national body, is now functioning.

One of the chief faults of the German system is that whole classes of workless people are disregarded by the new schemes. Everyone is covered by the Winter Help, but the new work plans do not cater for the older men or the young fellows with families. Appeals made to the young unmarried men in the factories to give up their jobs to make room for family men met with a better response than might be expected, but only touched the fringe of the problem.

Nevertheless, with all their faults, the new plans are definitely practical, and while it is true that wages have fallen this is not such an evil as the spectacle of many millions of idle men and women. I am not an apologist for Nazi Germany, but I am glad that the new regime has rejected what I call dole politics, which might have demoralized the nation's youth.

THIS INDIA I—(Contd.)

Sir Henry Craik during the Assembly discussions said that, in addition to books from the lists submitted by the prisoners, *at their own cost*, 20 books from the lists submitted by the prisoners were purchased from Government funds during the last financial year. Six of these books had been made over to the prisoners and the remainder are expected shortly from the booksellers. The amount allotted by the Government of Bengal for the purchase of books during the current year is not known. The grant made last year was *Rs. 100*—Quoted from *Indian Library Journal*.

(It is also "not known" how many penniless political prisoners and detenus there are in Bengal to benefit by this munificent *Rs. 100 per annum*.—*Ed.*)

* * * *

"With the inauguration of provincial autonomy barely seven months distant, it can no longer be contended that Britain is not serious in her declared intention of giving India self-government," says the *Daily Telegraph* in a leading article on progress in India.

(Was there any doubt about even *that* miserable quota being given to India?)

* * * *

A Member of the Legislative Assembly has tabled a resolution for the next session that, to inaugurate the new reforms, the Indian flag shall be declared to be the national tri-colour (orange, white and green) with the Union Jack in one corner.

(We suggest that an even more piquant paradox might be afforded by printing a charkha on top of the Union Jack. And what about using "gur" to stick it on the pole?)

THE CASTE-SYSTEM

[By M.S. RANDHAWA, I.C.S.]

WHILE dealing with the subject of the caste-system we must make it clear in the beginning that we are not concerned with the various theories which have been propounded from time to time to explain its origin. May be the origin of caste-system in India is due to racial, or economic causes, or possibly both. What is more important is the functioning of the system in the present and its effects upon the population of India.

The Caste-system and the Depressed Classes

The caste-system has been described as a vast engine of oppression which human ingenuity has invented for its own undoing. From the point of view of the so-called untouchables and depressed castes this is undoubtedly true. The term *Achoot* comprises a heterogeneous conglomeration of sixty million people belonging to different castes engaged in scavenging, tanning of hides, and working as hired labourers in the fields. These so-called depressed classes include individuals from various racial groups. However, the common bond which holds them together is that of misfortune. If there are human beings on the surface of the earth who are denied the ordinary rights of a human being, these are the untouchables of India.

Disabilities of the Depressed Classes

Their disabilities are numerous and increase in number as we go from the north of the country to the south. Usually their little colonies are separated from the rest of the village by a reasonable distance. In their little cantonments the untouchables carry on their work of tanning hides, making shoes, and weaving cloths. In the present stage this segregation may be justified by the unpleasant nature of their occupations, especially that of dealing with the hides of dead animals, but in the case of weavers and others it is more due to caste arrogance than anything else. The depressed classes cannot draw water from the same well as

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the higher caste people, and if they happen to touch the person or food of a higher caste man it is supposed to have become polluted. In South India pollution can result from the very shadow of an untouchable and they are debarred even from using certain roads. They cannot enter the temples of the higher caste people. Economically they are always at the mercy of the land-owning classes and if they show any signs of relaxation of allegiance to them they can make their living very difficult. They can stop them from cutting grass from the village common and field boundaries, and in extreme cases they can stop them from even answering the call of nature in their fields. The site on which they build their houses belong to the higher caste land-owners and the depressed classes cannot sell or dispose off their houses in any way. For their living they depend upon the cultivating land-owning classes, for they give them employment during the sowing, hoeing and harvesting seasons, when there is great pressure of work. Every little land-owner tyrannizes over them and their life is worse than that of even Negro Slaves who at least had one master to look after them in sickness, while the too many masters of our village Chamars do not feel any responsibility about their health and comfort.

Some Remedies

The major remedies of their disabilities lie in the hands of the depressed classes themselves. When they will realize their rights and begin to assert them, the orthodox castes after a futile resistance, will have to capitulate. However under the present conditions the depressed classes are in a very helpless condition and if the State modifies the existing laws affecting the depressed classes, it will go a long way in rehabilitating the sense of self-respect which the depressed classes have entirely lost. In the Punjab the rigour of the Land Alienation Act ought to be relaxed in favour of the depressed classes and they should be allowed to acquire landed property like the agriculturist tribes. Further an Act should be passed by the Central Legislature conferring full rights of ownership over their houses and abadi sites, on those members of the depressed classes, who have been continuously occupying them for 10 years. The depressed classes should also be represented in the offices of the State in proportion to their numerical strength. These measures will give a comparatively

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greater economic independence to the Achoot castes, and their disabilities will also decrease to a considerable extent. We must also make a passing reference to the so called religious disabilities from which the depressed classes suffer. The orthodox Hindus deny the rights of entry and worship in their temples to the Harijans. But why should the Harijans worry about what a brilliant countryman of ours described as "touching the blooming toes of a badly carved stone." Let them leave this glory to the orthodox Brahmins of South India. Another grievance of the Achoots is that they are not allowed to wear the so-called "sacred thread". The only conceivable utility of the dirty cotton threads which some members of the so-called "Twice Born Classes" wear, lies in their use for tying keys. The members of the depressed classes who grumble about this, seem to forget that modern hardware factories produce key rings and chains in millions, and they will be none the worse for being not allowed to wear cotton threads on their persons.

Caste and Ability

By ability we mean mental as well as physical efficiency. It is often imagined by some members of the higher castes that mentally and physically they are superior to the individuals of the lower castes. When knowledge and the study of books was the monopoly of Brahmins alone, they also pretended to be the sole intelligent section of the population of India, and from their point of view, the rest of the people were dunces or idiots. The Rajputs, who were supposed to represent the Kashatri caste, had exaggerated notions of their strength and prowess, and they thought all other people to be funks and cowards. Is ability really a preserve of any caste or community? This is what we have to consider.

The monopolization of learning and pursuit of knowledge by the priestly Brahman class, led to intellectual stagnation of India. The cause of the cultural decay of China, which developed a high level of culture and civilization about 3,000 years ago, is similar. In that country learning was confined to a selected class of people called the Mandarins, and it did not seep down among the masses. But the case of India was much worse: our Mandarin class the Brahmins, became a hereditary class. To be a Brahman one

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must be born a Brahman, and no amount of learning could entitle a member of the lower castes to become a Brahman. Knowledge and learning became confined to a hereditary class, according to whom the authority of the Vedas and Shastras was unchallengeable. By sacrificing the spirit of enquiry and criticism before the goddess of Authority, the intellectual fetters were forged, which stunted the growth of scientific research in India. After a brief spell of activity resulting in the works of Sushruta and others, a Dark Age began in the history of India, which continued right upto the middle of the nineteenth century.

Time has proved that ability is not the special preserve of any particular caste or community and least of all of the members of the caste, who take pride in growing ugly tufts of hairs on the tops of their heads, and wearing dirty cotton threads. Even when caste tyranny was at its worst the so-called Ahoor castes produced mystics like Kabir, Ram Das and Nam Dev, and writers like Valmiki. For development of one's individuality, both physically and mentally, a person requires certain optimum environmental condition. One must have a reasonably clean and comfortable house, a healthy diet, and a certain amount of leisure. India is a very poor country and her poorest inhabitants are the members of the Depressed Classes. When the Depressed Classes enjoy the same economic facilities as most of the Higher Caste people do, they will spontaneously raise their level of personal behaviour. Even now, whenever some members of the lower castes have escaped from their cramping circumstances, they have proved themselves to be in no way inferior to the so-called higher castes. Some Mazhabi Sikhs who have been granted squares of land in Montgomery and Lyallpore districts of the Punjab by the Local Government, are one of the finest specimens of humanity. Modern conditions are slowly extending equal opportunity to all castes and when the sieve of Universal Mass Education will begin sifting, we will see that the so-called Ahoor castes will not lag behind others in producing men of ability. An enormous reserve of unexploited mental energy will be available for India, and we will witness an intellectual revolution in our country, vaster in its sweep and magnitude than the Renaissance of Europe.

On the physical side we have seen the experiment of

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Sikhism tried by Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh in the Punjab. Guru Govind Singh organized the lowly, the Choohras, Chamars and Jats, by making them adopt certain distinctive symbols denoting that they have outgrown Brahmanism. He selected his "Five chosen ones": from both the lower and the higher castes. However it was with the might of the Choohras and Jats which had been lying dormant for centuries, that he was able to defy the Imperial Moghul armies. Under Ranjit Singh the Khalsa turned the tide of invasion from South-West to North-West. The success of the Khalsa was mainly due to their repudiation of caste-system. On the other hand, the Hindu armies when pitted against the Moslem invaders always lost for they were composed of blatant Rajputs who were intoxicated with caste pride.

Untouchability

Untouchability with its more extreme forms of unshadowability and unsightability is a reaction of orthodox Hinduism against foreigners and aboriginal inhabitants of India. It is not only the depressed classes who are the object of this abominable form of showing contempt which the Brahmans developed but Moslems, Indian Christians and Europeans, all are untouchables and unclean creatures for an orthodox Hindu. Even now it is quite a common practice with some of the old Hindu gentlemen to wash hands after a handshake with a European officer. Untouchability is an extreme manifestation of racial and religious hatred, which could develop only in a caste-ridden and Brahman-ridden country like India. However, the days of this evil practice are numbered, religious and reformistic movements in Hinduism, modern education and modern industrial conditions in India have all tended to destroy the superstition of untouchability. It is more persistent in the orthodox South, but even there its rigours have been considerably relaxed.

Modern Industrialism and the Dissolution of the Caste-System

Modern industrial and economic conditions are incompatible with a social system which was perfected in view of a different system of production in the Vedic times, and consequently we are witnessing the breakdown of the caste-system in various

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directions. The caste-system was evolved to solve the problem of the division of labour in the Vedic times. When however the system began the problems of untouchability and pollution did not exist; these are later excrescences. The machine has already shattered the ancient division of labour which converts men into shoe-makers, farmers, potters, weavers and carpenters. The new generation with the coming of industrialization will gain acquaintance with industry as a whole, and they will be able to pass from one branch of industry to another according to the needs of society or their inclinations. Such a state of society is incompatible with the existence of a rigid caste-system compartmentalizing people into various castes. The cultivating castes will be engaged in shoe-making, weaving and mechanical industries, and will cease to feel arrogant when they will have to work side by side with Chamars, Tarkhans and Julahas. Instead of Julahas, Lohars, Tarkhans and Chamars, we will see the emergence of a working class, conscious of its solidarity and interests, like their brethren in the industrial countries of the West. At present there is no class-conscious working class in India, instead we see a migratory rural population coming to the factories of the towns for occasional employment during the slack season in agriculture and drifting back to their villages after their brief stay in the towns. The machine has barely touched the problem of caste so far, and when it comes into full action the caste-system will dissolve automatically. In machine and industrialization lies the economic as well as the social salvation of India. The machine will not only increase the wealth and production of the country, but also break the barriers of caste, and bring relief to millions of victims of caste tyranny. The importance and significance of industrialization in relation to caste has not been realized by the masses of India as yet. They still think of their social relationships in the terms of an economic environment which is on the verge of disappearance.

Even now we see that railway travel has caused the staunch believers in touchability to relax their attitude and they feel no compunction in drinking water from a public water-pump knowing full well that a Chamar might have been taking water from it a few minutes before them. On long journeys they also

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must take their meals and they have to eat even if the man sitting next to them is a Chamar.

Caste-system is not so much grounded on religion as on the system of production existing in India. If it were a purely religious affair of the Hindus, it might have remained confined to Hindu society alone, but on the other hand it has also penetrated into the democratic religions of Islam and Christianity. Ask a poor Mohammedan Rajput to marry his daughter to the rich son of a Julaha (weaver caste) Far from agreeing to the proposal he will feel very much insulted. Even among the Indian Christians the converts from Brahman castes seldom intermarry with converts from the lower castes. This shows what a hold caste has on Indian society as a whole irrespective of religion. When the system of production will change from old-fashioned peasant cultivation to mechanized industrial one the caste-system will also begin to disappear. Take for instance, the effects which the introduction of flush system and other modern sanitary improvements will have on the sweeper castes like Choohras and Chamars. We will no longer require human beings, who may be by caste are unfortunate enough to belong to Choohra and Chamar castes to handle human excreta, and they will be absorbed in the economic system, doing work fit for human beings. When they cease to handle filth, other people will have no reason to despise them and keep away from them, as if they were lepers.

Wanted a National Type in India

Caste-system has hindered the development of a national type in India. One can at once tell a German from a Frenchman, or an Englishman, as they have certain distinctive features, which give them an individuality. But we cannot find persons in India whom we can call typically Indian. Caste marriages are to be chiefly blamed for this. A Khatri must marry among the Khatri, a Jat among the Jats, and a Bania among Banias. Hence we have caste types in India, and no national type. The caste forms a circle of inbreeding, with deleterious effects upon the progeny. One can easily distinguish a Jat from a Bania, for while the former is more virile, simple and frank, the latter is physically weak, astute and commercially minded. On the whole our nation

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will become more virile and physically stronger, if we break the barriers of caste, and encourage inter-caste marriages, and at the same time we will get a national type in India, which we so sadly lack at present.

The Caste-System and the Future

The time is not very far away, when the caste-system will follow the pathway of Suttee, and other evil practices to the doom of destruction. With the spread of modern education, rise of religious and social reformistic movements like Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj in Hinduism, the spread of the levelling sentiment of nationalism, and the coming of modern industrialism, the doom of the caste system will be sealed. Most of the thinking educated people feel that the caste-system is a nuisance which must be ended, and the only thing which we have to see is as to how soon will it be ended.

SCIENCE AND THE NEW HUMANISM—I

[BY LANCELOT HOGBEN]

I—The Methods of the Social Sciences

TWO beliefs have guided the efforts of those who have built up the Movement for Adult Education among the working classes. One is that the exercise of the human reason is the indispensable condition of social progress and the maintenance of social welfare. The other is that no society is safe in the hands of a few clever people, without intelligent co-operation and understanding from the average man and woman. Both beliefs are going out of fashion, especially among the rising generation. Fascism has replaced respect for reason and confidence in education by the cult of virile sentiment and unquestioning obedience to the leader. Communist tactics have exalted insurrectionary violence and submission to a united ideological front, which derives its inspiration from the ponderous verbosity of the Prussian mystic Hegel. The adolescent of to-day is increasingly attracted to one of these extremes. Both are predominantly Youth movements. They may, therefore, be the Middle Age Movements of to-morrow. Before we lay the blame on youth as such, those of us who have now reached or passed the age of forty ought to face our own share of responsibility for a cultural crisis in which Reason is everywhere in Retreat.

A specific characteristic of the civilization in which we are living is the extent of its dependence on the application of natural science. The potential of social welfare is vastly greater than it has ever been. The potential of sheer destruction is also vastly greater than it has ever been. If greater poverty has existed in the past, there has never been a greater discrepancy between the poverty which exists and the plenty which lies within our reach. If there have always been wars and rumours of wars, there has never been the possibility of such material havoc and cultural

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disintegration. This being so, there has never been a greater need for intelligent understanding of the social forces which are deciding the fate of western civilization, and the younger generation have every reason to feel that the task of social reconstruction has a peculiar urgency. If the plea for intelligent understanding falls on deaf ears, the reason is not far to seek. The educational system of western civilization grew with no prescience of the gargantuan resources which natural science would place at our disposal for better or worse. Judged by the demands which modern social organization makes upon their knowledge, the most expensive products of this system are uneducated men. Consequently the expensively uneducated classes from which Capital and Labour alike attract their intellectual leaders and administrators are increasingly at the mercy of technical experts, whose own training involves no recognition of their social responsibilities.

At first sight there is therefore much to justify the feeling that education is a fraud, and that any solution of present difficulties must be left to leaders with supposedly exceptional gifts. For the Retreat from Reason is the penalty we are paying for an inherent dualism in educational policy. The training of the statesman and the man of letters gives him no prescience of the technical forces which are shaping the society in which he lives. The education of the scientist and the technician leaves him indifferent to the social consequences of his own activities. It is nobody's business to take stock of the resources of knowledge now available for social betterment, and the rising generation cannot hope for intelligent leadership from their elders. If we are to arrest the Retreat from Reason, we have to devise an education which is not a fraud, an education which will give us representatives who can co-operate intelligently with technical experts in constructive social enterprise, and teach us how to choose them. There is little hope that such a change will come first through the schools and universities. A unique responsibility and opportunity now faces the Adult Education Movement. If it faces it courageously there is still ground for hope that our own country will emerge from its present dreary paralysis of constructive social effort and avoid the calamities into which Germany and Italy have plunged.

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Modern medicine relies increasingly on the recuperative powers of the body, when scientific knowledge can assure early diagnosis. No doubt the political body also has recuperative powers, and we may begin our task by examining what is wrong with the present methods and content of the social sciences. There is no need to waste time flogging the dead horse of classical humanism. Few sensible people believe that the contents of a lexicon exhaust the requirements of intelligent statesmanship in the age of electricity. The root of our present troubles is that what has replaced classical scholarship is no better, but on the whole, decidedly worse. During the past five years, the unique position which I occupy as an experimental scientist among persons devoted to the newer humanistic studies has given me special opportunities of comparing the outlook of the scientist with that of the humanist. I shall start this series of articles by examining differences of method which have impressed and surprised me most, referring to three of them respectively as the Idol of Logic, the Idol of Purity and the Idol of Caution.

The challenge which Copernicus and his disciples issued to the self-evident principle of the sun's diurnal motion marks the beginning of modern science. Two years after Kepler published his *De Motibus Stellae Martis*, and in the year of Galileo's observations of the moons of Jupiter, Voltaire tells us that the Parliament of Paris passed a law to make chemists conform to the teaching of Aristotle under pain of death and confiscation of goods. When chemistry extricated itself from the self-evident principle that air is weightless, the brilliant lead of Hooke and the English atomists was frustrated for a century by the self-evident principle that combustible bodies contain levity or *phlogiston*. In their turn each of the natural sciences has had to learn the same lesson which Bacon stated in immortal phraseology: "It cannot be that axioms established by argumentation can suffice for the discovery of new works, since the subtlety of nature is greater many times over than the subtlety of argument." Science occupies its present position of prestige and power, because it has learned the hard lesson that logic which may be a good servant is always a bad master. How far the new humanistic studies have renounced the idolatry of mere logic is sufficiently illustrated by quotation (p. 72 *et seq.*) from a work ostensibly composed to divulge "The

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Nature and Significance of Economic Science " :

"It will be convenient, therefore, at the outset of our investigation," says Professor Robbins, "if, instead of attempting to derive the nature of economic generalizations from the pure categories of our subject-matter, we commence by examining a typical specimen. It is a well-known generalization of elementary Price Theory that, in a free market, intervention by some outside body to fix a price below the market price will lead to an excess of demand over supply. . . . Upon what foundations does it rest ? . . . It should not be necessary to spend much time showing that it cannot rest on any appeal to History. . . . It is equally clear that our belief does not rest upon the results of controlled experiment. . . . In the last analysis, therefore, our proposition rests upon deductions which are implicit in our initial definition of the subject-matter of Economic Science."

That this is not an isolated passage wrested from its context, a further quotation (p. 106) shows :

"The truth of a particular theory is a matter of logical derivation from the general assumptions of the subject. But its applicability to a given situation depends upon the extent to which its concept actually reflects the forces operating in a situation."

A scientist can only conclude from this that economics, as studied in our universities, provides the same kind of intellectual relief as chess, in which success depends entirely on knowing the initial definitions of the moves and processes of checking, castling, ect. In science the final arbiter is not the self evidence of the initial statement, nor the façade of flawless logic which conceals it. A scientific law embodies a recipe for doing something, and its final validation rests in the domain of action.

We should be justified in treating astronomers with the same suspicion as politicians, if the credentials of astronomy had no firmer basis than extrapolations on the age of the universe. Our confidence in astronomy is justified by the fact that it provides the farmer with a calendar of the seasons, the fisherman with a table of tides, the statesman with a map, the White Star line with the

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means of navigating a ship into port, and the Minister of Transport with fines from motorists who fail to light up after civil twilight ends. The only valid distinction between pure and applied research in natural science lies between enquiries concerned with issues which *may eventually*, and issues which *already do* arise in the social practice of mankind. Consequently the pure scientist knows that he has everything to gain from encouragement of applied research. If the last survivors of Darwin's generation still murmur doubts about Mendelism, the experimental geneticist goes on his way serenely confident that the Feathered World will continue to advertise day-old sex-linked chicks, or that Rabbit furriers now know how to make pure lilac from blue beverenchocolate Havana crosses, and how to fix Rex on any colour pattern in two generations. Truly, as Bacon put it "the roads to human power and to human knowledge lie close together, and are nearly the same, nevertheless on account of the pernicious and inveterate habit of dwelling on abstractions, it is safer to begin and raise the sciences from those foundations which have relation to practice and let the active part be as the seal which prints and determines the contemplative counter-part."

We might have hoped that the substantial scholarship of the Webbs would have produced the same healthy attitude in social research. The plain truth is that the academic value of social research in our universities is largely rated on a futility scale. A social enquiry which leads to the conclusion that something has to be done or might conceivably be done, is said to be "tendencious". The soporific reverence with which this refrain is chanted in daily hymns to the Idol of Purity is reminiscent of *selah* in the Psalter. Nobody bothers about what it means. If natural scientists prohibited all investigations, when the research worker was suspected of wanting to get a particular result, science would come to a standstill. What distinguishes the scientific attitude from its opposite is not the absence of intention to get a particular result, but willingness to recognize when it cannot be obtained by one method and to try out other methods instead. The exaltation of "pure" thought which bears no fruit in action exacts its own penalty in the growing disposition to regard reason and progress as exploded liberal superstitions. The younger generation have found us out. Their pitiable predilection for

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action without thought is the legitimate offspring of thought divorced from action.

The Idol of Purity demands other sacrifices. In natural science the greatest advances often occur in the region where two traditional disciplines overlap. No chemist is now anxious to tell you that what he is doing is too pure to have any connection with physics. It is therefore difficult for a mere scientist to understand why Professor Robbins is so anxious to convince us that Austrian economics, which (if a science) is presumably concerned with aspects of human behaviour, has nothing to do with psychology, which (if a science) is also concerned with characteristics of human behaviour. The urgency with which he defends the purity of his subject from contamination with empirical studies is perhaps explained by his pre-Baconian conviction (p. 132) that "the relation of pork to human impulses is verifiable by introspection." Genuine scientific knowledge of the biological basis of human nature, and the search for the laws which condition social habits and social preferences are perforce dismissed with the assertion that in choosing between alternative systems of society "only a complete awareness of the implications of modern economic analysis can confer the capacity to judge rationally" (p. 139). If economists displayed a more becoming modesty towards their own intellectual limitations, it would be harsh to add that a rational judgment on the choice of social organization would demand considerably more knowledge of electricity, biochemistry and genetics than economists commonly possess.

The third person of the trinity, named earlier, proceeds from the second. If some departments of contemporary social study are dominated by a prescientific and exaggerated assurance in the use of logic, others are cramped by the belief that excessive caution is the hall mark of science. It is true that real science is sceptical in the sense that it is always ready to modify its interpretations in the light of new experience. It is equally true that science has no affinity, with the sort of scepticism which labels all the volumes of a bookstall "*soiled copy sixpence*". In the humanistic studies it is still easy to enjoy a solid reputation by refuting the theories of predecessors without adding any new materials to the fund of knowledge, or offering new and more

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comprehensive generalizations as a basis for further enquiry. With its roots in the soil of action natural science has nothing to fear from daring generalizations. Their initial assumptions are not justified because they are self evident, but because the conclusions to which they lead can be tested in the real world. The special province of the Idol of Caution is to protect its worshippers against dangerous thoughts. Chemists want to make new compounds and discover new elements. If those who pursue the social sciences really wanted to make new institutions and discover new modes of social living, the social sciences might advance with equal rapidity

For this reason bold generalizations such as the Marxist doctrine should not be shunned by the research worker in the social sciences. The dangers of such doctrines do not lie in their boldness. They arise from failure to recognize that a scientific hypothesis must live dangerously. A scientific hypothesis cannot be proved to be right unless it can also be proved to be wrong. Disciples of Marx are rarely willing to pay him the compliment of putting his teaching to this test. When theory prescribes a course of action which results in failure they are too prone to fall back on the theological excuse that the theory was not interpreted correctly. A theory which can be interpreted in two different ways is not one theory but two. Much may be said for putting Marx on the same pedestal as Darwin, if we are prepared to recognize that Marx like Darwin knew in part and prophesied in part, or that circumstances may arise when it is more important to draw attention to his mistakes than to dwell on his merits. In the articles which follow I shall not attempt to be cautious. Next year I may think that ninety-nine per cent. of my admittedly speculative reflections are wrong. If they stimulate other people to discover exactly why they are wrong, they will not be useless on that account.

II.—The Impact of Scientific Knowledge on Social Organization

IN the course of his writings Professor Laski has emphasized that the relation of the administrator to the expert has now become one of the fundamental problems of representative government. In the preceding article I suggested one reason why an elected representative must be entirely at the mercy of

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the technical expert, unless we proceed with a radical reorientation of our programme of humanistic studies. It will help us to envisage our task more clearly, if we next examine some aspects of the impact of scientific technique on social organization. Three topics which raise issues of fundamental importance are the effect of advancing scientific knowledge on the distribution of social personnel, on the distribution of material resources and on the character of social relationships.

The left political parties which have succumbed to the rise of Fascist dictatorships in Europe during the past two decades have been strongly influenced by a body of social theory which is ostensibly rejected by the English Labour Party. In broad outline the Marxist forecast may be summarized in three theses. The first was that the owner-manager of capitalism in its earlier stage of development was destined to give place to a parasitic class of rentier, so that, in its final phase, private enterprise would resign its historic rôle as an incentive to technical progress. The second was that the active and creative social personnel would become more and more depressed and discontented, so that, being at length driven to revolt, they would eventually gain ascendancy by sheer force of numbers. The third was that capitalism would increasingly assume the character of a world-wide system, against which the depressed classes could only struggle effectively, if organized as an international movement. As regards the first of these, history has abundantly justified the shrewdness of the Marxian analysis. When Sir Josiah Stamp appeals for a moratorium on scientific inventions, when the *Daily Herald* puts the blame for unemployment on scientists, and Major Elliott subsidizes British farmers to persist in Neolithic practices, it is sufficiently clear that capitalism is ceasing to function as a creative force. If Marx had been given due credit for the fertility of his emphasis on technological factors in social change there would be less temptation to overlook the fact that he was profoundly mistaken about the second and third issues stated above. The collapse of the socialist movement in Central Europe may be largely the penalty for these mistakes.

There are, of course, many other reasons for the strong appeal which the Marxist doctrine exerts. Under the influence of

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Marxist teaching Russia has embarked on a programme of vast constructive enterprise, and it is easy to forget that the Bolsheviks seized power in a country where social organization and technical development had not advanced in most respects beyond the stage which England had reached when Marx was at work in the British Museum. Marx wrote before universal education and the popular press, before communications had been revolutionized by wireless transmission, before ameliorative factory legislation and social services had developed extensively, before trade unions had acquired a semi-official status and before chemistry and aviation had put new weapons at the disposal of a ruthlessly determined reaction. Since then education and propaganda have greatly increased the potential of discouragement. Reverses which could be, and were, repeated in one locality after another in the age of peasant revolts can only happen once. The ears of government are much closer to the ground. The resources of government propaganda are vastly more efficient and man power has almost ceased to count as an instrument for suppressing disaffection. For all these reasons the Marxist doctrine has been generally rejected by experienced spokesmen of Labour; but if British Labour has been slow to assimilate much which is fertile in the teaching of Marx, it has not been behind continental socialism in emulating the two cardinal mistakes which Marx made. It has shown no disposition to recognize the professionalization of the proletariat or the meaning of the recrudescence of nationalism in the present phase of capitalist development.

Increasing demand for technical knowledge in the newer capitalist industries side by side with the disappearance of the old captain owner of industry produced results of which the authors of the Communist Manifesto did not foresee. The poet, the lawyer, and the physician were to become more and more the "hired wage slaves of the bourgeoisie," and as such to sink more and more into the rank of the landless proletariat. Up-to-date, what has actually happened is that an increasingly parasitic form of social organization has become more and more dependent on the goodwill and contentment of highly trained officers recruited from continually widening sources of social personnel; and this process has been accompanied by a notable elevation in the social prestige of occupations, such as nursing and school teaching, which

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fill a very humble niche in the novels of Dickens' period. The magnitude of this change far exceeds the bounds of the relatively small and heterogeneous assemblage called the professional class. Our polytechnics in this country train between ten and twenty times as many students as our universities, mostly in courses for diploma qualifications. Collectively the total number of entries for examinations like those of the Institute of Chemical Resins or of Rubber Technology far exceeds the output of university graduates in chemistry. Our young Oxford socialists do not yet realize that the universities are not the training ground for the bulk of the new social class which may be called for convenience the salariat. In industries which use the newest fruits of scientific technique, such as electrical communications, the demand for special training is becoming almost co-extensive with the entire body of employees, and the unskilled worker of the landless proletariat gives place to a new type with aspirations to the hire purchase of a suburban villa, scarcely distinguishable from the man who calls his wage a salary. The official Marxist gloss that this development is an epiphenomenon of imperialism is not supported by a comparison between Britain and the United States.

In replacing a large volume of unskilled labour by purely mechanical contrivances, the impact of science on the character of the social personnel has created a host of new problems. As my friend, Mr J L Gray, has pointed out, one may well wonder whether the present machinery of democratic representation can hope to attract gifted candidates who can choose from among so many other more secure openings for creative and intellectually satisfying work. What does seem fairly clear is that a bread and butter propaganda is no longer a sufficient instrument for advancing a programme of socialist reconstruction. In Britain, where capitalism has reached a high level of technical development, no party can hope to rise to power by an appeal to the depressed section of the proletariat alone. In Britain, where the consumer's co-operative movement is powerful no party which accepts the support of it can hope to win over the small independent tradesman. The salaried classes thus occupy a central position of strategical importance. If a party of socialist reconstruction could command their allegiance, it would have the backbone of the

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country behind it.*

Does such a party exist? Before we answer this, two conclusions can be drawn. First, it is fairly certain that our own salaried classes, like those of Germany, will rally to the support of any dictatorship which will promise them breathing space, if they are first convinced that a rationally planned economy can only be achieved by civil war after ten or twenty years' famine and internal upheaval. A social psychology is pre-Shakespearean, if it overlooks the fact that people rather bear the ills they have than fly to others which they know not of. Furthermore the class war doctrine is losing its psychological force as an instrument of working-class propaganda for any but the permanently unemployed. Hitler declares that he has ended class war by destroying Marxism. While it is evident that his regime has done nothing to advance the material welfare of German masses, it would be a mistake to miss the psychological appeal which his claims exert. To understand it, we have to reckon with the fact that the modern postman prefers the plain truth that he is not very different from a badly paid works chemist or university lecturer to the plain lie that he has any resemblance to the letterless landless proletarian of the Marxist mythus. Perhaps the appeal of the latter to intellectuals is strong because it combines a sentiment of radicalism with the preservation of their social prestige. It is clear, therefore, that a successful party of socialist reconstruction could not pursue the tactics which the affiliated bodies of the Comintern have adopted in the past. It is equally clear that the salaried classes are not likely to be enthusiastic about nationalizing the more backward industries, which are being made bankrupt by the emergence of new technical resources which private ownership has failed to use. This consideration does not suggest a hopeful outlook for the Labour Party, unless it makes drastic changes in its programme; deliberately seeks to co-operate with the technical salariat instead of beautifying its front benches with the old school tie and barrister's wig; and formulates a *policy for*

* We may put the wage-earning population—including agricultural workers—at about 55 per cent. And the salaried class at 20–25 per cent. Together they constitute an over-whelming and irresistible majority. Alone and divided as “technocrats” and “socialists” neither can ever hope to be an effective political majority.

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creating new industries to exploit technical resources which private enterprise has imprisoned in "frozen" patents.

The impact of science on the distribution of material resources does not reveal the present leadership of British Labour in a more favourable light. In the recent crisis the antics of its several spokesmen who vacillated between demanding sanctions which might have plunged us into world war, and appealing for colonial concessions to governments already intoxicated with racial arrogance, were symptomatic of leadership equally devoid of regard for the destructive or constructive possibilities of scientific knowledge in a rationally planned economy of human welfare. War equipped with all the technical amenities which modern science supplies will mean for this country a situation in which man power will be utterly impotent against ruthless use of shock tactics against densely populated communities. Complete ignorance of the destructive possibilities of combined aerial, chemical and bacterial attack on entire communities is the only plausible and charitable explanation of the light-hearted and light-headed way in which proposals, which might lead to a new world war, are disguised as police action. Now that we are face to face with the issue, some of our traditionally educated leaders have just enough imagination to see the possible consequences of their own folly. They still fail to see that a policy which leaves peace-loving peoples a willing prey to imperialist wrangles is also the result of complete ignorance of constructive alternatives which science can still offer, if we have the good luck to extricate ourselves.

The parties to the left of die-hard conservatism are united in a vague conviction that some sort of world state is a desirable goal. Liberal and Socialist politicians reiterate the dogma that economic nationalism means a general lowering of the standard of life. Since we are largely dependent on other countries, this means that in time of crisis imperialism can always reap the benefit of a situation in which sentimental internationalism offers us the alternatives of war and starvation. Both beliefs rest on a ubiquitous, tacit, and all the more dangerous because never explicit, creed that increased material resources placed at our disposal by advancing scientific knowledge make nations more interdependent. It is only necessary to state it in explicit terms to expose its utter

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falsity. Our mediæval wool industry had to import incinerated charcoal from the forests of Eastern Europe as a source of potash. The sixteenth century gunpowder industry relied on the manure dumps of India for nitrates. The entire textile production of the world till the middle of last century depended on natural plant dyes. We can now produce all the alkali we want by electrolysis of brine. The bulk of our nitrates are made by using atmospheric nitrogen. We do not need to burn down forests or keep Chile as a bird sanctuary. We make our vast selection of synthetic dyes by synthesis from disintegration products of coal, and could do so from wood pulp, if we wished. The discovery of the light metals and the inexhaustible and universal stores of aluminium and magnesium have freed from the necessity of fighting for coal and iron, nations which are prepared to free themselves from the vested interests which unite shareholders and trade union officials in perpetuating an effete and wasteful metallurgy. In short, the most significant advances in the application of science to social life during the past two centuries have helped us to find universal substitutes for the endowments which Nature distributes in localized areas.

If we escape a speedy nemesis of sentimental internationalism, there remains only one consistent policy which would rally progressive forces to the task of social reconstruction; and, as our Quaker friends say, take away the occasion for war. If we do not escape it, the only party which can hope to survive will be the one which has striven for the policy which would have made war unnecessary. That policy would be to mobilize the healthy sentiment which modest and fertile people have for their own surroundings and kin in a national constructive effort to socialize all the resources of scientific knowledge available for making Britain progressively more isolated from Europe and the Empire. A progressive party with its programme could hope to gain support from the large section of the salaried classes for whom the Socialist's policy of nationalizing bankrupt industries has no appeal. Alternatively liberals and socialists can continue to compete in professions of international good-will forcing us on to a universal cataclysm of unimaginable destructive consequences, while leaving us an easy prey to dictators. Meanwhile the growth of national sentiment is indisputable. So we have to choose

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between two alternatives. We can use it to mobilize the general will for socializing technical resources which private enterprise has failed to exploit in the interests of social welfare. We can see it used, as Hitler used it, to drive us headlong into barbarism.

The successful appeal of the racist doctrine in Germany is also the nemesis of the internationalist obsession. Doctrinaire internationalism has the effect of discounting obvious objective differences of social behaviour which distinguish people living in different places, and hence discourages a searching analysis of the origins of such differences. Human nature abhors an intellectual vacuum. So people tend to prefer a silly explanation of obvious facts to the equally silly pretence that the facts do not exist. In primitive cultures the local limitations of biological technology play a much more important rôle than they now appear to do. What matters most is the local fauna and local flora. Thus the racist doctrine has no serious title to be accepted as a biological interpretation of history, till the biotechnical factors in cultural differentiation have been explored exhaustively. Marx, who was primarily interested in the rôle of mechanical technology in the capitalist epoch, did not concern himself with this problem which has only been taken up by some of his followers, since they have gained control in a primarily agricultural country. English socialism, completely hypnotized by the vitalistic puerilities of the Ricardian tradition, has accepted technology and machinery as coextensive terms.

This brings me to the impact of scientific knowledge on social habits. The previous article contained a citation in which Professor Robbins asserts that rational choice between alternative systems of society requires no guidance but what "economic analysis" provides. The underlying assumption is that we know by instinct or inspiration without scientific knowledge how many systems of society may exist, and the poor show which English advocates of a rationally planned society can put up against Austrian dialectics is due to the fact that both parties to the dispute accept initial premises which a biologist would question. Broadly speaking, for each of the disputants the choice lies between three possibilities: an urban technology operating within the framework of private enterprise, an urban technology based

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on planned production, and a rural society in which scientific knowledge plays a quite subordinate rôle. Since liberals and most socialists share the Ricardian superstition that the yield of the soil is a matter for economists to decide rather than for biochemists to organize, a rural economy based on planned application of electricity, biochemistry and genetics does not enter into the discussion.

The researches of Kuczynski, and the brilliant exposition of Enid Charles in her book *The Twilight of Parenthood* followed up by an analysis of the present trends in the population of Britain (London and Cambridge Economic Service) must now force serious students of social questions to recognize that the fourth possibility is the most important one. A society must be biologically as well as economically a going concern, and there is no providential dispensation which ensures that populations will survive in the absence of rational organization of social habits. Four hundred years hence, when the population of England has dwindled to less than eight people, as it must unless fertility goes up, the merits which Professor Robbins can detect in a supposititious free market will be the echo of a few kind words inserted at the end of an obituary notice. English socialism has been content to base its case pre-eminently upon the claims of distributive justice. It accepts, like *laissez faire*, the doctrine that people free to choose will choose what is good for them, and only joins issue with its opponents in denying that the present distribution of income facilitates the greatest range of choice.

As the biologist sees it, this assumption is the major error in traditional social thought. People do not know what is a correct diet without a biochemist to tell them, because, among other reasons, they do not happen to be equipped with instinctive powers for recognizing the presence of ascorbic acid in their food. We have no more reason to believe that people choose what is psychologically good for them without expert advice. Only the science of human nature can tell us what range of choice is compatible with the needs of human nature. The range of choice which any type of society offers depends on the type of technology it employs. For instance, an urban mechanical economy cannot offer to most people the opportunity of having

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a beech wood or a trout stream within easy walk from their places of employment. That urban civilization has continually multiplied the sources of passive, while restricting opportunities for active, enjoyment may indeed have much to do with the recrudescence of mass sadism in this generation. Some psychologists think so, and economic analysis provides no rational basis for deciding whether they are right or wrong. In any case, an urban mechanical economy is not one which makes the fullest use of science nor meets the most fundamental of all human needs. As a biologist, I am in favour of planned production based on biotechnology, because I cannot conceive how planned consumption is possible without planned production, and I cannot conceive of any rational basis for human society, unless it implies planned consumption to ensure the maintenance of population.

In England the industrial revolution replaced a primitive biological technology by processes based on the application of mechanical ingenuity and chemical science, but provided no incentive to the application of biology. It is often urged that Russia is merely repeating the same story within the framework of a collectivist economy. This is only half the truth. The other half is that Soviet collectivism has provided a large scale incentive to scientific biotechnology for the first time in history. Whatever mistakes the Soviet Government may have made, this may well prove to be its supreme social achievement. Till the coming of the coal economy which brought into being the major chemical industries, man had depended for the essentials of life on a variety of living organisms, which like the whale, the silkworm or the madder plant have a highly localized geographical distribution. The multiplication of commodities which resulted from the rise of coal-iron metallurgy and chemical manufacture based on the use of coal was accompanied by the multiplication of congested populations living in sooty squalor. The backward state of biology had made towns from earliest antiquity the centre of any scientific culture which existed. Hence, the hypertrophied urban squalor which is now bearing fruit in universal sterility has been tacitly accepted by most people as the price we pay for what is gratuitously styled a high standard of life. As town life expanded the social outlook of those who remained hostile to the growth of science identified its application with the dark Satanic mills in

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Blake's poem. The social outlook of people, who welcomed the prosperity which science brought in its train, identified the application of science with the twenty thousand varieties of silk stockings which one London firm claims to stock, accepted urban congestion as a necessary evil, and consigned England's green and pleasant land to the perpetual guardianship of the village idiot. These two alternatives still represent the attitude of the majority of people who have been educated in a culture which has no place for the social background of science.

Few who have not some considerable knowledge of real science can ever hope to extricate themselves from this jungle of silliness. The England which Blake loved was a land in which the energy of the wind and water was replacing the slave labour of classical civilization. In such picturesque and healthy surroundings virile people did not yet think it shameful to bear children for the future. The social background of people's lives was more important than abundance of goods or of futile distractions. The discovery of electricity and of the light metals has now shown how the power which drove those old water wheels could do all the work of the dark Satanic mills, and do it better. The manufacture of dyes, drugs, explosives, perfumes and antiseptics does not rest on the miraculous properties of coal. It rests on the fact that we know enough about the bricks from which complex organic molecules are built up to make them from the disintegration products of any organic matter we choose to employ. Private enterprise condemned us to go underground to look for them. We have covered ourselves with soot in doing so. Biochemistry shows that we do not have to wait till Nature has converted green forests into Stygian gloom. I should be more impressed by the arguments of economists, if economics could tell us how easily mesitylene can be made out of acetone. Professor Haldane's *Daedalus* is more relevant to a rational choice between possible forms of social organization than any generalizations which "economic analysis" derives by the application of logic to verbal definitions of its subject-matter. Indeed, our collectivists will not realize the strength of their own case, till they equip themselves with deeper knowledge of the resources which a rationally planned society could mobilize.

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DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, AS I KNEW HIM

(A Record of Personal Reminiscences)

[BY BEN MISRA]

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, a suicide! It is terrible! It is incredible! It is terribly incredible! It is incredibly terrible! A successful author, the popularity and excellence of whose books won him a place in *Who's Who in America*; an eloquent speaker, under the management of one of the most famous lecture bureaux in New York; happily married to a charming and cultured American woman, a former classmate of his; father of a promising boy; loved, honoured, and esteemed by all who knew him, Dhan Gopal Mukerji was in every way blessed with the world's goods. A Brahman, proud of his heritage; a philosopher full of faith, hope and charity; a *vaishnava* and a *vedantin* devoted to Bhagvan Krishna Chandra, if ever a man had less reason to commit suicide, it was Dhan Gopal Mukerji.

He suffered a nervous breakdown in 1928. Eventually the malady was cured. But it left him a sufferer from nervous dyspepsia, which became chronic. Referring to this complaint, he wrote me in 1933, "I have been in ill-health for years. God knows when I shall get well. But do write me once in a while."

The depression that hit America during the Hoover administration affected his fortunes, as it did of every single and solitary individual in the United States. "The lecture market is shot to pieces," he wrote me in one of his letters. "Manuscripts go begging. God knows, where Hossain (Syud Hossain) has vanished. Maybe, in California. Things are very serious. Millions begging in the streets, ill-clad, hungry, and some very vicious-looking. Corruption, jobbery and nepotism have to be weeded out before we get back to normal."

Firmly entrenched in his faith in the divine providence, Mukerji took the panic with philosophic calm. It hurt his interests,

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but it did not shake his equanimity. "Do keep your dream of America," he wrote me. "By loving her and by keeping faith in her we can help her. You do this too. I repose great trust in the U. S. despite a black, a damn black depression."

But the depression had lifted. Things had improved. Business was looking up, the sun shining out of the clouds. President Roosevelt had wrought a magic change. Hope and faith were reviving in every breast. Only the other day a couple of American friends, visiting India on their honeymoon, told me that Mukerji had recently come to San Francisco on a lecture tour. I had not heard of him or from him for quite some time, and I was reassured. I was going to send him some material for publication. And then, like a bolt from the blue, came the terrible news! Terrible! Tragic! Stunning! Incredible!

Overwork had brought on another nervous breakdown around July 7th. A week later, on July 15th, his wife found him hanging in his room. Hanging! My God! That such should be the end of so noble a soul—essentially good, intrinsically pure, sincere and devoted, loving, loved, and lovable! What possessed him to do the mad deed? I cannot figure out. I am stunned. But one thing emerges from the murk as certain: Mukerji could not have been in his right mind; he must have committed the violence mechanically, automatically, in a semi-conscious condition, when he knew not what he was doing, like one walking in his sleep.

Full well I remember my first meeting with Dhan Gopal Mukerji. It was in 1925. I was a senior in the School of Journalism, University of Washington. I was auditing Dr. Herbert H. Gowen's course in Indian literature prior to offering a similar course to extension classes. It was almost the close of the period. Mukerji arrived accompanied by Mrs. Summers, a former classmate of Mrs. Mukerji's. They hovered outside the door. Dr. Gowen saw them and brought them into the class-room. He had invited Mukerji to address his students.

"You are late," said Dr. Gowen. "The period is almost over."

Mrs. Summers explained how the delay had occurred.

"Maybe some other time then," said Mr. Mukerji.

Dhan Gopal Mukerji, as I Knew Him

"Will you come some other time?" Dr. Gowen asked.
"Or say a few words now?"

Mukerji elected to speak. As he turned to face the audience, he saw me. I had read of him in an American magazine while I was still in India and he was a student at Stanford. In America his many friends had spoken to me about him. I had read his books. And it was with a thrill of pride that I had seen him come to glory in the *Atlantic Monthly* with a series of three articles selected from his *opus magnum*, *My Brother's Face: Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*, *Many Voices*, and *The Holy One of Benares*, the first of which the *Atlantic* had accorded the place of honour. Our eyes met, but there was no recognition in them.

"Ah, you have never met," Dr. Gowen remarked and introduced us.

Mukerji spoke for just three four minutes. But that brief period was enough for him to make a strong impression on his hearers. His sentences were clear cut, forceful, definite, declarative. His speech was singularly free from Bengali accent that makes even the most Anglicized of Bengalis pronounce 'warm' as 'worm' and 'worm' as—I don't know what! There was a ring of authority and conviction in his voice, and his talk was interspersed with flashes of wit and humour. When he closed at the end of the period, the students cheered him lustily and flocked round him to shake his hand.

"I am so glad to have met you," Mukerji said to Dr. Gowen as we walked out of the class. "I have heard so much of you." It was their first meeting too.

Dr. Herbert H. Gowen, I may here add, is one of the most celebrated Orientalists in the world. A master of Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese, head of the Oriental Department of the University of Washington, Dr. Gowen knows his Orient as mighty few Orientals do. Indian research scholars regularly send their books to him for review, and his opinions are held in universal esteem.

Dr. Gowen was so charmed with Mukerji that he invited him

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again next year. This time a general meeting of the students and the faculty was arranged in Forestry Hall. I had been graduated and was practising journalism, writing furiously all sorts of things for American newspapers and magazines, short stories, articles, features, book reviews, occasionally sending a contribution to an English periodical, working eighteen hours a day. Mukerji came, saw me, and greeted me as a blood brother. Dr. Gowen soon joined us. The audience was pouring in, boys, girls, members of the faculty, people from down town and the University district. We sat talking.

"I heard his fame in three magazine offices," Mukerji said to Dr. Gowen proudly. Then turning to me, "Titterton of the *Atlantic Monthly* was asking about you. 'Who is this man writing under a European name?' And what did you send to *Harper's*? I had a long talk about you with Mr. Hartman. Why don't you come to New York and charm them with your personality? I will take you round to the New York editors and publishers and introduce you." I record this to express my sense of personal loss in the demise of Mr. Mukerji.

Dr. Gowen now rose to present him to the audience. He spoke of his books in glowing terms and said, among other complimentary things: "It is astonishing to see one so young produce works of such outstanding merit." Mukerji was only thirty-five then and already he had written best-sellers and masterpieces.

Introduction over, Mukerji rose to address the meeting. He painted a word picture of the Indian jungle; said the India of which Kipling had written had passed; spoke of Mahatma Gandhi; recited a Sanskrit stanza to give his audience an idea of the sonority and sweetness of the language of the gods. And his unexpected sallies caused many a ripple of appreciative laughter. When he had done, the audience cheered him to the echo. An American friend of mine who was doing graduate work in the University in English said to me, as we walked out, "He puts us to shame by his mastery of our language."

India is in such a ferment that she has no use for any but those who give up their home and chattel and go to jail. But

Dhan Gopal Mukerji, as I Knew Him

England and America recognized his worth. With Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, with Sir Radhakrishnan, with Sir C. V. Raman, with Sir J. C. Bose "Among Indians who work on a level of absolute equality with us," does Mr. J. A. Spender, editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, class Dhan Gopal Mukerji. In reviewing his autobiography, *Caste and Outcast*, an American critic wrote: "There is more poetry in this book than in many volumes of poems."

In Mukerji a leading literary light has gone out. During the influenza epidemic that swept over the world following the War a god among *litterateurs* and a prince among men, Sarath Kumar Ghosh, author of *The Prince of Destiny*, laid down his pen and passed to eternal rest, in New York. In Mukerji the Muse found a worthy successor to Gosh. To-day Mukerji's friends and admirers in the two hemispheres are paying him their last tribute! Such is the transiency of life! Such the mortality of man!

His lecture in the University over, Mukerji invited me to have lunch with him. After lunch we went to his room; he reclined in his bed while I rocked myself in a chair. He said: "I will recite poems to you. I want to see what effect poetry has on you. No one can be a great writer of prose whose soul is not steeped in poetry." Then he started reciting from the English classics. It was like the Niagra flowing, majestic, beautiful, sublime. I was swept off my feet, carried down the current.

"Now you recite to me," he said.

I gave him Urdu and Hindi poems, told him of *mushaira*. He jumped up and embraced me. "If I had known you knew such beautiful poems, we would have sat here reciting them all day—done nothing else," he exclaimed, overjoyed.

"Poetry is the breath of our nostrils," I replied. "Our Kings gave up their kingdoms, but they did not give up poetry."

"That is most remarkable," he said, struck by the thought. "I will put it in my book."

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The idea of *mushaira* particularly appealed to him. "Why don't you do an article on the subject for the *Century*?" he asked. "And do it quick. Otherwise, I may be tempted to write it myself. It is a thing of pure joy—a sheer delight!"

In the afternoon he gave a tea party to his friends, and in the evening addressed a public meeting on Mahatma Gandhi. In those days William Jennings Bryan was carrying on a crusade against Darwin's theory of evolution. That man had descended from monkey was particularly distasteful to the Great Commoner. The chimpanzee was his pet anathema. Mukerji brought the roof down when he declared: "Gandhi is a very ugly man. One half of his face resembles that of a chimpanzee; the other half resembles the face of William Jennings Bryan. The combination," he added amid roaring laughter, "is appalling."

Mukerji wanted very much to write a biography of Mahatma Gandhi. When he visited India last—that was some twelve years ago—the saint was in jail, fasting and praying. Mukerji had returned to New York when Gandhi was released. *My Brother's Face*, containing his Indian impressions and the story of his brother's life, had brought him worldwide repute as a consummate literary artist. Mukerji wrote to Mahatmaji if he might return to India to do his biography. But Gandhi, like God, moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform. He replied, "No." Thus was lost to the world what I am sure would have been the finest life of Mahatma Gandhi. "The old man does not want me," Mukerji said to me regretfully.

Some time later, his publishers sent me his complete works, requesting me to review them from my Indian view-point. When Mukerji learned this, he wrote me: "I am glad you are going to review my books. It is a fine idea. Please don't be afraid to criticize."

He was vacationing in Paris when the review came out. "Honest appreciation from you who knows India means so much to me," he wrote me and added: "You have given me confidence as a writer." Of course, I had done nothing of the sort. Already he was an author of established reputation when I had reviewed his

Dhan Gopal Mukerji, as I Knew Him

work. But that was his kindly way of putting things.

In another letter from Paris he wrote: "I have met your friends Mr. and Mrs. Charnley. It was their first visit to Paris and they were stranded. Then we got acquainted and they asked me if I knew you. More people love you than you give yourself credit for." The next mail brought a long letter from Charnley. He wrote to say how much he and his wife had enjoyed meeting Mr. Mukerji and how helpful he had been to them.

In another letter he wrote: "Journalistic success has come to you too early. But I hope some day to wean you from newspaperese and have you write poetic prose, as befits an Indian writer and lover of poetry." His own prose was shot through with poetry. In his writing the line of demarkation between prose and poetry vanished. One did not know where prose had ceased and poetry begun.

When I went to San Francisco, Mukerji sent me a letter of introduction to Mrs. Havens, widow of his millionaire friend, "Uncle Frank". Mrs. Havens was full of praise for Mukerji. She told me how he had made his debut as a lecturer in her home, while yet a student at Stanford. "His first lecture made such a hit with my friends that next week there was hardly any room left in my hall for all the people who turned out to hear him. He spread out and soon we needed a lecture hall. Soon afterward he began to make lecture tours."

Mukerji published his first volume of poems while he was still a student at Stanford. But his greatest success came as a writer of English prose. He wrote both for the children and grown-ups. His English was simply beautiful and beautifully simple. An undercurrent of poetry ran through everything he wrote. At times his prose became more poetic than poetry itself. It was this quality of his writing that was particularly noted and commended by the reviewer of his *Caste and Outcast*.

Mukerji was a graduate of Stanford University, his wife of Stanford and Smith. When Mukerji's first article came out in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the magazine, in introducing him to its readers,

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referred to him as a graduate of the University of California. Immediately Dr. David Starr Jordan, Vice-Chancellor of Stanford University, protested. "Do not please deprive us of the honour reflected by our ablest Hindu graduate, philosopher, and poet," he wrote to the *Atlantic*.

Mukerji was a great admirer of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. They met first at Geneva in 1926. Mukerji had gone "to hear cats talk of vegetarianism"; Pandit Nehru to have his wife treated. Mukerji wrote me from Geneva: "Last fortnight or so I met Jawahar Lal Nehru, to mention another fine soul beside Mrs. Havens. His wife being in bad health, he was forced to give up all work and bring her here. Thank God she is improving fast. He is exquisite, noble, and humble. You and he resemble each other in one thing: shyness and self-respect. I hope some day you will meet him."

The acquaintance between Panditji and Mukerji soon ripened into friendship, based on mutual admiration and esteem. When family obligations forced me to return to India, Mukerji sent me a letter of introduction to Pandit Nehru. I saw him and wrote to Mukerji about him in terms of high praise. He was much pleased to learn I thought so highly of Pandit Jawahar Lal. He wrote me: "There is no one in the world like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. What a lad!" That was not hyperbole. It was his considered opinion.

Mukerji was a true Brahman, proud of his ancestry and devoted to God. On one occasion when the rubs and worries of life were robbing me of my sleep, he said: "You are a Brahman. You have no right to be worried. You say you hope for nothing. My friend, you never can realize the un hoped for. You don't know what you will do." Then suddenly he asked in Hindustanee: "*Kuchh jap tap?*" meaning, do you meditate? Do you chant the name of the Lord?

"I don't find time," I regretted.

"That amounts to a sin of omission," he said severely. "That accounts for all your worries. You must find time and meditate on Brahma. He is the only remedy of our earthly ills."

Dhan Gopal Mukerji, as I Knew Him

One day he suggested to me that I write my autobiography.

"The subject is not important enough," I answered.

"Your humility is very charming," he smiled. "Why not try a book for children?" And he went on to suggest a theme.

"I don't know if I can write quite as simple as that," I said.

"It is hard to write simple prose," he admitted. "And you certainly can not do it in newspaper hurry. But if you would succeed as a writer, marry an American girl. We don't know the language."

"Hanging and wiving go by luck," I replied.

As I recall the conversation and record these words, the dread dramatic irony of my chance remark comes home to me with staggering significance. Hanging and wiving both were his lot. Lucky in love, lucky in life, he was singularly unlucky in his death. He who had lived so happily and hopefully, in communion with God and at peace with his fellow men, doing his appointed task with the cunning and exquisite craftsmanship of the finished artist he was, ended up, in the prime of his life, with a rope round his neck! Such is the mystery of life! Such is the tyranny of death! Such, alas, the divine dispensation of things!

"Let Thy will be done!" That is all mortal man, born in his mother's pain and destined to die in his own, can say. "Let Thy will be done!"

Ram nam satya hai!

Satya bolo mukti hai!

True is the name of Ram!

Speak the truth; in truth lies salvation!

May Ram, may Krishna, may Gopal grant Dhan Gopal Mukerji peace and rest and repose at his feet! May this humble tribute of tears show Dhan Gopal Mukerji, who has ascended to Heaven, that he has left many a grieving heart behind! May that soul celestial who in this terrestrial vale of tears was known as Dhan Gopal Mukerji rest forever in peace at the feet of the Great Gopal, after whom he was named and whom he adored with deathless devotion! May the eternal and immortal Gopal lead Dhan Gopal Mukerji, his servant, from darkness unto Light, from falseness unto Truth, from death unto Immortality!

Amen!

AN ETERNAL MOMENT

(Translation of a Punjabi Poem)

BEHOLD Rajinder, the rays of the Sun have turned golden
pale,
Shadows have crept over the snow-laden peaks of the
Sivalak.
And the evenings have spread over each and every Mountain
ridge, high or low.

IN the world of my mind, there is neither day nor night.
Countless Moments, without a Beginning, without an End,
come and go in that world,
The Past or Future of which I never could know.

IN the Region of Love, the Cycles of Time have a different
significance.
Some Moments come and go never to recur again.
Some Moments come to stay like the sharp point of a spear,
which is broken in the wound which it caused.

THE dew-damp fragrance of the Mauksari flowers is spreading
around, almost imperceptibly.
Listen Rajinder, the Koel cries "Kuhu", "Kuhu", on yonder
tree.
This Moment is there without Beginning, without End.

K. S.

SONGS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE—V

Collected and Translated

[BY DEVENDRA SATYARTHI]

No heroic spirit have the Rajputs to-day !

(A popular song from Rajputana. Partaps and Sangas are gone but the hearts of the sons and daughters of the soil in Rajputana will ever beat with the cherished glory of their heroic deeds.

Very pathetic are the references to the last glory of Rajputana in the famous bard Nopla, who composed the present song.)

THE Rajputs of to-day—
O the Rajputs of to-day !
Have the same houses
Which once their ancestors had—
Live in the same villages
Where once their ancestors lived—
Eat the same sort of food
Which once their ancestors ate—
Worship the same God
Whom once their ancestors worshipped—
But alas ! what a pity, says Nopla
No heroic spirit have the Rajputs to-day !

Feast upon my body, O crow !

(A folk-song from the United Provinces. It well illustrates the heart of a love-lorn bride. Addressing the crow is a time-old tradition in such songs.)

FEAST upon my body, O crow !
And satisfy thy hunger :
Eat not—O eat not my eyes, O crow !
O still I long to have a glimpse of my love !

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Like an earthen pitcher is a wayfarer's love!

(A popular song from rural Bengal. A long-travelled husband returns home and wants to please his sweetheart with ordinary village products. But she refuses to accept these love-tokens and sings):

THY betel-nuts I will not take, my love !
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves.
Always a wayfarer thou art, my love !
What love from a wayfarer can I expect ?
Like an earthen pitcher is a wayfarer's love
Once it breaks, none can repair it, my love !
Thy betel-nuts I will not take, my love !
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves.

The whole of Kashmir I'll illuminate to-day !

(A marriage-song from Kashmir. The national love for the river Jhelum is at its best when the bridegroom's mother sings the present song in a typical Kashmiri air.)

THE banks of the Jhelum
I'll illuminate to-day
O our bridegroom'll return
In a Shikara to-day.
O the whole of Kashmir
I will illuminate to-day
O our bridegroom'll return
In a Shikara to-day.

Songs of the Indian People

The hour of blessings there came!

(A marriage-song from Gujrat. It is, in fact, one of the richest folk-songs of Gujrat; both music and words are equally noteworthy. The maidens sing it in chorus on behalf of the bride with all the perennial freshness of Gujrati music.)

THE earth and the sky were the only things
At the dawn of world, so pretty.
From the sky there came sweet sweet showers
The earth embraced them in the early hours
The hour of blessings there came, O maidens !
The hour of blessings there came.

A **COW** and a mare were the only creatures
At the dawn of our world, so pretty
The cow's son turned to serve in our fields
The mare's son took us to far-off lands
The hour of blessings there came, O maidens !
The hour of blessings there came.

A **MOTHER** and a mother-in-law were the only persons
At the dawn of our world, so pretty,
The mother's daughter turned a bride
And the mother-in-law's son a groom side by side
The hour of blessings there came O maidens,
The hour of blessings there came.

A **FATHER** and a father-in-law were the only persons
At the dawn of our world, so pretty,
The father brought me up with love so high
With the father-in-law's blessings I became so shy
The hour of blessings there came, O maidens,
The hour of blessings there came !

Contemporary India

Let us sing the song of Savan, dear mother !

(A Punjabi folk-song. There is a custom to send for the married daughters in the rainy month of Shravan (pronounced as Savan by the Punjabis). These are the days when Tian festivities approach with an ever-new charm and grace. The girls who had been friends during their maiden days get a chance to see one another. Their heart-felt joy is evident as they swing and sing, and songs come as easy to them as cooings to doves. Besides swinging and singing, there is, of course, an appropriate place for Gidha, the traditional dance of the Punjab, and it lends an additional colour to the Tian festivities. One of the most popular themes of the songs, generally sung during the rains, is the unfortunate girl, passing the days of Savan at her father-in-law's as she is not yet invited by her parents. The present song is a specimen of such songs.)

SPREAD out the Henna leaves in the son, dear mother !
O how sad turns the colour of these leaves, dear mother !
O let us sing the song of Savan, dear mother !
Send thy son's brides to their parents, dear mother !
And forget not to invite thy married daughters, dear
mother !

O LET us sing the song of Savan, dear mother !
Here do I stand on the river bank
And on yonder bank I see thy face, dear mother !
Alas I am helpless to see my father's country, dear mother !
O let us sing a song of Savan, dear mother !
The smoke in the kitchen
Brings forth water in my eyes, dear mother
Always yearns my heart
For my father's country, dear mother !
O let us sing a song of Savan, dear mother !
Hard am I to labour here on the grinding stone
And very painful are the bruises on my hands,
dear mother !

ALWAYS yearns my heart
For thy home, so sweet, dear mother !
O let us sing a song of Savan, dear mother !

Songs of the Indian People

Everyone brings flowers from Shah Rasul's garden

(A Loba song from Pathan country. The Loba songs appeared on the scene like 'Strophe and Anti-strophe' of ancient Greece.)

EVERYONE brings flowers
From Shah Rasul's garden
You also bring one, holding it delicately
Between your thumb and finger.
'Go, O bee, and tell the spring-breeze :
Buds will not blossom unless thou comest '
Every one brings flowers
From Shah Rasul's garden
You also bring one, holding it delicately
Between your thumb and finger.
'Buds need Allah's grace
O how can the spring-breeze make them blossom'
Every one brings flowers
From Shah Rasul's garden
You also bring one, holding it delicately
Between your thumb and finger.

O blessed is Mother Earth !

(A Nepali folk-song. The harvest-lore of the Nepalese peasant is full of many an interesting song, which celebrates the peasant's love and respect for Mother Earth that sustains him.)

THE earth is both my father and mother,
Nourishing food from it do I get :
O blessed is Mother Earth, so dear !
To it goes all my love and respect.

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BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE USSR

[BY GEOFFREY TREASE]

HEALTH, freedom, opportunity . . . In those three words can be epitomized the wealth of impressions gained during the three months I spent among the youth of the Soviet Union. From Leningrad in the north to Tiflis on the fringes of the Orient I have found these conditions constant. Health, freedom and opportunity seem the prerogatives of every Soviet child.

The authorities here have a high and exacting standard of "perfect health". Physical health is, rightly, the first consideration of the Soviet Government. At almost every stage of the child's life, doctors and nurses are watchful to foresee trouble. Most children eat some of their meals, at least, away from home, whether at school, camp, rest home, or other organizations, and all such meals are carefully planned for vitamin and calorific values. I have eaten many such meals among the children, and I can testify to their quality and quantity.

Gymnastics and games are always carefully supervised by medical men apart from the physical instructors themselves, and the children are never allowed to strain after sensational effects. It was especially interesting to learn that boys are not permitted to play football until they are 14. Summer bathing and sun bathing are also carefully organized, and where necessary supplemented by artificial sun lamp treatments in the winter.

To the English or American mind this may carry with it a quite unintended and unfounded suggestion of "coddling". It does not work out like that at all. You see the boys and girls scampering off to their "unorganized" dip here as anywhere else. They play and lark about as freely as their comrades in other lands. It is merely that, when authority does order a portion of their daily lives, it does so in such a way as to promote their physical well-being to the utmost.

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Freedom—a Priceless Possession

And that brings me on to what I mean by freedom, the second priceless possession of the Soviet children.

They have healthy minds as well as healthy bodies, and these are the results of their remarkable liberation from the old taboos. Thanks to the scientific, rational system of education adopted by the Soviet Government, it is practically impossible for a child to acquire a sense of sin, a fear of Hell, or any of the other bogeys which can play such havoc with the psychological condition of the young. Religion is not dead in the Soviet Union—it is free, indeed, to all who desire it—but so far as the rising generation is concerned it is not merely dead, but forgotten. The young mind is unclouded by any sort of theological fantasy.

So too with sex. Co-education is the unquestioned principle of every Soviet school. What that means in the Oriental republics, where the veil is only now being discarded, it is hard for us in the West to imagine. But to the boy and girl, looking forward eagerly to a life in which, as man and woman, they will be equal co-workers, it is the most natural thing in the world.

Let us think back to our own childhoods. One other cloud looms blackly across the youth of many—the shadow of economic inequality. Attending a cheaper or a dearer school than our chosen friends, wearing smarter or shabbier clothes, having less pocket money and humbler parents..... All these are major tragedies of juvenile life, and all are being swept away by the Soviet Government.

Commissar or kolkhoznik, engineer or bootblack—whatever your father's job, you go to the same school and are treated in the same way.

Opportunities Before Soviet Child

Which, in turn, brings us on to opportunity—the more positive aspect, as it were, of freedom. The Soviet child has the opportunity to find what most interests him in life ; to pursue

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his natural bent until he is certain that it is his destined work ; and to acquire all the necessary knowledge and qualifications for that profession.

How is this opportunity given ? In a dozen different ways.

In Kharkov I visited the Palace of Pioneers, the most striking single example I can think of. This great building was formerly the seat of the Ukrainian Government. When the capital was moved to Kiev it was, with characteristic Soviet realization of the importance of youth, handed over to the children of the city. Its glistening white façade is now surmounted by a line of boyish trumpeters, blowing an unfading fanfare to the skies.

I wandered with the director through most of its 280 magnificent rooms. Shavings and the smell of paint were everywhere. The whole interior was being reconstructed. New shapes, round and oval were being given to some of the rooms. Not only acoustics, not only hygiene, but sheer exuberant novelty determined some of the changes. The building was to be a brave new world in miniature.

Nearest to completion was the transport section. Here the first thing to catch the eye was a great round table, with a circular track upon which ran electric street cars, two feet high and complete in every detail. Still more fascinating was another model, which included not only trolleys (this time reduced to five inches in height), but motor-cars and every other kind of traffic. One pressed the necessary buttons. The tiny traffic lights winked, the street cars rattled over the points, the motor-cars accelerated—even the pedestains came hurrying across the street at the places indicated ! It was hard to drag oneself away.

Illuminated wall charts showed the trolley routes of the city, the parts of a street car, the tools needed in construction. In another corner, standing at full-sized controls, the child could learn exactly how to drive one. If he wished to make models himself he must prepare blueprints and have them approved by the engineer in charge. Then, and only then, he would get free materials to make his model in the workshop.

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Aviation had its own section. The dirigible room had windows like those of an airship, and its ceiling depicted the sky, with clouds, aircraft, and parachutes.

An Art and Technical Centre

But one could write a book on that building—on its small, but working, electric power station, its telegraphic apparatus and automatic telephone exchange, its countless technical workshops and scientific laboratories, music and art rooms; marionette theatre and stages where children themselves can act, its sports hall, and many other wonders

The library alone comprised 50,000 volumes in 60 different languages. Here too were reading rooms, one decorated with frescoes of Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote, Chapayev, and other heroes, another (for smaller children) having a frieze of boys and girls from other lands. Not only could the children read here. They could meet and discuss literature with famous authors and critics. They could organize correspondence with authors in foreign countries. Some were already engaged in chess matches with lonely workers on North Polar stations, the moves being transmitted by radio. Interest stimulated in this way had led to travel. Some had journeyed as far as Copenhagen and Spitzbergen.

Stop, think, and translate all this into terms of juvenile opportunity. What would you have given for the use of such an artistic and technical centre? And bear in mind that the Kharkov Palace, though perhaps the most wonderful place of its kind at the moment, has its counterparts in many parts of the Soviet Union. Under such conditions, how can young genius be undiscovered? How can people become square pegs in round holes?

Young Genius

At Kiev there was a children's art exhibition—2,000 drawings, paintings and other works, chosen from no less than 25,000 submitted—25,000 from Kiev District alone—think of the creative activity represented! There was every conceivable medium and a variety of styles. The 120 most talented children had

Boys and Girls in the USSR

been sent on a tour of the Soviet Union, and after that they were going to a special boarding school for artistic education.

Artek, the famous Pioneer camp in the Crimea, gave me another answer. Strolling into the technical workshops there, I got into conversation with a girl of 14. She came from Chelyabinsk. How had she won her place at Artek, the most coveted holiday in the Soviet Union? She had invented a kind of plough and harrow to be drawn by a tractor.

What else had she got for her invention? They had given her a camera, a gym. outfit, a library of 25 books, a desk. Previously, she had lived with her mother in one room. Now they had been given a fine new flat, so that the parent benefited from the child's ability. She would have an income as patentee of the invention.

This was a peasant girl. She had attended the technical circle at school. And now, at 14, she had invented a plough representing a 25 per cent. improvement on existing types.

At Tiflis the Pioneers have their own railroad, encircling the Park of Culture. When I was there, a party of Moscow Pioneers was studying it, with the idea of building a similar railway in their own wonderful Children's City. Meanwhile, the Tiflis Pioneers were also studying how to electrify their system. In the Soviet Union nothing stands still.

Sports Encouraged

Do the boys and girls ever find time for sports? Well, 25,000 of them recently took part in a spartakiad at Kiev, and that figure can be paralleled all over the country. There is plenty of interest in sport and every form of physical exercise, including gymnastics and dancing.

In the midst of all these manifold activities, touching upon them at every point, is the school. There is no invidious contrast between work and play, between term and holiday. They are mere time distinctions.

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The Soviet school exists primarily for necessary instruction. In that respect it has greatly improved during the last year or two. World history and geography are now taught, and every child learns either English, German or French. New buildings, new text-books, and an improvement in teachers' qualifications, are rapidly raising the standard of education to a high level.

The individual school, however, is insufficient to satisfy completely the child's thirst for knowledge. Hence the Houses of Technique, the Houses of Artistic Instruction, the Museum of Children's Books in Moscow, and a host of other specialized institutions. Here, in his free time and on holidays, the child can follow up the teaching he has received in school.

Collective Activities

One problem which troubles western parents—the problem of the only child—is unknown here. In addition to all the collective activities described, there is a comparatively new unit of Pioneer organization based on residence. All the children in a certain block of flats are organized in a "Forpost". They often create their own playground in the open space attached to the block. They may beautify it with flowerbeds. They will probably have meals together in an open-walled hut, and in wintertime the house committee will allot them a large room for their homework, hobbies and so on. Thus not only need no child be lonely, but the temporary problem of inadequate housing—the one or two-room home—is greatly relieved, both parents and children deriving the benefit.

Cicero's ancient maxim, about the "reverence" (or "respect") due to a boy, lies at the basis of the Soviet attitude to children. Youth carries with it no sense of inferiority here. Not only has the physical violation of corporal punishment passed away, but all forms of mental violation—intimidation and unfair moral pressure—are disappearing from the relationship between adult and child.

What a wonderful flowering of the arts and the sciences will there be in a land where no genius can escape discovery and encouragement! That is the great Renaissance of humanity, the greatest in history, to which one looks forward with confident curiosity.

(Reprinted from "Moscow News".)

OUR POLITICAL PROGRAMME

A RE-ORIENTATION OF THE CONGRESS

[BY K. K. SINHA]

A Retrospect

THE Indian National Struggle is to-day at the crossroads of reformism and revolutionary activity, reactionary middle class leadership and progressive mass assertion. As a result, the political stagnation of the Congress is before us. No active programme is before the masses. And the result of this enforced inaction is the rise of reactionary liberalism and opportunistic reformism inside the middle class leadership of the Congress. Not unexpectedly therefore much is made of the coming reforms which has of late succeeded in creating a split in the Congress ranks. The artificial wedge of the Communal problem stands between the cooperation of equally oppressed brothers. Even in the present front of the struggle—the Assembly—the Parliamentary group has itself exposed its impotency of creating effective deadlocks, and exhibits instead false jubilation over mere Government defeats, amply proving thereby their inability of converting the Legislature front into a ground for struggle, and, this in short, is the panorama of the political degeneration of the country as a whole to-day.

The Problem

The problem of problems to-day that challenges us for an immediate solution is that of finding the way out of this morass of mass inactivity, while the International horizon is still aglow with possibilities, and while the Imperialist grip is yet shakeable. The movements of forces and potential political energy of the country are tugging in contrary directions—scattered and disorganized.

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To-day's problem consists in the concentration of these forces, their co-ordination and direction to the common political end in view—National Independence.

The Forces

What are these forces that have to be made conscious of their historic rôle in the Struggle? Evidently it will be those elements in the country that have an interest in the Struggle—an interest of political freedom, economic progress and social emancipation, and an interest in better living than in abject poverty and utter destitution. The Proletarian workers, robbed of all but starvation subsistence, the landless peasantry—duped by the ruthless money-lender and the parasitic zamindar, the petty bourgeois, bankrupt and squeezed out by the monopolist capitalist, the lower middle class—employees, poor students and intellectuals—disappointed at the present economic bankruptcy and the darkest clouds of unemployment, provide to-day the material forces to be centralized, co-ordinated and directed. Let alone those 'progressive' elements and political groups which have so long played their tune in the Legislature and Constitutional fronts.

The Correct Angle of View

Then the old inevitable question arises—"What is to be done?" This economic classification of forces does not lead us to the actual objective situation and the balance of forces. We must see these very forces, these very economic elements working as political groups before we can lay down the manner and the tactics of approach to the problem, for we have not before us the political groups ranged on the basis of class division. The political groups of this country are composed of heterogeneous 'class' elements, and it is because of this that political groups do not move *en bloc* with a change of policy. This is always the fate of a multiclass organization, for which shortcoming it has to weigh and connect its own with the policies of other political groups in existence, in order to make itself effective.

Tactics of To-day

Take the central political organization of the country. The Congress is placed in a dilemma of drawing all the

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progressive elements under its banner with the purpose of united action for National Independence, and still not divorcing those groups who, because of their class interests will betray the national movement and fight against the creation of the United Front under the superficial excuses of communal problems or others. What is needed for the Congress to-day is to convert itself into an economico-political organization at the earliest so that the class constituents of the other various political groups may be splitted up and the lower and exploited classes be drawn away from them into the vortex of the National Struggle carried in the interests of the same exploited classes. This tactic consisting of the organizational revolution of the Congress is abundantly manifest from the Presidential address of Jawahar Lal Nehru wherein he advocates for the Democratization of the Congress Constitution, the Organizational representation of the peasants and workers, and fighting on immediate economic grievances of the masses. These are the three main and minimum fundamental principles which should be the basis for the organizational transformation of the Congress enabling it to represent the masses directly. The arguments contained in the presidential address, indicating the inability of the present Congress leadership to represent and lead the masses on correct progressive lines, need not be repeated. The fact that the Congress leadership is to-day mainly in the hands of the middle class intelligentsia with vested interests in Landlordism and Industrial Capitalism is sufficiently well established. The present trend of political thought and events has clearly demonstrated that this leadership has degenerated and even at times betrayed the cause of the masses. The organization therefore needs a change in the leadership and a dynamic drive in its ideology. A thorough overhaul is therefore an absolute necessity.

The Problem of Programme

But this is only one side of the problem. We are faced to-day with a double duty—the organization of the oppressed and exploited masses under one banner, under one leadership, one organ—the Congress; and as well the re-organization of the organ itself. We have considered the latter, we have to solve the former. The minds of the Congressmen to-day reflect a dearth of work.

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They say the Congress is dead, there is no practical programme of action before them. It is therefore but natural that the Legislature front and the Constructive programme get more important in their eyes. The wave of reformism naturally increases. But a little reflection will show what a tremendous work yet lies ahead of us, at what distance we are from the goal, and whether we are going forward or receding backward. Considered from that angle much of the spade work is still left undone; we have to create a militant mood, a revolutionary spirit before we can ever again jump into a direct action struggle. The following is a short programme of action combining the four essentials of our requirements,—United action, fighting on economic issues, massification of the Congress, and creating a progressive revolutionary spirit among all classes of the Congress.

1. Development of a militant peasant movement throughout the country with such minimum demands as reduction of rent, substantial remission of rent while the slump of industrial prices continues, abolition of illegal or extra legal levies in money as well in kind, security of tenure, limitation of rate of interest to 6 per cent. per annum, no compound interest, cancellation of debts when double the amount borrowed is paid up, control of money-lenders' account, and such other demands as local conditions necessitate. Organize the peasants in mass meetings to be held in villages, conferences to be held by the delegates of the peasants to endorse the demands. Committees of Action to be set up by the conferences to carry on the agitation for enforcing the agreed demands of the peasantry.

2. Organization of the industrial workers and salaried employees in the Trade Unions with such minimum demands as higher wages, better working conditions, eight hours day, insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age, and maternity, right to strike. Organization of mass resistance to the reduction of wages and salaries, prolongation of the hours of work, system of speeding of work, repressive measure against Labour movement. Combating the efforts to corrupt and emasculate the labour movement, developing the fighting spirit of the workers through the instrumentality of protest strikes, mass demonstrations, and other forms of mass agitation. Working for the unity of the Trade Union movement.

Our Political Programme

3. Dissemination of modern progressive ideas among the students with the object of making them grasp the social significance of the movement for political freedom. Contrasting before the poor students the forlorn hope of earning a miserable living in a clerical employment and petty professions, and salvation in the newly reconstructed society. Explaining to them how technical education or vocational training will not brighten the prospect of the students unless conditions for rapid industrialization of the country are created through social transformation. Attracting the students' attention by explaining to them that a superficial political change will not cure evils from which India suffers. Helping the students to come closer to the toiling masses not with the vain spirit of a saviour or sickly sentimentality of humanitarianism, but as fellow victims of the self same system of exploitation, eager to join the struggle for freedom. Persuading the students to turn their back on the past and look boldly into the future. Inspiring them with a new social outlook that will make them all the more determined, all the more courageous, all the more formidable fighters for national freedom.

4. Propaganda to re-orient the outlook of the intellectuals. Propagate modern and social theories. Place the rich revolutionary experience of other people at the disposal of the nationalist intellectuals. Help them to get over Gandhi's prejudices and come forward to give the movement for national freedom a democratic leadership. Make them understand that to play their important rôle in the struggle against Imperialism they must break away ideologically from the land-owning and capitalist classes and come closer to the proletariat. Expose the futility of such measures as village reconstruction, revival of cottage industries, etc., so that the lower middle class intellectuals may realize the necessity of relentless struggle against domination and native reaction as the only road to progress and prosperity of the Indian people.

5. General mass agitation to resist new taxation, the burden of which will fall upon the exploited masses, development of mass movement with such demands as abolition or reduction of the specific taxes, freedom of press, speech and association.

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6. Establishment of a fighting alliance with all the oppressed and exploited classes for conducting vigorously and resolutely the struggle inspired with the principle of the right of self-determination. Agitation in support of the demand for a constituent Assembly. This will be the only effective challenge to the British Parliament to dictate the political destiny of the Indian people. To press the demand for the constituent Assembly will be practical assertion of the right of self-determination, to mobilize the radical democratic masses in the struggle for self determination. The demand of the Constituent Assembly refreshes the commitment to the principle of democracy. It is antagonistic to the tradition of paternalism inherent in the Gandhian, political philosophy. We shall rally the nationalist masses to press the demand.

7. The last but not the least is the utilization of the Legislature front. The aim should be to make the popular opposition block as broad as possible, formation of a united front with the demands for certain concrete amendments to the constitution, of such nature as would secure the support of the liberals and other progressive nationalist, while embodying the elementary principle of self-determination. This must be backed up by the slogan of constituent Assembly inside and outside the houses. The following are some of the amendments desirable: (a) Universal suffrage, (b) Similar Democratic rights for the subject of the states, whose representatives to the Federal Legislature should be elected by the people, (c) Immediate introduction of full responsibility in the centre, (d) Reduction of safeguard and reservations to the minimum as provided in all democratic constitutions, (e) Investment in the Indian Legislatures the right of amending the constitution, the proposed amendments to be effected by constitutions conventions selected by Universal suffrage for the specific purpose, (f) Constitutional guarantee for the freedom of the Press speech and association, (g) The new Constitution be amended without any delay—within six months or a year.

Here is a definite plan of action capable of indefinite expansion. And yet it is painful to remember how the Socialists and radical Congressites sat dumb-founded at the Lucknow Congress Session when Satyamurti threw challenge after challenge to produce any other programme except the acceptance of office !

WHAT IS CREDIT ?

[By T. H. WORGAN]

WHAT do you know about Credit ?

You probably know the many definitions of the word given by any English Dictionary. These include :—

Reliance on testimony ; belief ; faith ; trust ; confidence ; honour ; reputation ; what brings some honour or estimation ; good opinion ; esteem ; reputed integrity ; confidence ; reliance ; trust in commerce ; transfer of goods, property, etc., in confidence of future payment ; reputation for pecuniary means or commercial stability ; the side of an account to which payment is entered ; opposed to Debit ; the time given for payment of goods sold on trust ; a sum that a person can get from a bank ; a document entitling a person to money.

Thus, literally, you know quite a lot about Credit.

But can you, metaphorically, put your finger on the Essence of Credit ?

Let me try to do so, for you, if you have never really tried for yourself.

Everything seems easy when one knows how it is done, and the finding of the Essence of Credit is worth anyone's while if he can but find time to discover it. I would ask you to note that carefully for I shall make its truth quite surely apparent to you before I end.

In this material world the powers that we regard Credit as a very material matter, and anyone, from the highest to the lowest, including the self-styled Scientist, may, nay will, be tempted to yield to the temptation to demand something material as the Essence of Credit.

Yet, with Credit, as with aught else, there is no *Rupam* without *Rasam*, and the *Rasam* of Credit is the essence around

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which the *Rupam* of Credit is developed and by which it is vitalized.

Find the *Rasam* and the *Rupam* will follow—but never precede.

If you are unable to concede that to me we cannot progress further together.

It may seem to be employing mere dialectics to dispense with the consideration of the material side of Credit, but it is not so because the Essence of Credit is the only true object of our search.

We have to look for something intangible without which Credit could have no material existence in fact, and we have to put a name to it however likely or unlikely such a name is to render clear and comprehensible precisely what we mean.

What is there which ever has been, is and ever will be ?

What is there which we can neither make nor unmake ?

What is there which each one of us is truly given for an appointed span ?

What is the most valuable asset of any man, or any universe, and yet without beginning or end in fact ?

What man-made possession can man claim least to possess ?

Have I wearied you with questioning ? I will relieve you by giving you the correct answer—Time.

We all call it that, in our own way. We measure it, which, in its Infinity, is immeasurable.

✓ Time is the Essence of Credit, and what Credit is worth only Time can reveal.

Whoever would possess Credit must reckon with his need to play, or work, for Time. Whoever possess anything lasting must play, or work for Time, and Credit is preferably "lasting." No one can afford to disregard, or omit from his calculations, Time, when dealing with Credit.

Having thought about this, you will admit that the world should hasten to think once again of its limitations by Time in the matter of Credit.

What is Credit ?

Credit is "all the vogue" at present and there seems to be so much Time in which to pay that even Nations do not worry their heads about such a trifle. Payment is the last thing necessary or reasonable when further Credit is available to proved defaulters ?

Credit, however, still remains based on the sufficiency of Time.

Let us all hope that the world's children, and their children's children, may find Time to pay all the penalties arising from their forefathers' having lost no Time in availing themselves of the present superabundance of Credit.

The so-called "Fixed Trusts" in England and America testify to the loss of the true sense of Time, as the Essence of Credit, by many investors.

Money was once used more than it is now as the measure of Value, and who will dare to prophesy that a scarcity of Paper may not soon arise to represent the accumulations and accretions of Credit ?

If Western Economists could and would construct a reliable Time-piece to measure and indicate from Time to Time the exact state of the Essence of Credit, they might find the eleventh hour at hand, and themselves requiring all their Time and brains to save the existence of the material thing, called "Credit."

But they may on the other hand have to learn their lesson from the wise men of the East, who have never ceased to contemplate, and reckon with, Infinity.

Let no man neglect the *Rasam* of Credit therefore.

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FRAGMENTS ON INDIA

BY
VOLTAIRE

TRANSLATED BY
FREDA M. BEDI, B.A. HONS. (OXON.)

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Chapter XIV

Count Lalli besieges Madras. His misfortunes begin

AT last, after useless expeditions and attempts in this part of India, and in spite of the departure of the French fleet, which they believed to be threatened by the English, the General recommenced his favourite project of besieging Madras.

"You have too little money and too few provisions," people said to him: he replied "We shall take them from the town." A few members of the Pondicherry Council lent thirty-four thousand rupees to him. The farmers of the village or *aldees** of the Company advanced some money. The General also put his own into the fund. Forced marches were made, and they arrived unexpectedly before the town.

MADRAS TAKEN ON THE 13TH DECEMBER 1758

Madras, as is well known, is divided into two parts, very different from one another. The first, where Fort St. George is, is well fortified, and has been so since Bourdonnaye's expedition. The second is much bigger and is inhabited by merchants of all nations. It is called the "Black City", because the "Blacks" are most numerous there. It occupies such a large space that it could not be fortified: a wall and a ditch formed its defense. This huge, rich town was pillaged.

It is easy to imagine all the excesses, all the barbarities into which the soldier rushes who has no rein on him, and who looks upon it as his incontestible right to murder, violate, burn, rape. The officers controlled them as long as they could, but the thing that stopped them the most was the fact that, as soon as they entered the town, they had to defend themselves there. The Madras garrison fell on them. A street battle ensued: houses,

* *Aldee* is an Arab word, preserved in Spain. The Arabs who went to India introduced there many terms from their language. Well proved etymology often serves as a proof of the emigration of peoples.

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gardens, Hindu, Muslim and Christian temples became battlefields where the attackers, loaded with booty, fought in disorder those who came to snatch away their spoils. Count d'Estaing was the first to attack English troops who were marching on the main road. The Lorraine battalion, which he was commanding, had not yet fully reassembled, and so he fought practically alone and was made a prisoner. This misfortune brought more in its wake, because, after being sent by sea to England, he was thrown at Portsmouth into a frightful prison: treatment which was unworthy of his name, his courage, our customs and English generosity.

The capture of Count d'Estaing, at the beginning of the fight, was likely to cause the loss of the little army, which, after having taken the "Black City" by surprise, was taken by surprise itself in return. The General, accompanied by all the French nobility of which we have spoken, restored order. The English were forced back right to the bridge built between Fort St. George and the "Black City". The Chevalier of Crillon rushed up to this bridge, and killed fifty English there. Thirty-three prisoners were made and they remained masters of the town.

The hope of taking Fort St. George soon, as La Bourdonnaye had done, inspired all the officers, but the most strange thing of all was that five or six million inhabitants of Pondicherry rushed up to the expedition out of curiosity, as if they were going to a fair. The force of the besiegers numbered only two thousand seven hundred European infantry, and three hundred cavalry men. They had only ten mortars and twenty cannons. The town was defended by sixteen thousand Europeans in the infantry and two thousand five hundred sepoys. Thus the besieged were stronger by eleven thousand men. In military tactics it is agreed that ordinarily five besiegers are required for one besieged. Examples of the taking of a town by a number equal to the number defending it are rare: to succeed without provisions is rarer still.

What is most sad is the fact that two hundred French deserters went into Fort St. George. There is no other army where desertion is more frequent than in the French army, either from natural uneasiness in the nation or from hope of being better

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treated elsewhere. These deserters appeared at times on the ramparts, holding a bottle of wine in one hand and a purse in the other. They exhorted their compatriots to imitate their example. For the first time, people saw a tenth of the besieging army taking refuge in the besieged town.

The siege of Madras, light-heartedly undertaken, was soon looked upon as impracticable by everybody. M. Pigot, the representative of the English Government and Governor of the town, promised fifty thousand rupees to the garrison if it defended itself well and he kept to his word. The man who pays in this way is better served than the man who has no money. Count Lalli had no other option but to try an attack. But, at the very time when this daring act was being prepared, in the port of Madras appeared six warships, part of the English fleet which was then near Bombay. These ships were bringing reinforcements of men and munitions. On seeing them, the officer commanding the trench deserted it. They had to raise the siege in great haste and go to defend Pondicherry, which was even more vulnerable to the English than Madras.

ANGER AGAINST THE GENERAL

There was no longer any question of making conquests near the Ganges. Lalli took his small army, decimated and discouraged, into Pondicherry, which was even more despairing. He only found there personal enemies who harmed him more than the English could. Almost all the Council and all the employees of the Company were angry, and insulted him about his misfortune. He brought their hatred upon himself by the bitter, violent reproaches he rained on them, and by abusive letters, which were the result of the vexation he felt at being inadequately seconded in his enterprises. Not that he did not know well enough that every Commander with a limited amount of power ought to rule the Council which shares it, and that if energetic action is necessary, he must use gentle words. But perpetual contradictions were embittering him, and the very position that he held brought on him the ill-will of almost the entire colony whom he had come to defend.

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One is always filled with bitterness, almost without being conscious of it, at being ruled by a stranger. The very intrusions sent by the Court to the General increased this kind of obsession in the people. He was ordered to keep watch on the conduct of the Council: the directors of the India Company had given him a memorandum on the inevitably corrupt practices of an administration so far away. Had he been the gentlest of men, he would have been hated. The letter which he wrote on the fourteenth of February to M. de Leiriz, the Governor of Pondicherry, before the raising of the siege, made this hatred implacable. The letter ended with these words: "*I would rather command the kaffirs of Madagascar than remain in your Sodom, which you cannot prevent the English from destroying sooner or later, unless heaven does it first.*"

The poor success in Madras poisoned all these wounds. Nobody pardoned him for being unfortunate, and he, on his side, did not forgive those who hated him. Some officers soon joined in this universal complaint, those of the India battalion, troops belonging to the Company, being the most embittered. Unfortunately they knew what the letter of instruction from France contained: "*You must beware of entrusting any expedition to Company troops alone. It is to be feared that their spirit of insubordination, indiscipline, and greed will lead them to commit faults, and it is only wise to prevent this so that they may not have to be punished.*" Everything therefore contributed towards making the General hated without being respected.

Before going to Madras, filled with the idea of expelling the English from India, but lacking everything necessary for such great endeavours, he begged Corporal de Bussi to lend him five millions, for which he would be the only security. M. de Bussi wisely decided it was not the time to risk such a large sum of money, which was repayable as a result of very unlikely victories. He foresaw that a promissory note signed by Lalli and payable in Madras or Calcutta would never be accepted by the English. There are times when, if you lend your money, you make a secret enemy; if you refuse you make an open one. The indiscretion of the demand, and the necessity of refusal, was the beginning of dislike between the General and the

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Corporal which degenerated into an irreconcilable hatred, and which did not help the affairs of the colony. Many other officers complained bitterly. They raged madly against him: they overwhelmed him with reproaches, anonymous letters and satires. He fell ill with grief, and, afterwards, for four months, fever and brainstorms troubled him. To console him, they insulted him still more.

Chapter XV

New misfortunes of the India Company

IN this condition, which was hardly less sad than that of Pondicherry, the General was making new plans for a campaign. He sent to help the important station of Masulipatam, sixty leagues to the north of Madras, a M. de Moracin, civil and military officer, a clever, resolute man, capable of facing the English fleet, mistress of the sea, and of escaping. Moracin was one of his most prominent and fiery enemies. The General was reduced to the position of hardly being able to employ other men. This officer, a member of the Council, went with five hundred men (as many soldiers as sailors) but Masulipatam had already been taken.* Moracin went eighty leagues further, on a ship which belonged to him, in order to fight with a Rajah who owed money to the Company. He lost four hundred men and his money.

Who were these Princes, from whom an individual from Europe came to demand several million rupees by force of arms?

Another and even stranger example of Indian government deserves more attention.

Pondicherry and Madras are, as has already been said, on the coast of the big Naboby † of Carnatic, which the Europeans always call a kingdom. The English party, with five or six hundred men of their nationality (at the most); and the French party with the same number of men, had each been protecting for

* We shall avoid entering into the petty details of the quarrels between Lall and Moracin, between Moracin and Leuit, into a host of reciprocal complaints. If we had to give in detail all these wretched bickerings of so many of the Europeans transplanted into India, it would make a book bigger than the Encyclopædia. It is our primary necessity to write scientifically, and limit the picture of human weaknesses.

† Nababie (N.).

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some time their own particular Nabob; and it was always a question as to who would succeed in making his protégé the ruler.

The Chevalier of Soupire, a marshal of the camp, had been for a long time in the Province of Arcot with some French soldiers, some black, and some sepoys, badly armed and badly paid. The Chevalier of Soupire also complained that they were not well-dressed: but that is not such a big misfortune in the torrid zone. There is a post in this province which is said to be of the greatest importance: that is the fortress of Vandavachi* which protected the French stations. Vandavachi is situated in a small island formed by rivers. The French colony was still the mistress of this place. The English came to attack it: the Chevalier of Soupire repulsed them in a lively battle, but it was merely delaying the coming disaster.

A thing that one never sees except in that country is that the two Nabobs, for whom they were fighting, were both a hundred leagues from the battlefield. Pondicherry breathed more freely after this little success. But the naval army of Count d'Aché reappeared on the coast, and it was attacked again by Admiral Pocock, being more badly treated in this third battle than in the first ones, since one of the big warships caught fire and the mast was burnt. Four ships of the Company escaped. In the meanwhile, the French Admiral escaped the English Admiral, who, in spite of superiority of numbers and marines, was not able to take any of his vessels.

Count d'Aché then wanted to leave again for the Isles of Bourbon and France, which were always being threatened .. In all waters they had to fight for commercial interests. The Council of Pondicherry protested against the departure of the Admiral and made him responsible for the ruin of the Company, as if this man was the master of the elements and the English fleets. The Admiral let the merchants protest. He gave them the little money that he had brought along and disembarked about eight hundred men, then straightway hurried again to the Isle of France. Pondicherry without munitions, without food, was full of discord and consternation. The past, the present and the future were terrifying.

*Wandiwash or Wandewash.

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THE REVOLT OF THE TROOPS : OCTOBER 1759

The troops who were protecting Pondicherry revolted. It was not one of those stormy mutinies which begin without reason and end in the same way. Necessity seemed to cast them into it : it was the only way left to them to get paid and have enough to eat. "Give us" they said, "our bread and our pay, or we shall go and ask the English for it." The soldiers in the corps wrote to the General that they would wait for four days, but that, at the end of that time, all their resources being exhausted, they would leave for Madras.

It has been claimed that this revolt was fomented by a Jesuit missionary called St. Estevan, who was jealous of his superior Father Lavour, who, on his side, betrayed the General as much as he betrayed the missionary. St. Estevan betrayed both of them. This conduct is not in accordance with the single-hearted enthusiasm which shines in the "Edifying Letters," and with the host of miracles with which the Lord rewarded this enthusiasm.

Whatever the case may be, it was necessary to find money : in India, sedition is not appeased by words. The Director of the Treasury, named Boyelau, gave up the little gold and silver that remained with him. The Chevalier of Crillon lent four thousand rupees, M. de Gadeville the same amount. Lalli, who happily had fifty thousand francs with him, gave them and even persuaded the Jesuit, Lavour, his secret enemy, to lend thirty-six thousand pounds in silver, which he was keeping for his own use or for his missions, the whole being repayable by the Company when it was in a position to do it. They owed the troops six months' pay, and the pay was high : it amounted to more than a crown per day for every horseman and to thirteen sous a day for the soldiers. These may be small details, but we believe that they are necessary.

22ND JANUARY 1760

The revolt was only quietened at the end of seven days, and the good-will of the soldier was weakened by it. The English came back to the fatal spot, Vandavachi : they waged a second battle there which they won completely. M. de Bussi, the man

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who was the most indispensable to the colony and the army, was taken prisoner there, and then everyone despaired.

ANOTHER REVOLT

After this defeat, the cavalry revolted again, and wanted to go over to the side of the English, preferring to serve the victors, who were sure to pay them, rather than the vanquished who still owed them a large part of their pay. The General brought them back a second time with his money but he could not prevent the desertion of a number of horsemen.*

Disasters quickly followed for a whole year afterwards. The colony lost all these posts; the black troops, the sepoys, and the Europeans deserted them in crowds. They had recourse to the Marhattas, which each party employs in turn in the Moghul area: we have compared them with the Swiss, but, if, like them, they sell their services, and if they have something of their valour, they have not got their loyalty.

WHAT M. DE BUSSI REPORTS IN HIS MEMOIRS: PAGES 98 AND 184

The missionaries have their finger in everything in this part of India: one of them, who was a Portuguese and graced with the title of Bishop of Halicarnasse, had brought two thousand Marhattas. They did not fight on the day of the Vandavachi battle, but, to perform some feats of arms, they pillaged all the

*What is the reason of this mad desire to desert? Does love of one's country get lost the further away one travels? The soldier, who yesterday fired on his enemies, tomorrow fires on his compatriots. A few duties have arisen: to kill other men or be killed by them. But why were there so many Swiss in the English troops, and not one in the French? Why was it that, among these Swiss, united to France by so many treaties, were found so many officers and soldiers who had served the English against France in the same way in America and Asia?

What is the reason that in Europe, even during peace time, thousands of French have deserted their flag to take this same foreign pay? The Germans also desert, but the Spaniards only rarely; the English hardly at all. It is unheard of for a Turk or a Russian to desert.

During the retreat of the Hundred Thousand, in the midst of the greatest dangers and the most discouraging hardships, not one Greek deserted. They were only mercenaries, officers as well as soldiers, who had sold themselves to the young Cyrus, to a rebel and a usurper. It is the task of the reader and above all of the enlightened military, to find the cause and the remedy of this contagious malady, commoner to the French than other nations for many years, both in peace and in war.

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villages still belonging to France and shared the booty with the Bishop.*

We do not claim to be writing a journal about all the details of robbery, and to particularize about the peculiar difficulties which preceded the capture of Pondicherry and the general disaster. When an epidemic has destroyed a whole people, what is the good of tiring the living with a recital of all the symptoms which have carried away so many dead? It is enough to say that General Lalli withdrew into Pondicherry, and that the English soon blockaded the capital.

* A Latin priest of the Greek town of Halicarnasse which belongs to the Turks! A Bishop of Halicarnasse who preaches and pillages! and, after that, who can say that the world is not ruled by contradictions. This man was called Norogna; he was a Franciscan monk from Goa, who, fled to Rome where he obtained the title of missionary bishop. Lalli sometimes used to say to him. "My dear prelate, how have you managed to save yourself from being burned or hanged?"

Chapter XVI

An extraordinary happening in Surat. The English gain a Victory

WHILE the French colony was in trouble and distress, the English were doing something in India, fifty-five leagues from Pondicherry, which held the attention of the whole of Asia.

Surate, or Surat, at the end of the Gulf of Cambay, had been, since the time of Tamerlane, the big market of India, of Persia and of Tartary. Even the Chinese had often sent their goods there. It still retained its brilliancy, being principally peopled by Armenians and Jews, courtiers of every nation, and each nation had its establishment there. It was there that the Muslim subjects of the Grand Moghul used to come when they wished to make the journey to Mecca. A single big ship which the Emperor kept at the mouth of the river which goes to Surat used to carry the pilgrims from that place to the Red Sea. This ship and the other small Indian boats were captained by a Kaffir, who had brought a colony of Kaffirs to Surat.

This stranger died, and his son obtained his position. Two Kaffirs, admirals of the Grand Moghul one after the other, without anybody being able to tell from which side of Africa they came ! Nothing shows better how badly the Moghul dominions were governed and therefore how unhappy they were. The son ruled tyrannically in Surat. The Governor could not resist him. All the merchants groaned under his continually growing extortions. He held all the Mecca pilgrims to ransom. Such was the weakness of the Grand Moghul Alaungir in all branches of the administration, and it is thus that empires perish.

At last, the Mecca pilgrims, the Armenians, the Jews, and all the inhabitants joined together to ask the English for protection against a Kaffir whom the descendent of Tamerlane dare not

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punish. Admiral Pocock, who was then in Bombay, sent two vessels to Surat. This help, together with the troops commanded by Captain Maitland, who marched at the head of eight hundred English and fifteen hundred sepoy, was sufficient.

The Admiral and his party intrenched themselves in the gardens of the French settlement, beyond the gate of the city. It was natural that the English should pursue him: the French were giving him refuge.

This retreat was bombarded and fired at by cannons. There were many factions in Surat, and people feared that one of them would call the Marhattas who are always ready to take advantage of divisions in the Empire.

 MARCH 1759

Finally, differences were made up, and they allied themselves with the English: the doors of the castle were opened. The French settlement in the city was not protected from pillage, but none of the employees was killed and the day of struggle only cost their lives to a hundred members of the Admiral's party and twenty soldiers of Captain Maitland.

The Kaffirs retreated where they could. If it is unusual that a man of that nation should have been an Admiral of the Empire, an even stranger thing happened: the Emperor gave the title and the salary of Admiral to the English Company. This position was worth three lakhs of rupees and certain rights. The whole amounted to eight hundred thousand francs a year. The opportunity of attracting to themselves all the commerce of Surat was worth twenty times more.

This strange gift seemed to strengthen the power and the high position of the English in India, at least for a very long time; and the Company of Pondicherry was rapidly descending the road towards destruction.

Chapter XVII

The Capture and Destruction of Pondicherry

WHILE the English army was advancing towards the West and a new fleet was threatening the town in the East, Count Lalli had very few soldiers. He made use of a trick, quite usual in war and in civil life—he tried to appear to have more than he really had. He ordered a parade on the walls of the town on the seaward side. He issued instructions that all the employees of the Company should appear in uniform as soldiers, in order to overawe the enemy fleet which was alongside.

A THIRD REVOLT

The Council of Pondicherry and all its employees came to him to say that they could not obey this order. The employees said that they recognized as their Commander only the Governor established by the Company. All ordinary *bourgeois* think it degrading to be a soldier, although in reality it is the soldiers who give us empires. But the real reason is that they wished to cross in everything the man who had incurred the hatred of the people.

It was the third revolt which he had patched up in a few days. He only punished the heads of the faction by making them leave the town; but he insulted them with crushing words which are never forgotten, and which are bitterly remembered when one has the opportunity of revenge.

Further, the General forbade the Council to meet without his permission. The enmity of this Company was as great as that of the French Parliament's was against the Commanders who brought the strict orders of the Court to them—often contradictory ones. He had therefore to fight citizens and enemies.

The place lacked provisions. He had houses searched for

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the few superfluous goods to be found there, in order to provide the troops with food necessary for their subsistence. Those who were entrusted with this sad task did not carry it out with enough discretion with regard to most of the important officers, whose name and position deserved the greatest tact. Feelings, already irritated, were wounded beyond the limit: people cried out against the tyranny. M. Dubois, Commissary of Stores, who carried out this task, became the object of public condemnation. When conquering enemies order such a search, nobody dare even whisper: but when the General ordered it to save the town, everyone rose against him.

The officers were reduced to a half-pound of rice per day; the soldiers to four ounces. The town had no more than three hundred black soldiers and seven hundred French, pressed by hunger, to defend itself against four thousand European soldiers and ten thousand black ones. They would have to surrender. Lalli, in despair, shaken by convulsions, his spirit lost and overcome wished to give up the command, in favour of the Brigadier of Landivisiau, who took good care not to accept such a delicate and tragic post. Lalli was forced to order the misfortune and shame of the colony. In the midst of all these crises, he was daily receiving anonymous notes threatening him with the sword and poison. He actually believed himself to be poisoned: he fell into an epileptic fit, and the Missionary Lavour went to the townspeople to tell them that they must pray to God for the poor Irishman who had gone mad.

However, the danger was increasing; English troops had broken down the unhappy line of troops who were surrounding the town. The General wished to assemble a mixed Civil and Military Council which should try to obtain a surrender acceptable to the town and the colony. The Council of Pondicherry replied only by refusing, "You have broken us," they said, "and we are no longer worth anything." "I have not broken you," replied the General, "I have forbidden you to meet without my permission: and I command you, in the name of the King, to assemble and form a mixed Council to calm down the strong feelings in the whole colony as well as your own." The Council replied with this summons which they intimated to him:

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"We summon you, in the name of the religious orders, of all the inhabitants and of ourselves to order Mr. Coote (the English commander) to suspend arms immediately and we hold you responsible to the King for all the misfortunes to which ill-timed delay may give rise."

The General thereupon called a Council of War, composed of all the principal officers still in service. They decided to surrender, but disagreed as to the conditions. Count Lalli, angered against the English who had, he said, violated on more than one occasion the cartel established between the two nations, made a separate declaration, in which he blamed them for breaking treaties. It was neither tactful nor wise to talk to the conquerors about their faults, and embitter those whom he wished to give way. Such, however, was his character.

Having told them his complaints, he asked them to grant protection to the mother and sisters of a Rajah, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry, when the Rajah had been assassinated in the very camp of the English. He reproached them bitterly, as was his wont, for having allowed such barbarism. Colonel Coote did not reply to this insolent statement.

THE JESUIT LAVAUZIER PROPOSES CAPITULATION

The Council of Pondicherry, on its side, sent terms of capitulation, drawn up by the Jesuit Lavaur, to the English Commander. The missionary carried them himself. This conduct might have been good enough in Paraguay, but it was not good enough for the English. If Lalli offended them by accusing them of injustice and cruelty, they were even more offended at a Jesuit of intriguing character being deputed to negotiate with victorious warriors. The Colonel did not even deign to read the terms of the Jesuit: he gave him his own. Here they are:

"Colonel Coote desires the French to offer themselves as prisoners of war, to be treated according to interests of his master the King. He will show them every indulgence that humanity demands.

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He will send tomorrow morning, between eight and nine o'clock, the grenadiers of his regiment, who will take possession of the Vilmour door.

The day after tomorrow, at the same time, he will take possession of the St. Louis door.

The mother and the sisters of the Rajah will be escorted to Madras.

Every care will be taken of them and they will not be given up to their enemies.

Written in our General Headquarters, near Pondicherry, on the 15th January 1761."

They had to obey the orders of General Coote. He entered the town. The small garrison laid aside their arms. The Colonel did not dine with the General, with whom he was annoyed, but with the Governor of the Company, M. Duval de Leirit, and a few members of the Council.

THE ENGLISH ENTER PONDICHERRY

Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras for the English Company, laid claim to his right on Pondicherry : they could not deny it, because it was he who was paying the troops. It was he who ruled everything after the conquest. General Lalli was all the time very ill ; he asked the English Governor for permission to stay four more days in Pondicherry. He was refused. They indicated to him that he must leave in two days for Madras.

We might add, since it is rather a strange thing, that Pigot was of French origin, just as Lalli was of Irish origin : both were fighting against their old fatherland.

LALLI ILL-TREATED BY HIS FOLLOWERS

This harshness was the least that he suffered. The employees of the Company, the officers of his troops, whom he had mortified without consideration, united against him. The employees, above

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all, insulted him right up to the time of his departure, putting up posters against him, throwing stones at his windows, calling out loudly that he was a traitor and a scoundrel. The band of people grew bigger as idlers joined it, and they, in turn, soon became inflamed by the mad anger of the others. They waited for him in the place through which he was to be carried, lying on a palanquin, followed at a distance by fifteen English hussars who had been chosen to escort him during his journey to Madras. Colonel Coote had allowed him to be accompanied by four of his guards as far as the gate of the city. The rebels surrounded his bed, loading insults upon him, and threatening to kill him. They might have been slaves who wanted to kill with their swords one of their companions. He continued his march in their midst holding two pistols in his weakened hands. His guards and the English hussars saved his life.

THE COMMISSARY OF STORES OF THE ARMY ASSASSINATED

The rebels attacked M. Dubois, an old and brave officer, seventy years old and Commissary of Stores for the Army, who passed by a moment later. This officer, the King's man, was assassinated: he was robbed, stripped bare of clothes, buried in a garden, and his papers immediately seized and taken away from his house, since when they have never been seen.

While General Lalli was being taken to Madras, the employees of the Company obtained permission in Pondicherry to open his boxes, thinking that they would find there his treasure in gold, diamonds and bills of exchange. All they found was a little plate, clothes, useless papers and it maddened them even more.

MARCH 5, 1761

Bowed down with sorrow and illness, Lalli, a prisoner in Madras, asked in vain for his transport to England to be delayed: he could not obtain this favour. They carried him by force on board a trading ship, whose captain treated him cruelly during the voyage. The only solace given him was pork broth. This English patriot thought it his duty to treat in this way an Irishman in the service of France. Soon the officers, the Council of

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Pondicherry, and the chief employees were forced to follow him, but, before being transferred, they had the sorrow of seeing the demolition begun of all the fortifications that they had made for their town, and the destruction of their huge shops, their markets, all that was used for trade and defence, even to their own houses.

Mr. Dupre, chosen as Governor of Pondicherry by the Council of Madras, hurried on this destruction. He was (according to our information) the grandson of one of those Frenchmen whom the strictness of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes forced to become an exile from their fatherland and fight against it. Louis XIV did not expect that in about eighty years the capital of his India Company would be destroyed by a Frenchman.

The Jesuit Lavour wrote to him in vain : " Are you equally anxious, Sir, to destroy the house in which we have a domestic altar where we can practice our religion secretly ?"

Dupre was little concerned with the fact that Lavour was saying the Mass in secret : he replied that General Lalli had razed St. David to the ground and had only given three days to the inhabitants in which to take away their possession, that the Governor of Madras had granted three months to the inhabitants of Pondicherry and that the English were at least equal to the French in generosity, but that he must go and say the Mass elsewhere. Thereupon the town was razed to the ground pitilessly, without the French having the right to complain.

Chapter XVIII

Lalli and the other prisoners are conducted to England and Released on Parole. Criminal suit against Lalli

THE prisoners, on the journey and in England, continued their mutual reproaches which despair made even more bitter. The General had his partisans, above all among the officers in the regiment bearing his name. Almost all the others were his enemies: one man would write to the French Ministers, another would accuse the opposite party of being the cause of the disaster. But the real cause was the same as in other parts of the world: the superiority of the English fleet, the carefulness and perseverance of the nation, its credit, its ready money, and that spirit of patriotism, which is stronger in the long run than the trading spirit and greed for riches.

General Lalli obtained permission from the Admiralty in England to enter France on parole. The majority of his enemies obtained the same favour: they arrived preceded by all the complaints and the accusations of both sides. Paris was flooded with a thousand writings. The partisans of Lalli were very few and his enemies innumerable.

A whole Council, two hundred employees without resources, the Directors of the India Company seeing their huge establishment reduced to nothing, the shareholders trembling for their fortune, irritated officers: everybody flew at Lalli with all the more fury because they believed that in their losing he had acquired millions. Women, always less restrained than men in their fears and their complaints, cried out against the traitor, the embezzler, the criminal guilty of high treason against the king.

The Council of Pondicherry, in a body, presented a petition against him in front of the Controller-General. In this petition,

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they said : " *It is not a desire to avenge the insults and our ruin which is our motive, it is the force of truth, it is the pure feeling of our consciences, it is the popular complaint against him.*"

It seemed however that " the pure feelings of conscience " had been somewhat corrupted by the grief of having lost everything, by a personal hatred, perhaps excusable, and by a thirst for vengeance which cannot be excused.

A very brave officer of the ancient nobility, badly insulted without cause, whose honour even was involved, wrote in a manner even more violent than the Council of Pondicherry. " *This is* ", he said, " *what a stranger without a name, with no deeds to his credit, without family, without a title, but none the less loaded with the honours of his master, prepares for the whole colony. Nothing was sacred in his sacrilegious hands : as a leader he even laid his hands on the altar appropriating six silver candlesticks, which the English General made him give back in response to the request of the head of the Capucines* ", etc.

The General had brought on himself, by his indiscretion, his impetuosity, and his unjust reproaches, this cruel accusation : it is true that he had the candlesticks and the crucifix carried to his own house, but so publicly that it was not possible that he should wish to take possession of such a small thing, in the midst of so many big things. Therefore the sentence which condemned him does not speak of sacrilege.

The reproach of his low birth was very unjust : we have got his titles together with the seal of King John. His family was very old. People therefore were overstepping the limit with him just as he had done with so many others. If anything ought to inspire men with a desire for moderation, it is this tragic event.

The Finance Minister ought naturally to protect a trading company whose ruin was liable to do so much harm to the country : a secret order was given to shut Lalli in the Bastille. He himself offered to give himself up : he wrote to the Duke of Choiseul : " *I am bringing here my head and my innocence. I am awaiting your orders.*"

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The Duke of Choiseul, Minister of War and Foreign Affairs, was generous to a fault, genial and just - the highness of his ideals equalled the breadth of his opinions, but, in an affair so important and complicated, he could not go against the clamorous demands of all Paris, nor neglect the host of imputations against the accused. Lalli was shut up in the Bastille in the same room where La Bourdonnaye had been and, like him, did not emerge from it.

It remained to be seen what judges they would give him. A Council of War seemed to be the most suitable tribunal, but he was also accused of misappropriation of funds, embezzlement, and crimes of peculation of which the Marshals of France are not the judges. Count Lalli at first only brought accusations against his enemies, who therefore tried to reply to them in some way. The case was so complicated, it was necessary to call so many witnesses, that the prisoner remained fifteen months in the Bastille without being examined, and without knowing the tribunal before which he was to plead "That," several legal experts used to say, "is the tragic destiny of citizens of a kingdom, famous for its arms and its arts but lacking in good laws, or rather a kingdom where the wise old laws have been sometimes forgotten."

THE JESUIT LAVAUr DIES. 1,250,000 POUNDS FOUND IN HIS CASH BOX

The Jesuit Lavour was then in Paris - he was asking the Government for a modest pension of four hundred francs so that he might go and pray to God for the rest of his days in the heart of Perigord where he was born. He died and twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds were found in his cash box, and more in diamonds and bills of exchange. This deed of a Mission Superior from the East, and the case of the Superior of the Western Missions, La Valette, who went into bankruptcy at the same time, with three millions in debts, excited over the whole of France an indignation equal to that which was excited against Lalli. This was one of the causes which finally got the Jesuits abolished, but, at the same time, the cash box of Lavour settled the fate of Lalli. In this trunk were found two books of memoirs, one in favour of Lalli,

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the other charging him with all kinds of crimes. The Jesuit was to make use of one or the other of these writings, according to the turn which affairs took. These documents were a double-edged sword, and the one that harmed Lalli was delivered to the Attorney-General. This supporter of the King complained to Parliament against the Count on account of his oppression, embezzlement, treachery and high treason. Parliament referred the suit in the first instance to the Châtelet. Soon afterwards, letters patent of the King sent to the High Tribunal and to the "Tournelle" *information of all the malpractices in India so that steps may be taken against the perpetrators in accordance with the severity of the ordinances.* It might have been better to stress the word *justice* rather than the word *severity*.

As the Attorney-General had accused him of the crimes of high treason and treachery against the Crown, he was denied a counsel. For his defense he had no other help except his own. They allowed him to write, and he took advantage of this permission—to his own undoing. His writings annoyed his enemies all the more and made new foes. He reproached Count d'Aché with being the cause of his loss in India, because he did not remain before Pondicherry. But as chief of a squadron, d'Aché had definite orders to defend the Isles of Bourbon and France against a threatened invasion. He was accusing a man who had himself fought three times against the English fleet, and had been wounded during these three battles. He blamed the Chevalier of Soupire violently, and he was answered with a moderation as praiseworthy as it is rare.

Finally, testifying that he had always rigidly done his duty, he gave vent to the same excesses with his pen as formerly he used to do with his tongue. If he had been granted a counsel, his defence would have been more circumspect, but he all the time thought that it was enough to believe oneself innocent. Above all, he forced M. de Bussi to give a reply that was as mortifying as it was well written. All impartial men saw with sorrow two brave officers like Lalli and de Bussi, both of tried valour, who had risked their lives a hundred times, pretend to suspect one another of lack of courage. Lalli took too much upon himself by insulting all his enemies in his memoirs. It was

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like fighting alone against an army, and it was impossible for him not to be overwhelmed. The talk of a whole town makes an impression on the judges even when they believe they are on their guard against such an influence.

VOLTAIRE'S FRAGMENTS ON INDIA

IN
BOOK FORM

The final chapters of the translation of Voltaire, dealing with the fate of Lalli and the final destruction of the French Company in India are being published, together with the translation that has already appeared in the journal. The book is advertised on p. 472 of this issue.

CURRENT LITERATURE

SPAIN FROM ANOTHER ANGLE*

[BY FREDA M. BEDI]

IT is refreshing to meet a friend after an absence of over a year. Walter Starkie has such a personal hold on our affections, his books are so revealing of his character, that we open a new book from his pen with the same kind of pleasure. The same roguery and good humour, the same love of music and human character, good and bad, awaits us in *Don Gypsy*: the prologue itself is a foretaste of good things to come.

"The following pages describe the further adventures of a musical picaroon mounted on a frisky hobby horse. All he claims is a tiny dose of Pantagruellian jollity of mind pickled in the scorn of fortune."

Walter Starkie is the Professor of Spanish in Dublin University. It was only late in life (if forty can be called late) that he began his treks across Europe, with a violin for a companion and no money in his pocket. Some love of the tramp's life and the enchantment of Gypsy culture lured him away from the routine of daily existence. His holiday journeys in Europe and Spain, the subject of his three books, are a "flight from reality," something to make him forget that he is a staid professor, and a family man; something to give him the illusion that the end of life is only the end of the hot road, and that the pleasures of song and dance, of rest in the shade, of the Spanish wine he loves so well, are the ultimate end of existence. In poverty he sees squalor and tragedy. It is the dark side of a picture whose other face is the glory of Alhambra and the grace of a lovely woman. He will not try to find its cure. It is the stuff of life, the wheel of fortune.

**Don Gypsy*, by Walter Starkie. John Murray, 10s. 6d. net.

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A Romantic

As a romantic he would be unbearable if it were not for his sense of humour. His dramatization of the snobberies of the poor is characteristic : of a Gypsy woman who owned a chicken run he says :

" Poor as she was, she had her ideas of respectable living. When asked whether she and her husband were friends of Rafæl and his family, seeing that the two men were boot blacks by profession, she answered : ' No, Senõr. I have nothing to do with that lot. My husband and I keep to ourselves and we lead a decent, honest life.' I could not help chuckling at the thought that my friend Rafæl was not on Ana Carpio's calling list. But the Spanish homely saying goes—' Everywhere in the world they cook beans.' The world is the same all through, whether one has money, or whether one has not a cent. Wild revolutionaries and idealists might learn from those poor waifs and strays how impossible it is to reduce humanity to one set level."

That he is a romantic and not a politician is amply evident from the fact that he makes the childish mistake of thinking that a revolutionary preaches equality, rather uniformity, among mankind. What he really teaches is equality of opportunity to all, in order to create *inequality*. In Russia to-day, there is inequality, and it is right that there should be ; but the inequality there is not the result of birth and inherited wealth, it is the result of less work, poorer brains, lack of tenacity.

But Starkie is irresistible, as a child is irresistible. He himself admits that when he vaults over the University walls " into the great wide world, he becomes as simple and unsophisticated as a new-born child."

A Gypsy-Lover

There is something child-like in gypsy life which attracts him too : in its wild abandon, quick to anger and quick to forgive, it casts a spell upon him. The ramifications of that unique international community are a science and a life-study for him, and each new feature he finds is treasured as a miser treasures gold.

Current Literature

The Gypsies, with their common language, Calo, which is the same in every country in Europe, with their common culture and customs, with their sense of kinship and strict racial purity, are an interesting enough study. This Indian race whose exact source is unknown, whose date of entry into Europe can only be guessed, has succeeded in keeping intact its particular characteristics and culture in face of the most uncompromising difficulties, and the wretched poverty of all nomad peoples in more organized parts of the earth. One particularly interesting branch of the race, the nomad coppersmiths, was found in Tetuan before the Spanish journey began :

"What greater example of racial tenacity could be found than those nomad coppersmiths? Their tribes are closely related to one another although they are scattered to the four corners of the earth. Very few of those gypsies can read or write, but they seem to possess subtle means of communication between one tribe and another, and they speak a picturesque dialect of ancient Romany which has been the despair as well as the fascination of Romany scholars all over the world."

Starkie has a rare appreciation of Gypsy music, of Gypsy customs, and the beauty of Gypsy women, whether it be the "Pharoah's daughter, with a skin as diaphanous as golden light," the queen of the Coppersmiths, or the fiery dancers of the caves.

The Heart of Spain

Beyond the gypsies stretches the vista of Spain. The traditions of Spain, her chequered history, her wide dusty plains and beautiful cities are as familiar to Starkie as the road under his feet. A mine of folk-lore and historical anecdote is to be found within the two covers of the book. It has the charm of completeness: the cream that the writer has culled from a lifetime of Spanish studies. The heart of that proud, passionate country is expressed in these pages. Whether we are with the goatherd on the mountains, or the muleteers in their inn, whether we are in the engaging coolness and domesticity of the "patio" (the Spanish compound, full of trees) or the poor farmhouse in Andalusia, the spirit of Spain is richly there.

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And Revolution ?

And yet the child and the professor never quite disappear—they succeed in the maze of song and dance in losing sight of economics and the laws of change. Here is Starkie's impressionist interpretation of the ills of Spain, written long before the present trouble: it is through the lips of a Spanish artist of the old school: "Remember, Senör, that Andalusia is an agricultural province and everywhere the country worker is in a bad way. The Republic has sadly misled people and the people have been the prey of unscrupulous propagandists who announced that as soon as the revolution broke out the millenium would come with socialism .. the demagogues who shout still have their way but it will not be for long, the people are disillusioned and there is hunger everywhere." Starkie continues:

"I could cretainly agree with Don Juan, that there was plenty of hunger in Andalusia, for I had been living among pinched faces ever since I had come to Granada. The remedy which most of the Conservatives suggest for the present ills of Spain is to go back to strong government by the army until order is restored. How often in Spanish history has that remedy been applied! The mass of the people are familiar with it and they would, presumably welcome it on the principle that the Devil you know is better than the Devil you do not know."

Events are moving quickly in Spain. It remains to be seen whether Starkie predicts events, or whether Lenin did when he is reputed to have said that Spain would be the next country to become a Soviet State. It is consoling in the world of to-day to remember that the realist must ultimately triumph over the romantic, even though he be as disarming as Starkie!

STRANGE GLORY*

[BY RAZIA SIRAJ-UD-DIN]

TO the average reader of contemporary fiction, who is not prepared to take literature with a gripping seriousness, and yet scorns the superficial unassuming novel, *Strange Glory* with its intellectualized mediocrity is sure to appeal tremendously, for there is in it a certain charm of style, a kind of swift decisive modernity apparent in the way the author takes literary short cuts to reach his destination. This haste in his narrative and a Walt-Disnean synchronization of action with words is evident in the first few chapters of the book, after which it develops into a kind of lethargic meditation on nature. There is a sense of fatality in the way the characters are powerless to control their destinies. In spite of the importance that has been given to Paulina, it is the character of Wentworth which is the most unconventional and remarkable for in his oneness with nature and his philosophic and æsthetic absorption in it, he provides the book with its more profound and moving passages.

Unconsciously perhaps, the author has given his drama an ethereal and psychic setting, for everything seems to be happening on a kind of astral plane and the actors taking part in it are so detached and providentially removed from worldly contact that the appearance of a taxi driver and Pierre the boatman is most sudden and unnatural, while it seems improbable that there should be a wife called Caroline, another called Rosita, an uncle, an aunt, a mother and a child, who through their very absence from the scene dissolve into a mere mythical and shadowy figures.

It occurs to the reader that there should be a sense of pathos somewhere in the closing chapters of the book, but not having Dostoyevsky's passionate sense of the tragic, and Turgenev's lyrical rendering of the pathetic the author somehow fails to convince us

**Strange Glory*, by L. H. Myers, Putnam, 7s. 6d., 1936.

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of Paulina's heart-rending and sudden misfortune. Or is it her fatalistic passivity and lack of resistance which makes it possible for her to take it all so calmly? Has the author tried to convince us of the ultimate triumph of destiny over human desires and human emotions? Anyhow it is a book for unsophisticated minds in search of the usual love interest dealt with in a slightly unusual and disguised manner

But to those who have experienced the vigorous dynamic sincerity of Lawrence's physiology and the enlightened sophistication of Huxley's characterization, as well as his scientific musicalization of fiction, to those who are affected by the genius and originality of both these authors, *Strange Glory* will appear to be just another of those insipid and ordinary novels and its characters mere palpitating and timid shadows.

It is really a most embarrassing and deplorable characteristic of our modern age that each and single book which comes out is acclaimed as a sort of Literary Saviour simply because it was read by the Countess of Oxford and Asquith, praised by Lady Pamela Smith and Gladys Cooper, because it was mentioned by Tom Walls at a dinner table, appraised by the Mayor of London and finally banned by Herr Hitler in Germany.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF DICTATORSHIPS*

[BY K. S. THAPER]

THE word "Dictator" is not a new one. It was coined by the Romans centuries ago. Certain Magistrates were called dictators because, unlike other dignitaries in Republican Rome, they had no colleagues and, therefore, were not obliged to discuss their measures with any one. Later, history books have occasionally talked of certain rulers being "Dictators" but the word has always been vaguely understood; it has not found its way in any written constitution nor been defined in any scientific treatise. Although the modern age is loosely called the age of dictatorships, we are not quite clear as to the meaning of the word. As Prof. Hermann Kantorowicz has pointed out, in 1919-20 German and Russian Marxists debated dictatorship: the German asserted passionately that dictatorship must necessarily be a personal one, a party dictatorship being "logically" impossible which the Russians equally passionately denied. To-day we see both personal and party dictatorships flourishing in Europe. Again, Prof. Kantorowicz says, "the German scholars, for instance, are not allowed and the Italian ones certainly not encouraged, to call the Fascist State a dictatorial one. The latest Nazi text-book on German constitutional law defines a dictator as a ruler endowed with extraordinary powers, but restricted to a special task or to a transitory emergency; therefore, it explains, Mr. MacDonald's national government was dictatorial, but Herr Hitler's and Signor Mussolini's rules never were dictatorships An eminent British statesman, on the other hand, declared sometime ago: 'The United States to-day is practically under a dictatorship. Democracy has broken down in that country. The National Government of Great Britain are the present guardians of democracy.'" The confusion is there. It is this confusion that Prof. Hermann Kantorowicz seek to clear in his small pamphlet on "Dictatorships".

**Dictatorships—A Sociological Study*, by Hermann Kantorowicz, H. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge. Price 6d

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He constructs his concepts of dictatorships out of three elements which he calls 'the political, the technological, and the historical.' The definition he suggests is: *We propose to call that government a dictatorship which is autocratic ; works through dictation ; and in which the governed still remember a less autocratic or less illiberal former system.*

Autocratic, he explains, is a government whose power is independent of the governed, not in a legal sense but when sociologically viewed. Legally no present dictator is an autocrat ; they are all commissioned. Alexander of Yugoslavia was the only sovereign dictator, Mussolini has been commissioned by the King while to Hitler powers were granted by the Reichstag through the Enabling Act. Sociologically they are all autocrats and some of them have even declared that, should a so-called Plebiscite go against them, they would disregard the event.

Second is the technical element of dictation. This, he says, requires two means : a positive and a negative. The positive means lies in ' the creation or moulding of public opinion by means largely emotional, illogical or unfair.' This is done by what we commonly understand by the word "propaganda". Under the head 'negative means' he enumerates all those measures which lead to a complete suppression of civil liberties and includes in it an element of "violence" and "terror". The expression "violence" and "terror" he would like to restrict to the "*illegal* application of physical force." This would mean restricting the use of it to the initial phase of a dictatorship, which is generally revolutionary, because, as soon as a dictator has acquired power he would "legalize" all his measures. Why restrict the use of this expression ? Every government is built on force. It was an eminent lawyer like Sir Edward Carson, who talking about Ulster, once declared, "We will set up a government. I am told it will be illegal. Of course it will." He knew that this illegality would go as soon as the new government acquired power and control of affairs. Then it would pass new laws, including one legalizing itself, and be known as "government by law established". But the test is whether these new laws seek to govern by inspiring confidence or terror. If the latter, as is the case with all

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dictatorships, then "terror" must remain an element for consideration.

In the third element, the historical one, Prof. Kantorowicz explains, are two concepts: former democracy and former liberalism which are not to be confused.

Having explained his definition, Prof. Kantorowicz proceeds to *justify* it. First on the terminological side he feels called upon to justify the historical element. It is in this part of his definition that I disagree with him. He says that historical element is necessary because "it alone justifies language in calling Oliver Cromwell a dictator, but not Henry VIII; Napoleon, but not Louis XIV; The Bolsheviks, but not the Czars. "This, I think, is begging a question. Henry VIII, Louis XIV and the Czars were not called dictators because political science had another word for them. If the historical element is really necessary how is the Bolshevik regime in Russia a dictatorship? No Russian to-day remembers a more democratic or less illiberal system. Prof. Kantorowicz is mistaken if he thinks that the Czar ever *allowed* his subjects the right of free speech. It is true that, in 1905 and again in 1917, the people *dared* to raise their voice but it was not that the Czar *let* them do so. That is why 1905 and 1917 are called the years of revolution in Russia. In 1905, moreover, the Czar's Government ruthlessly suppressed all opposition. The semblance of representative assembly that was set up was anything but democratic. The right allowed to it was the right to agree with the Czar and his Government, not the right to differ from them. We know what the fate of the Dumas was when it tried to disagree. On the other hand, if the testimony of Sidney and Beatrice Webb or of Maurice Hindus is to be believed there is more freedom of speech in Russia to-day than was the case under the Czars. Or, to take a hypothetical case, suppose Mussolini has a couple of able successors who carry on his system, then, would it be right to say that Italy was no longer under a dictatorship, because Italians did not, in living memory, remember a more liberal system?

On pages 8—10 of his thesis Prof. Kantorowicz has succinctly summed up the demoralizing effect of dictatorship on a

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nation. Finally he classifies the various types of dictatorships that exist to-day. The types he has mentioned intersect each other. It would, however, not be out of place to give here a short list of the types he was enumerated. Firstly there are the *personal* dictatorships like in Germany and Italy and the *collective* dictatorship as in Russia. In the former one may criticize the principles but not the person of the dictator; in the latter the leaders and their single measures may be criticized but the principles underlying their politics are taboo. Then there is the distinction between the *monistic* and the *pluralistic* dictatorship, according to whether it is one person, one party, one group that rules or more than one. Lastly there is the distinction between *Military* dictatorship (like in Spain under Primo de Rivera and in Japan) and *party* dictatorship. The latter again is distinguished: there is a *collective party dictatorship*, as, for example, the rule of the Bolshevik party in Russia, and, there is the *personal party dictatorship* of the Fascist type, i.e., the rule of an autocratic Fuhrer over an armed party which autocratically rules the nation. The case of Austria is so complicated that it cannot be properly labelled.

Such is Prof. Kantorowicz's classification of dictatorships. It is an able classification and is quite convincing. There is, however, one very important factor which Prof. Kantorowicz has dismissed without an adequate consideration. Political scientists have always distinguished the good from the bad form of each system of government. Thus Monarchy is distinguished from Tyranny; Aristocracy from Oligarchy, Democracy from Anarchy. Why not distinguish Dictatorships also: according to their ideology and economic programmes? It would be tempting to do so, Prof. Kantorowicz admits, but says that this is all drawing-room talk. He has scant courtesy for those writers who have tried to explain dictatorships as an expression of the interests of the "capitalists" or the "middle class," etc. "If these authors," he says, "had taken the trouble first to define and then to classify the object of their studies, they would have easily found that dictatorships, like monarchies or republics, can be filled with almost any economic contents, no matter whether socialist, capitalist or precapitalist"—(can Monarchies really be socialist !!!?). Who denies that dictatorships can be filled with various economic

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contents? "Both heaven and hell are dictatorships," observes Prof. Kantorowicz. Does he mean it is immaterial whether we distinguish between them or not? I must admit I have found his argument incomprehensible. It is perhaps true, that, the form of dictatorships, with different programmes, would be similar. So is the movement of the legs when we are walking, but we may be walking towards a delightful garden, or, through shady trees on to a cliff from where there is a steep fall in the depths below. Leaving aside the fine differences in shade, there are, at present two types of dictatorships when considered with regard to their ideology. Broadly speaking these are: those that aim at abolishing class distinctions and levelling of society and those that aim at preserving class distinctions, maintaining *status quo* in society and protecting vested interests—namely the Socialist and the Fascist types.

AN INDIAN LOOKS AT BERNARD SHAW

[BY FREDA M. BEDI]

SHAW has become an institution of modern life. He would doubtless object to be labelled as anything quite so stable and solid, since his mercurial temperament, his inexhaustible energy, which like his friends the Webbs seems to grow with age, give the impression more of a cataract, with its perpetually moving waters. But an institution he is, if only because he has become a part of our lives, and we cannot conceive what the world would be like without his contrary views appearing. His stability for us arises from the fact that we know that he will be a rebel; his rebellion itself is something indispensable to our enjoyment. If Shaw stopped being a rebel, we should be just as surprised as if Mount Etna decided to threaten the world with extinction no longer.

A new interpretation of this "superman" of our age has come from the pen of S. C. Gupta of the Presidency College, Calcutta, published from the Oxford University Press at 7s 6d. net. Mr. Gupta knows his Shaw, but knows him, we find, in a curiously naive way. As an interpretation in serious vein, it is excellent, and an addition to the bookshelves of Shaw scholars. But there is too much Eastern seriousness in his understanding. Fundamentally, of course, Shaw is as serious as the evil condition and poverty of the world is serious, but over all his work is that satire, that veneer of irony and wit, that tempers our anger with laughter. That is what makes him great. The pure propagandist has his place in the executive of a state Government or in the ranks of a political party. It is the art of a great writer that he should so suffuse propaganda with his individuality that it becomes a part of our permanent literature. Gupta recognizes Shaw's wit more in the abstract sense, putting forward this example and that, whereas the very sight of the face of Shaw will tell you that the temper of his life, the background of all he has written is that devilment and laughter that gleams from his deep set

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eyes, even from his winglike ears, and impish expression. To say that "the great limitation of Shaw is that he does not understand the depth and seriousness of human emotions," is just about as sensible as saying that Molière, the greatest French comedian, was ignorant of the tragic side of life.

It is another thing to say that he gives first place to instinct, that he is a scientific biologist, a socialist, and that the finer emotions he rejects as unreal. Who, having read *Candida* could say that he lacked subtlety or the perception of a woman's heart, or that he did not understand, deeply and exquisitely, all the delicacy of her emotions in conflict with the tormenting choice between the poet and her husband?

MORALITY AND POVERTY

If is perhaps the great contribution of Shaw to contemporary morals that he has fearlessly shown how moral degradation is often the result of poverty and that there is an economic basis to prostitution that makes it impertinent for those with safe incomes to condemn it. It is rather the duty of these sermonizers to fight to the death the system of society, the exploitation of the poor by the rich, that causes it to be a permanent part of the modern world. Shaw had *Mrs. Warren's Profession* banned for many years, and it is only recently that the ban has been lifted which is in itself a tribute to the fearlessness and the power with which he has so defended his point that to-day the modern world accepts what before it refused to swallow.

We must never forget that Shaw is a prophet: his stress on biology, on socialism, on sex rights, the things which make him a rebel in his own age, will in the future be the things which keep him from age and oblivion.

STORM OVER ASIA

[By B. P. L. BEDI.]

"THE pleasure and joy of man lies in treading down the rebel and conquering the enemy, in tearing him up by the root, in taking from him all that he has, in making his servants wail so that the tears flow from eyes and nose, in riding pleasantly upon his well-fed geldings, in making one's bed a litter upon the belly and navel of his wives, in loving their rosy cheeks, in kissing and sucking their scarlet lips".....this was the philosophy of a man who rose like a storm and swept across the face of Asia. Ralph Fox has attempted a difficult task in writing the life of Ghenghis Khan recently (published by The Bodley Head, Ltd., London), but the difficulty of his task has made his final triumph all the greater. On hearing the name of Ghenghis Khan, one visualizes the figure of a Mongol chieftain reflected against the background of the blood and dust of his battles. To present before us a living Ghenghis Khan, the writer has made use of historical material, written and unwritten. He has put the details of historical data together, in order to construct his skeleton from contemporary documents, and he has supplied flesh and blood from the ever-living sources of legend and tradition. Ralph Fox has made us hear from the distance of centuries the stern mother of Temujin reprimanding her haughty son who was destined to become the Ghenghis of history, when he came back from murdering his step-brother :

"Save your shadows," she raged at him, "you have no companions. Save your horse's tail you have no whip. The wrong done you by the two Taijiut chiefs is unbearable. When you should think of avenging yourselves on your foes, you do these things... .."

He was afraid of her, a bitter woman and a wise counsellor, a widow with the courage of a man and the decision of a warrior.

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Nomads under Canvas

Ghenghis had lost his father at an early age, through the treachery of a jealous tribe, and the family, consisting of four brothers, two half-brothers, a sister and at their head the mother, started their life in an isolated place "by the river, on the fringe of the forest region, hunting the marmots and prairie mice, fishing and trapping game, at times driven by want to feeding on roots and forest plants". Temujin was the eldest among his brothers. His father's kinsmen who bore bitter hostility to this family realized fully well that as long as this boy lived their lives and power were in danger.

"So they raided the widow's little camp, calling out that they meant no harm to any soul, but only wanted the boy Temujin." He had smelt the danger and had fled to the forest, hiding there till hunger drove him out, and, as fate would have it, he came out only to fall straight into the hands of his enemies. In the greatest moment of his humiliation at the hands of his captors, "Tragutai caused a wooden Chinese stocks to be locked around his neck and sent him to spend a night in every camp of the Tajiut. One night they made a feast on the banks of the Onon, leaving only a weak youth to guard their prisoner. Temujin struck him with the edge of the stocks, stunning him, and escaped to the river, hiding in the reeds with the water up to his nostrils." Rescued from that place by a family retainer, he was hidden under a cartload of wool, and was finally set free by him and given "a young unfoaled mare, a skin of *kumys* and lamb's meat for the road, and a bow and arrows for protection."

Back in his family, with his brothers Temujin grew strong and hardy, living a poor nomadic life, and learning from its rigours the arts of self-defence.

The Mighty Mongol

In 1206, at the age of sixty-five, Ghenghis Khan had grown into a mature man of tall stature "of vigorous build, robust in figure, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cat's eyes, possessing a great energy, discernment, genius and understanding,

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awe-striking, a butcher, just, resolute, an overthrower of enemies, intrepid, sanguinary and cruel."

Behind him stretched the panorama of Asia, which, at the time of his birth was centuries ahead of Europe. "in science, in art, in philosophy and literature, in the size and grandeur of its towns, the wonder of its libraries and universities. yet it was a society in which nothing was firm and stable, in which the very poets and philosophers could only mourn the beauty of passing things, and seek comfort in a mystic communion with an absolute spirit outside of the agony of life, a society where every man was at war with his brother, in which cruelty, violence, and oppression, were the laws of being. States and empires rose and vanished on the immense steppe, their very names unknown in the West. Only the legend of the immense wealth of Asia was constant in the imagination of the youthful peoples of Europe."

It was at this time that they heard with wonder of the rising star of Ghenghis, and the majesty that surrounded the court of this illiterate nomad.

The Secret of his Power

In studying the life of this ruthless conqueror, one is deeply struck by the emphasis which he always laid on the implicit obedience which he demanded from his followers. Not only as a young chieftain fighting his way to power, but as the Khan of the biggest empire since the days of Alexander, he stuck to the rigidity of this principle. "If a noble committed a fault", we are told, "and the Khan sent even the least of his servants to punish him, the guilty noble must throw himself down on the earth before him, in humble submission till the royal representative had inflicted the chastisement to which he was condemned, though it were death." The Khan of the Mongols had the vision of divine right long before Europe dreamed of it, and he enforced with success what the House of Bourbon idealized as the height of kingly power... "The state is Me".

This claim on the allegiance of his followers was not, however, based on the ruthless use of power, but on the strong bonds of affection with which he was bound to the Mongol hosts.

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"My archers and warriors are dark like vast forest of many trees," he said. "It is my care and intention to sweeten their mouths with the gift of sweet sugar, to bedeck them in front, behind and upon the shoulders with brocaded garments, to seat them upon goodly geldings, to give them to drink from pure and tasty rivers, to vouchsafe their four-legged beasts with abundant grass." In these emotions lay the key to the conquest of China, and the following drive towards the West.

Under the Mailed Fist

Ralph Fox, in this study of Ghenghis which is full of fascination, information, and analysis, has reproduced in his narrative the stark simplicity of the people about whom he is writing. He transports us back into mediæval Asia and makes us march to the beat of the Mongol drum. It is a remarkable study of the life of a great conqueror under the searchlight of keen historical analysis the threads of which are imperceptibly interwoven with the narrative. We are shown the man and the ruler both. Where we look upon Ghenghis as a general who was always prepared to strike first, from whose notebook Napoleon had taken a leaf, in saying that "offence is the best art of defence," as a general who would leave nothing to chance or fate, we see him revealed as a man without armour on the eve of launching his offensive against China, through the conquest of which he was to hew his way to Europe.

"Chenghis retired for three days into his tent with a rope round his neck to fast and commune with himself, and then, going to a hill-top, took off cap and belt and made sacrifice to the Blue Sky before entering on this great enterprise."

As a man his greatness lay in realizing that a rigorous self-examination stood higher than God or military strategy.

PUNJABI FOLK-SONGS*

[BY KRISHNA SINGH THAPER]

FOLK-SONGS have more than a fleeting importance. They have not only gladdened the heart of the villager who has sung them and has danced to their tune for years, or, perhaps with slight variations for several decades; they really represent his inner-most soul. He has created them according to his mood. Through them he has sung of his love and his loss. They have been his emotional outlet in joy and in sorrow. They have represented his mental development from time to time. They are, as Rabindra Nath Tagore puts it "a region of literature which is a spontaneous creation of the sub-conscious mind of the people". Collected and printed in book form they provide welcome reading, material for a literate citizen to while away his idle hours. They are, like all light literature, a source of permanent happiness to the nation.

It is gratifying to note that Prof. Devendra Satyarthi is devoting his valuable time to the collection of these folk-songs. An old student of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, Prof. Satyarthi left his academic studies without taking a degree in order to satisfy his hunger for folk-songs. He has travelled all over India and collected folk-songs in several languages. He has now published a selection of these in *Gidha*. *Gidha* is published in Punjabi and contains folk-songs from the Punjab only. Prof. Teja Singh in his Foreword to this book has given quotations from songs of various provinces and has tried, thus, to emphasize the cultural unity of India. Perhaps it would be more correct to agree with S. Gurbaksh Singh who in an Epilogue to this book observes that if we examine the folk-songs of various countries in the world we will find that primary human emotions are the same everywhere. The only difference is that of local colour. It is this local colour in fact, which is of interest to a sociologist and historian. The main difficulty is that it is not quite so easy

* *Gidha* : In Punjabi, by Prof. Devendra Satyarthi, Price Rs. 5, Surdarshan Press, Amritsar.

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to fix the dates of these songs and Prof. Satyarthi has made no attempt to do so. Even the division of chapters in this book appears to be somewhat arbitrary. But then Prof. Satyarthi does not pretend to be a literary critic. He is an explorer and as an explorer his achievement is praiseworthy.

The songs collected in this volume are still extant. So we may take it that they are of recent origin, *i.e.* composed within the last hundred years or so and, if earlier, are such as still represent the sentiments of the villager. Some of the dates can easily be fixed as for example when a song refers to the Singh Sabha movement or the Arya Samaj or to Ratikēen Sir Charles Rattigan—the famous lawyer). Those composed after the advent of the British can be easily marked as the change is very apparent. Village life has been transformed beyond recognition. The old self-sufficiency of the village is gone. Its handicrafts and cottage industries are destroyed to make room for cheap machine-made goods. In many cases the system of land tenure has been put on a new footing. This has completely upset the village economic system. In the sphere of administration the old communal assemblies and the Panchayats are no more. A highly centralized bureaucracy has its outposts in these remote places. A Thana or a police station are to-day a conspicuous feature in a village. All this has found expression in the village folk-songs. One has only to read the last chapter of Prof. Satyarthi's collection to realize what the villager thinks of his altered life, of the new economic system, of the taxes and water rates, of the money-lender, of the law courts and the lawyers with whom he has to deal now because of the new judicial system of recruitment in the army and being enlisted for foreign service. All this is vividly expressed in these verses. Above all his fear and hatred of a Thanedar or other petty police official is beautifully portrayed. To give an example, "Even God Almighty is now afraid of thanedars" is the translation of one couplet. (p. 165). Another passage roughly translated below is more interesting: (p. 151)

The train arrived on the (Railway) Station ;
The engine whistled ;
Shanto the wife of Havaladar ;

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Came to the gate (of the Station);
In the meantime the train started leaving her helpless;
There she stands weeping on the Platform;
This Shamo Hoor Sarkari.

Imagine a Jat singing this to the tune of his *Gidha* and dancing to it! What a vicarious pleasure he takes at the discomfiture of Shamo almost like the school boy who enjoys seeing an unpopular schoolmaster in trouble. And yet he hates Shamo only because she is the wife (perhaps herself arrogant too) of the *Havildar*, who, for him, is a symbol of oppression and tyranny. And what a sarcastic humour there is in the expression *Hoor Sarkari*, the title he chooses for Shamo—and how significant it is! It is really a comfort to note that in spite of his poverty and miserable condition the peasant retains his lively sense of humour which we in the cities do not possess. Through these songs we can still see the soul of the peasant—his simplicity, courage, trusting nature and his acute mind.

Prof. Satyarthi in his introduction deplores the wide gulf that to-day exists between the town and the village. He adds, however, that a modern young man in India seems to have sworn to condemn everything that pertains to the village. This is an over statement made in a spirit of objection and is perhaps the only serious challenge I offer to Prof. Satyarthi. We need not despair. Every country has passed through this stage during the process of its industrialization. We, however, have other forces as well to counter. It is no use blaming an educated young man. It is true that at present he is completely alienated from the village and does not even make an effort to understand. But then it is also true, that, invariably, he thinks in a foreign medium and has to translate his thoughts into his mother tongue. All this is true. It is a pity but it is not his fault. He is a victim of circumstances. His education has been such that he is misfit in the village society. His source of inspiration is different and so is his outlook. It is for pioneers like Prof. Satyarthi to shake him out of his lethargy. But it must be done in an agreeable manner. It is no use behaving like the indiscreet travelling agent who even before he exhibits his wares deplores

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the ignorance of his would-be purchaser who has never heard about the article before. Prof. Satyarthi will be saved from the fate that might befall such an agent, because, the goods Prof. Satyarthi offers are genuine and are undoubtedly valuable. I am sure *Gidha* will be widely read and its reception may prove to Prof. Satyarthi that educated people are not perversely apathetic to folk-songs.

SHORTER NOTICE

IT is but another aspect of the social ferment of our day that art, philosophy, and the very fabric of modern life is interwoven with social revolt, with socialism, or other forms (it may be perversions) of the socialist doctrine. There are many who in the searching of their hearts agree that the present system of the world is wicked, but who, because they believe in God find it difficult to say that they are socialist in the accepted sense of the term. For such people is a special interest in the book of S. Dass *Rational Spiritual Idealism*, published at the Ripon Press, Lahore at four annas. Mr. Dass is an idealist, a love of Truth in an almost Gandhian sense, although politics of modern India and their labels do not approach him. But he is a violent iconoclast because he sees that this Truth, this purity for which he strives is, thrown into the dungheap by organized religion in the world to-day. The book as it stands is intensely religious in approach, but though it may be acceptable only to those with the same approach, it contains a germ of something very worth-while in the maze of religious abuse : a revolt against the senseless barriers of race and religion.

His creed is that it "is better to believe in a God of Destruction than a God of Stupor".

The slight archaism of style and the religious, moral attitude to life cannot hide the fundamental rebel, even the fundamental socialist. If the rebel is illustrated by this phrase : "It is better to eat dogs if what you eat is not good enough and if the eating of dogs can impart to you the strength of a boar"; the fundamental socialist can be seen in his sketch of the ideal state, a curiously Rousseauesque, Leninish affair.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY *

PERHAPS the present is not the most satisfactory time to attempt a review of a book on International Security, when many people are coming to regard it as a hypocritical chimera. Its sub-title is 'The American Role in Collective Action for Peace' and it may well be wondered what role America has, in fact, played, except to balk the efforts of all other countries by her initial refusal to enter the League of Nations. The early chapters are by way of being an apologia for America's position, showing, as everyone knows, how the designs of individual politicians have been repeatedly frustrated by the stupidity and obstinacy of the Senate. It is undeniable that, if the U. S. A. had fully entered into the Concert of Powers after the War instead of indulging in an ill-timed period of isolationism, the present-day international trend would have been considerably modified. For, despite all her vagaries, the U.S.A. is a country genuinely desirous of peace; on more than one occasion she has been the rallying-point for proposals for disarmament, and it is this that makes it all the greater pity that she is not prepared fully to engage in commitments and has made the title 'League of Nations' a mockery in itself.

The author's view is that it is not really much use crying over spilt milk and he devotes the first portion of his volume to a historical summary of the U. S. A.'s behaviour between 1919 to 1935. Her achievement has been fairly considerable—the Kellogg Pact and the London Naval Treaty immediately spring to mind, as well as American co-operation in the International Labour Office. But her repeated refusal to have anything to do with the Permanent Court of International Justice is a blot on her record, even though there is reason to suppose that a large proportion of the public would be in favour of her joining it. The Kellogg Pact is, of course, commendable, but is there not a little too much vague waffle about it for it to be of much use where rampant dictators are concerned?

* *International Security*, By Philip C. Jessup (Council of Foreign Relations).

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The remainder of the book is devoted to discussing possible American contributions to Collective Security. The author has very little new to suggest that has not been suggested already—greater participation in international affairs, the concluding of further non-aggression pacts and disarmament conventions, the recognition of the principle of sanctions against an aggressor state and a modification of the American attitude towards neutrality. All these have been suggested before but few have any chance of success until America realizes that she is only one fraction of a world entity and not an individual planet delicately poised to watch benevolently events in Mother Europe. A book like this makes despondent reading; it makes one realize more and more, how little chance there is of peace in this world until there is a change of heart amongst the nations and how, even though there be a change of heart, it will be unavailing unless the nations are prepared to subscribe to an international police force against the law-breaker.

S. D.

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THIS HINDI-URDU QUESTION!

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

I HAD heard of this controversy but owing to numerous other pre-occupations I could not pay much attention to it. Even now, I am afraid, I am unable to get excited about it and it seems to me to be an unreal affair in a world which is in torment and which has to face vast problems affecting the whole future of our country, of the millions who inhabit it, and of civilization itself. I must conclude that those who are excited over this Hindi Urdu affair have little conception of these larger and more vital problems. They seem to have lost sight of the wood and concentrate their attention on a few odd trees.

My own way of looking at our problems is very different. The vital factor in the world is the fierce tussle that is going on between progress and reaction. Everywhere we see this in different forms and guises—in Spain, in Palestine, in India. What is happening in Spain to-day is probably of more consequence to the world, and even to India, than any thing else. I am oppressed by it as I am oppressed by the attempts on the part of British Imperialism to crush the Palestine Arabs. All these, as well as our freedom struggle in India, are parts of the same picture for me. And when I see this mighty picture, ever shifting and changing, many of the little things that worry us seem to lose significance.

Coming to India, the vital factor is the problem of poverty and unemployment. All else is subsidiary way to it and can only be considered in relation to it. This is my way of looking at things and I think it is the right way. But I find this perspective strangely lacking in most other people, especially in those who talk and write so much about Hindi and Urdu. Languages and literatures and cultures flourish when people flourish and have freedom to develop their genius. To the starving and the wretched and the slaves, what value has a superficial culture which does not reach them?

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It is from this view-point that I would like our friends to view this question.

* * * *

First of all let us be clear as to what the Congress, that is to say the Nationalist India, stands for. In our constitution it is clearly stated that the language of the country and of the Congress is Hindustani. It is further stated that both the scripts, Nagri and Urdu, are to be officially recognised. Further in the Fundamental Rights resolution of the Karachi Congress it is stated that "the culture, language and scripts of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected".

Now this is as clear as it could well be. The position thus is this. We think that the principal languages of India, each of which is an ancient language and has a considerable literature, should be encouraged in their various linguistic areas. They should be the principal languages for those areas. These languages are, apart from Hindustani and its variations, Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Assamese, Sindhi, etc. There is no question of any of these languages being suppressed by Hindustani. For a large area, however, in the north Hindustani, with its variations, holds sway. We have to try to standardize this Hindustani as far as we can for this northern area, and at the same time to make it a necessary second language for the rest of India, so as to make it the linguistic link which binds India together. There is no other possible language which can be this link and I think it is quite inevitable that Hindustani should develop in this direction. I am not against English or other foreign languages. I think a knowledge of foreign languages is essential for us to keep in touch with the world and with modern thought. But that knowledge can never extend to large numbers of people in the country.

And thus Hindustani is going to be the national language of India. At the present moment there are many variations of it. We talk usually in terms of Urdu and Hindi, thinking chiefly of the script and partly of the background of Persian or Sanskrit. But an even more vital difference is that between the city

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language and that of the rural areas. We seldom think of the rural areas in this connection because all our public life derives inspiration from city folks. To some extent this is bound to continue and it is right that the higher cultural standard of the city should play an important part. But as education spreads in the rural areas this predominance of the city will not be so marked and our language will undergo a considerable change. It may not remain so polished and so courtly but it will gain in vitality and power of expression.

The real standardization of language will only come when there is mass education on behalf of the State. Our efforts to-day in this direction cannot carry us far except in so far as they create a certain atmosphere. There is another factor to be borne in mind. People often object to a certain growing tendency for the Hindi and Urdu versions to drift apart. There is, I think, some tendency of this kind and some individuals help it. But the real reason for this, I think, has nothing to do with individual motives. It has a more fundamental basis.

When we talk of the common simple language of the people, which we would wish to encourage at the cost of the Persianized or Sanskritized language, what exactly do we mean? Every tyro knows that there is a world of difference between the language of Delhi and the language of Nagpur or of Bihar. There is tremendous difference between the language of Lucknow city and the rural areas of Lucknow. What then is this simple common language of the people? Each one of us is apt to consider his own language or the language of his group the standard language and to be irritated when another variation of the language is used. Instead of being a little ashamed of his ignorance or of his limited knowledge, he seems to glory in the fact that he does not understand something.

But I want to point out some thing deeper. The simple common language of the people is always a limited language. Probably it consists of about two thousand words. It is good enough for the day to day activities of ordinary life. But as soon as we begin to discuss any problem of life, political, cultural, economic, social, this simple language does not help us. We have

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to go outside its range to discover the requisite words and phrases to express uncommon ideas. Inevitably the writer or the speaker has recourse to Persianized or Sanskritized words. Thus apparently the two variations of the language drift apart. This is really a sign of the vitality of the language and we need not alarm ourselves about it. I am sure that after this first flush of separate growth they will come nearer to each other because they cannot help it. Circumstances are too strong for them and a mass audience will demand both simplicity and uniformity. It is up to us to help in this process wherever we can and I think we can do something in that direction now. But we must not waste our efforts in objecting to this growth of the language even though that growth may exhibit separatist tendencies. We want a rich and varied language drawing for its sustenance and its vitality from the classical languages as well as the modern languages of the world. In the modern sense of the word our languages are somewhat immature and they have to develop before they can express modern ideas and fine shades of modern thought. So the richer they get the better. We must not try to stop the growth of the language because of our own limited knowledge. The real thing to be objected to is the tendency both in Hindi and Urdu for a certain courtly and elaborate method of expression which, though grandiloquent, has little vitality and can never reach the masses. If we think and speak and write in terms of the masses, inevitably our speech and writing will tend to simplicity and force. This is the way to check the extravagant conceits as well as the separatist tendencies of Urdu and Hindi.

I do not say much about the script because that is a matter that is settled so far as we are concerned. For Hindustani both the Nagri and the Urdu script must be encouraged and recognised everywhere. This is not merely a political compromise, as perhaps some people think, but a vital principle to encourage national growth. I would personally encourage every language and every script that exists because I am convinced that real education can only be given to the growing child in the home language and script. I find it quite absurd when I learn that people want to suppress a language or script anywhere. That shows utter ignorance of national growth and the part that language plays in it. I would remind you of how the Russians

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have solved this problem in their own vast and varied territories. They have encouraged every single local language and they have even gone so far as to manufacture new script for certain nomadic languages which had no script so far. The result of this has been a wonderful growth of education all over the Soviet territories. I would go so far as to permit the adopting, by the State schools, of the Tamil or any other language in any city in northern India where a sufficient number of Tamil boys and girls require this. So also with all other languages and scripts. Our policy must be not to suppress any language or script but to encourage it so far as we can. Applying this to Hindustani it inevitably follows that we must encourage both the Nagri and the Urdu script all over the Hindustani-speaking areas. To try to suppress any of them in any way is wrong and harmful. Further, in the non-Hindustani speaking areas the State, I think, should undertake the teaching of either the Hindi script or the Urdu wherever a sufficient number of people demand it.

With this background to my thought it astonishes and grieves me to find that in the North-West Frontier Province the Hindi script should be discouraged by the State. In the province of Bihar I understand that some people object to facilities being given to the Urdu script by the State. That seems to me an utterly wrong attitude. We must throw the way open to both these scripts everywhere and permit the use of either or both as the people choose.

It is curious how many things in our country take a communal tinge. Even the language question has become communal. And, for some mysterious reasons, Urdu is supposed to be the hall-mark of the Muslim. With all due deference I am not prepared to admit this. I consider Urdu as my language which I have spoken from my childhood up. Unfortunately for myself my education was such that I neither know Urdu nor Hindi properly. But that does not mean that Urdu ceases to be my language. I consider this question, therefore, and I want others to consider it, entirely from a linguistic point of view and not from a communal view-point. To talk about culture and Muslim culture in this connection is to talk beside the point.

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When we consider the question of a common language for India we must bear one important fact in mind—that a common language cannot be a hotch-potch of all the languages of India. We cannot create an artificial language like this and impose it on the whole of India. That will fail as Esperanto and Volapuk failed. The question as to what Hindustani is cannot be determined by a reference to the non-Hindustani speaking areas of India, such as south India. We can only fix upon Hindustani by considering northern India and by trying to evolve a common tongue out of the variations of Hindi and Urdu. Any attempt to influence this evolution by mixing up the consideration of other languages in India is doomed to failure.

Keeping this well in mind we can at the same time try to find the common words and links between this standardized Hindustani of the north and the other principal languages of India. This will be helpful in the study of Hindustani in other parts of India. I tried to point out the essential difference between these two methods of approach at Nagpur during the sessions of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, but I am afraid I did not succeed in making myself clear. Many people there were far too full of other problems which seemed to me superficial.

Apart from these remarks of mine at the Parishad at Nagpur I did not say much else so far as I remember, as I felt somewhat out of place in the gathering and out of touch with its various constituent elements. It was the first time that I had attended such a gathering. My chief interest in it was that it should develop links between the different literatures of India so that common ideas might course through them and they should begin to look more and more to the masses of our people. I wanted our writers in the various languages to consider the many problems the European writers have to face to-day, and I hoped that the Parishad would develop into some such association. But I found to my regret that discussions ranged round trivial matters such as Hindi and Hindustani and odd words here and there. My own sympathy was for the use of the word Hindustani and I mentioned this. But I felt ill at ease when I found that this question so dominated everything else. That conference had a large number of people from South India representing the southern

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languages. They were suspicious of the attempts made on behalf of Hindustani to overshadow them. In spite of that suspicion they came. Inevitably their approach to Hindustani was to a large extent through Sanskrit which was a common link. They could vaguely think in terms of Hindi but the word Hindustani seemed much more foreign to them. This was, I believe, felt by Gandhiji and he made it clear that he would like the southern writers to accept the word Hindustani but they would require some further contacts with us before they would gladly do so. Therefore, he said, for the present the uncouth phrase "Hindi *yani* Hindustani" be used. His intention was to win over, as far he could, these reluctant and suspicious writers from the South and the West to the ideal of Hindustani as a common language for India, and he took the most feasible course that was open to him. But in doing so he made it perfectly clear that he did not give in on any point of principle, for to him Hindi itself meant the use of both the scripts and both variations of the language. He made this clear subsequently, I am told, at the meeting of the Sahitya Samellan.

Thus in considering this Nagpur Parishad one must bear in mind that it was not a meeting of Hindi and Urdu writers from the Hindustani-speaking areas but a gathering in which people from the South and the West predominated and their views had to be considered and respected.

But one thing more. This talk of Muslim culture and Hindu culture in this connection astonishes me. It betrays an amazing ignorance of modern conditions and modern forces. I feel that there is a tremendous amount of loose thinking on these subjects. This must not be encouraged.

There are various national cultures and many of these have been influenced by religions. But essentially they have remained national cultures. In the course of time each national culture has influenced its neighbouring cultures and thus we find to-day mixed cultures in most countries. India has a very powerful national culture but it has been influenced by equally powerful influences of other cultures. I refuse to consider these separate trends as Hindu or Muslim. They are essentially parts of our common heritage and to-day they are being influenced by cultural or other

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tendencies which flow from the scientific civilization of the West. All the King's horses and all the King's men cannot stop the development of the forces which tend to unity in India, politically, economically and culturally. Indeed this tendency is a world-wide one. We are developing, in spite of wars and conflict, a world culture which will not crush or standardize national cultures, but which will connect them together with common links, and yet retain their infinite variety. In India our object must inevitably be the making of a united nation, politically and otherwise, with strong cultural bonds and at the same time with the fullest tolerance for the development of cultural variations. Indeed these variations must be encouraged and helped. We do not want a drab uniformity in India but a wide and varied life bubbling over with rich vitality. Beyond this we must work for the common world culture and world order, which is the only way out for the present disorder and chaos all over the world.

There is one matter which is worth noting. Why is it that whenever such so-called cultural and similar questions are pushed to the front, political reactionaries take the lead in them? Is that not a significant thing which ought to make us think hard? Out of political reaction there can never be cultural progress. If there is any person really keen on cultural growth in India he must also be keen on the political freedom of India and work for it to the best of his ability.

(Extracts from a letter which was sent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Dr. Mahmud of Delhi - Ed)

IN THE FEDERATION

THE PROVINCES

[PROF. K. T. SHAH]

THE Federation of India, proposed to be established under the Government of India Act, 1935, is a peculiar creation, differing essentially and materially from other Federations all over the world. This difference is not merely of technical constitutional importance. It affects the whole being of the Federation,—that is, of the people of India,—and its power to do any good, to achieve any progress of the country. The difference affects the structure of the Federation, limits its authority, and prescribes rigidly its field of action. Let us consider the most salient aspects of this difference.

In the first place, the Indian Federation, if and when it comes into being, would consist of two distinct groups of units, combined in a Federation. The Indian States, and the British Indian Provinces. There is nothing corresponding to this peculiarity in any other Federation all over the world. The States are,—however small, poor, backward, powerless,—theoretically at least, sovereign entities, so far as the internal administration is concerned, and subject to the Treaties with each State. The sovereignty of the States is nominal: their independence theoretical, their power and authority, apart from the orbit of the Indian Government, wholly a matter of conjecture. Still the nominal independence and recognition of the States as distinct political entities, which, by agreement in the form of an Instrument of Accession duly executed with an outside authority combine with the Indian Provinces to form a Federation of India, is a unique characteristic of this new constitution, that deserves all the study and thought possible to bestow upon it.

Because the States,—or the larger and more important among them,—are independent, semi-sovereign entities, they do

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not form part of the Federation automatically. While the Provinces are part and parcel of the Federation the moment it is proclaimed, the States are entitled to consider the framework provided by the Government of India Act as a mere basis for combining into a Federation. Until each Ruler executes an Instrument of Accession, and the same is accepted by the King-Emperor, the States are no part of the Federation. Even when the Instrument of Accession has been executed and accepted, the States do not become part of the Federation except subject to the terms and conditions, limitations and reservations, if any, contained in the Instrument; and only to the extent and for the purposes specified therein (*cf.* Section 6 of the Act of 1935). Not so the Provinces. They are part and parcel of the Federation the moment it is born.

Says Section 5 of the Act:—

“(1) It shall be lawful for His Majesty, if an address in that behalf is presented to him by each House of Parliament and if the condition hereafter mentioned is satisfied, to declare by Proclamation that as from the day therein appointed there shall be united in a Federation under the Crown, by the name of the Federation of India,

(a) the Provinces hereinafter called the Governors' Provinces; and

(b) the Indian States which have acceded or may thereafter accede to the Federation;

and in the Federation so established there shall be included the Provinces hereinafter called Chief Commissioners' Provinces.

(2) The condition referred to is that States

(a) the Rulers whereof will, in accordance with the provisions contained in Part II of the First Schedule to this Act, be entitled to choose not less than fifty-two members of the Council of State; and

(b) the aggregate population whereof, as ascertained in accordance with the said provisions, amounts to at least

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one-half of the total population of the States as so ascertained, have acceded to the Federation."

The Federation is to be established by a Royal Proclamation; the Proclamation may be issued if each of the Houses of the British Parliament present an address to that effect to the King-Emperor; and the Address can be presented only if the States, containing in the aggregate not less than half the total population in the Indian States, and entitled among them to 52 seats in the Federal Council of State, have acceded to the Federation. The Provinces are, of course, always there to follow any political constitution that it may suit Parliament to inflict upon them,—whether they are the Governors' Provinces, or the Chief Commissioners. But the States have the option to join or not to join; and, if they join, for only a specified number of subjects, and that too subject to such reservations or limitations as each joining State considers it necessary to stipulate in its own interests. The Provinces join without any such option; they are united in the Federation for such purposes as the Act prescribes; and they have no right to stipulate for any conditions, limitations, reservations or the like,—except in so far as the Act permits them a margin of exclusive as well as concurrent authority, and protects them against too sweeping an exercise of Federal authority by the Federal Executive or the Federal Legislature.

Though the States have an option to join, and are entitled to suggest reservations or conditions for joining in the Federation, it does not by any means follow that the Crown will be bound to accept every one of those conditions or reservations. Says Section 6 :

- "(1) A State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation if His Majesty has signified his acceptance of an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof, whereby the Ruler for himself, his heirs and successors
- (a) declares that he accedes to the Federation as established under this Act, with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of the Federation

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shall, by virtue of his Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Federation, exercise in relation to his State such functions as may be vested in them by or under this Act; and

- (b) assumes the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given within his State to the provisions of this Act so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of his Instrument of Accession.

Provided that an Instrument of Accession may be executed conditionally on the establishment of a Federation on or before a specified date, and in that case the State shall not be deemed to have acceded to the Federation if the Federation is not established until after that date.

- (2) An Instrument of Accession shall specify the matters which the Ruler accepts as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws for his State, and the limitations, if any, to which the power of the Federal Legislature to make laws for his State, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in his State, are respectively to be subject.
- (3) A Ruler may, by a Supplementary Instrument executed by him and accepted by His Majesty, vary the Instrument of Accession of his State by extending the functions which by virtue of that Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any Federal authority in relation to his State.
- (4) Nothing in this Section shall be construed as requiring His Majesty to accept an Instrument of Accession or supplementary Instrument unless he considers it proper so to do, or as empowering His Majesty to accept any such Instrument if it appears to him that the terms thereof are inconsistent with the scheme of Federation embodied in this Act:

Provided that after the establishment of the Federation, if any Instrument has in fact been accepted by His

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Majesty, the validity of that Instrument or any of its provisions shall not be called in question and the provisions of this Act shall, in relation to the States, have effect subject to the provisions of the Instrument.

- (5) It shall be a term of every Instrument of Accession that the provisions of this Act mentioned in the Second Schedule thereto may, without affecting the accession of the State, be amended by or by authority of Parliament, but no such amendment shall, unless it is accepted by the Ruler in a supplementary Instrument, be construed as extending the functions which by virtue of the Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any Federal authority in relation to the State.
- (6) An Instrument of Accession or supplementary Instrument shall not be valid unless it is executed by the Ruler himself, but, subject as aforesaid, references in this Act to the Ruler of a State include references to any persons for the time being exercising the powers of the Ruler of the State, whether by reason of the Ruler's minority or for any other reason.
- (7) After the establishment of the Federation, the request of a Ruler that his State may be admitted to the Federation shall be transmitted to His Majesty through the Governor-General, and after the expiration of twenty years from the establishment of the Federation the Governor-General shall not transmit to His Majesty any such request until there has been presented to him by each Chamber of the Federal Legislature, for submission to His Majesty, an address praying that His Majesty may be pleased to admit the State into the Federation.
- (8) In this Act a State which has acceded to the Federation is referred to as a Federated State, and the Instrument by virtue of which a State has so acceded, construed together with any supplementary Instrument executed under this Section, is referred to as Instrument of Accession of that State.
- (9) As soon as may be after any Instrument of Accession or

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supplementary Instrument has been accepted by His Majesty under this Section copies of the Instrument and of His Majesty's acceptance thereof shall be laid before Parliament, and all Courts shall take judicial notice of every such Instrument and acceptance.

Though the Rulers may execute the Instrument, the King is not bound to accept it; nor is His Majesty bound to provide a Federation by a given date,—or, for the matter of that, by any date. The King, moreover, is expressly debarred from accepting instruments of Accession which, with the reservations contained therein, seem to be inconsistent with the fundamental idea of the scheme of this Act. Even if, without being quite inconsistent with the basic idea of this Act, any Instrument is considered by the King as not quite proper, he may not accept it. So in every respect the States are bound, once they execute the Instrument, by the portions of the Act applying to them; and the King-Emperor is not bound even to maintain the frame-work of the Act. Under Section 45 if the Governor-General is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Federation cannot be carried on in accordance with this Act, the whole Act may be suspended by a proclamation of the Governor-General. By subsection (4) of that Section.

"If at any time the Government of the Federation has for a continuous period of three years been carried on under and by virtue of a Proclamation issued under this Section, then, at the expiration of that period, the Proclamation shall cease to have effect and the Government of the Federation shall be carried on in accordance with the other provisions of the Act, subject to any amendment thereof which Parliament may deem it necessary to make, but nothing in this subsection shall be construed as extending the power of Parliament to make amendments in this Act without affecting the accession of a State."

This means that, after three years of rule by Proclamation, Federated States may, if they so choose, withdraw from the Federation,—though the Section as worded may not be interpreted to give absolute freedom to withdraw from the Federation, once a

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State has acceded to it.

As regards the Provinces there is no such option for joining or withdrawing from the Federation. They are combined in the Federation ever since its inception ; and, presumably, they will be kept in some sort of an extra-constitutional combination even after the Federal machinery has ceased to function because of a Proclamation to that effect by the Governor-General.

The substance of this fundamental difference, inherent in the status and origin of the combining units, lies in the strength and power it imparts to the central Federal authority ; and, controlling that authority, the British Government. The Governor-General is, under Section 14, placed expressly under the general control of, and made amenable to directions from the Secretary of State ; while by Section 54, the Provincial Governors are placed similarly under the general control of the Governor-General, and made amenable to any directions issued by that officer. This applies, it must be added, only to such actions of the Governor-General, or of the Governors, as are taken *in the sole discretion* of those officers, or *in the exercise of their individual judgment*. It does not apply to anything that is done in accordance with the advice of the constitutional advisers of the Governor-General or the Governors, in such matters in which those advisers are entitled by law to offer their advice and the executive head of the government is bound to abide by that advice.

Apart from this fundamental difference, there is the further fact that, though the Provinces are to be made into autonomous regions, they have in no way been consulted before being combined in a Federation. However formal, perfunctory, unreal the consultation may be, the States or at least the Rulers thereof, have been consulted before they are cajoled, coerced or convinced into executing their instrument of Accession. There has been no such previous consultation with the Provinces ; no negotiations, no special concessions or inducements to them,—financial or otherwise to persuade them to join. It is not only that their governments have not been consulted before the establishment of the Federation ; it is still more remarkable that their peoples,—hereafter to be regarded as forming autonomous units,—are also not consulted.

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There is, therefore, no agreement among the federating units to form a federation. The Federation has been forced upon them,—or at least imposed upon them by an external authority. The distribution of powers and functions has been ordained by the same outside authority. It is the British Parliament which has decided for a Federation. As a preliminary to the institution of a Federation, it is the British Parliament which confers upon the Provinces a measure of autonomy, strictly limited in powers and functions. Says the report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, considering the measure in Bill form:—

“The scheme of provincial autonomy, as we understand it, is one whereby each of the Governor's Provinces will possess an executive and a legislature having exclusive authority within the Province, in a precisely defined sphere, and in that exclusively provincial sphere broadly free from control by the Central Government and Legislature” (para. 43).

Scrutinized carefully, and read properly between the lines, this sentence supplies the keynote of the new scheme of constitutional and responsible government proposed to be introduced in India. Under that scheme, the Provinces are merely the creatures of the Central authority, being combined, by an Act of Parliament, in a Federation. If the Federation of India does not eventuate, the Provinces will, presumably, enjoy a limited sphere of autonomy granted to them by the same Act of Parliament, unless and until the constitution is suspended under Section 93, or an emergency is declared under Section 102.

Of their own authority, they have no powers or even existence. Certainly, new Provinces are created by Act of Parliament,—witness the institution, as separate Provinces, of Sind or Orissa; and old Provinces, which had been part of India for the better part of a century, are separated from the main country, also by the same authority, *e.g.*, Burma, or Aden. They profess regard for the right to self-determination of the Burmese people, who would justify this act of British Imperialism by plausible excuses. But if the right to self-determination of a distinct, homogeneous people is to be the deciding factor in

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creating new Provinces, the rationale of Section 290 is difficult to appreciate. Says that Section:—

“ 290 (1) subject to the provisions of this Section, His Majesty may by Order in Council (a) create a new Province; (b) increase the area of any Province; (c) diminish the area of any Province; (d) alter the boundaries of any Province.

Provided that, before the draft of any such Order is laid before Parliament, the Secretary of State shall take such steps as His Majesty may direct for ascertaining the views of the Federal Government and the Chambers of the Federal Legislature and the views of the Government and the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature of any Province which will be affected by the Order, both with respect to the proposal to make the Order and with respect to the provisions to be inserted therein.

(2) An Order made under this Section may contain such provisions for varying the representation in the Federal Legislature of any Governor's Province the boundaries of which are altered by the Order and for varying the composition of the Legislature of any such Province, such provisions with respect to the apportionments and adjustment of and in respect of assets and liabilities, and such other supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions as His Majesty may deem necessary or proper:

Provided that, no such Order shall vary the total membership of either Chamber of the Federal Legislature.

(3) In this Section the expression “ Province ” means either a Governor's Province or a Chief Commissioner's Province.

There is, in this provision, no initiative left to the peoples concerned to demand a separation, from,—or a reunion, with, the Province from which a block desires to separate, or to which it

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wishes to be rejoined. If Andhra, for example, wishes to be separated from Madras, the initiative, under this Section, does not appear to be vested in the Andhra peoples; but rather in the Secretary of State who is to advise His Majesty to make such an Order in Council as would meet with the wishes of the Andhra formally expressed. This alone is a travesty of the idea of self-determinism.

If, on the other hand, Sind wishes to be rejoined to Bombay, or appended to the Punjab for the more efficient working of its river system, the initiative once again will not be with the Province or the people most directly and vitally affected. It will be with an outside authority, which may not appreciate the local considerations; or which may be influenced in its ultimate decision by considerations other than local. The room left for consultation with the Central Government and Legislature,—also indicates the same tendency,—the importance of Imperial considerations overriding the local considerations of economy or efficiency in administration, or the self-expression of a homogeneous people.

By pointing out this peculiarity, it is not suggested that encouragement of centrifugal tendencies would be in the interests of new India. There are to-day, notwithstanding all the seeming divisions on communal or racial lines, no really dangerous centrifugal forces working in this country. But the provisions of this Act are apt to emphasize those tendencies, such as they may be to-day, the moment the autonomy of India becomes embarrassing to the Imperialist elements in this constitution, and incompatible with the objectives of British Imperialism. Every part of the Act of 1935, every section, every sentence in it is intended to rivet the bonds of British Imperialism, without the sanction or connivance of which India cannot take a step forward or backward. It is, therefore, an excellent scheme of dividing power and responsibility,—Britain having all the power without much of the responsibility for the governance of India: and the Indian people, or their chosen representatives, having all the responsibility,—the odium,—of government, without any of the powers that could make that odium deodorized and relatively tolerable.

In the actual scheme of Government, the provincial

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Governor, appointed by a Royal Sign Manual Commission from the King-Emperor (Section 48) is given a position of definite powers and special responsibilities, which make him a real working head of his Government, executive as well as legislative. Though he is given a Council of Ministers (Section 50) who are his constitutional advisers in all matters in which the Provincial Government is entitled to act, there is a wide field in which the Governor is left free to act, either on his sole discretion, *i.e.*, without consulting his Ministers at all, or with a perfunctory consultation which he is in no way obliged to respect; or after consulting the Ministers, but without being bound to follow the advice they give him on any particular matter. Section 50 is very clear on this point:

- (1) "There shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion: provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as preventing the Governor from exercising his individual judgment in any case whereby or under this Act he is required so to do.
- (2) The Governor in his discretion may preside at meetings of the Council of Ministers.
- (3) If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion, or ought or ought not to have exercised his individual judgment."

There are thus threefold powers of the Governor: those in which he acts on his sole discretion; those in which he exercises his individual judgment; and those in which he acts on the advice of his Ministers. The former comprise such items as presiding at meetings of his Ministers, choosing and summoning his ministers, and determining their salaries; calling the Legislature, sending

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special messages to or addressing the Legislature; requiring the Legislature to carry out the substance of his message; recommending certain classes of Bills to the Legislature, or giving his previous sanction to the introduction of the Bill, its amendment or discussion proclaiming a state of emergency under which the entire constitution is suspended: promulgating certain types of Ordinances, which have the force of law even, when the Legislature is sitting; certain other types if the Legislature is not in session; enacting Governor's Acts, etc. (Cf. particularly, the following Sections of the Act of 1935: 50, 51, 58-9, 62-3, 69 (e) and (f), 74-5, 78, 84, 86, 108, 111, 119, 123, 226, 242, 265-7, 270 71, 305, 308). Taken together, these powers are more than enough to make of the Provincial Governor as nice a despot under the guise of a correct constitutional ruler as may be found anywhere in history. In regard to some of these, it is true, he is nominally responsible to the Governor-General; Cf. Section 54, and through the latter, to Secretary of State. But the control of the Governor-General,—itself exercised on the sole discretion of that officer, has very little reference to the wishes of the Indian people,—quite apart from the fact that the Governor-General and the Governor may all be deemed to be birds of the same feather in such eventualities in which this control could at all be considered; and so it should be no wonder if they choose always to flock together.

Of the second class of powers, the most important single group is that of the so-called special responsibilities of the Governor. Section 52 describes them, without clearly defining some of them, as follows:—

“(1) In the exercise of his functions the Governor shall have the following special responsibilities; that is to say:—

- (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof;
- (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of Minorities;
- (c) the securing to, and to the dependents of, persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights provided or preserved for them by or under this Act, and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests:

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- (d) the securing in the sphere of executive action of the purposes which the provisions of Chapter III of Part V of this Act are designed to secure in relation to legislation (discrimination),
- (e) the securing of the peace and good government of areas which by or under the provisions of this Part of this Act are declared to be partially excluded areas,
- (f) the protection of the rights of any Indian State and the rights and dignity of the Ruler thereof, and
- (g) the securing of the execution of orders or directions lawfully issued to him under Part VI, of this Act by the Governor-General in his discretion.

(Sub-section 2 speaks of similar special responsibility of the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar to see that a reasonable portion of the revenues of the combined province is spent in Berar; and of other Provincial Governors who act as agents of the Governor-General in respect of excluded or Tribal areas; and of Sind in regard to the Sukkur Barrage)

- (3) If and in so far as any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, he shall, in the exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken."

There are several other Sections of the Act (notably 55, 56, 68, 88, 119, 151, 228, 246-7, 248, 258, 262, 271, 300) in which the Governor is authorized to exercise his individual judgment, *i.e.*, to disregard, if he so chooses, the advice of his Ministers. The peculiarity of this class of powers is, that whereas in matters of the Governor's sole discretion, there is frankly a complete exclusion of his Ministers from any consultation, in this there are chances of adding insult to injury. It is a most refined form of political cruelty, in that the Ministers are bound, if required, to tender advice; but the Governor is not bound to follow the advice which he himself has sought. The matter is not altogether an academic speculation, inasmuch as what are to be treated as "Minorities" mentioned in the Section; or what is to be understood by their "legitimate interests" is left conveniently vague. The complexion of political parties, and the dividing line

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between them, are notoriously shifting quantities ; and what are called Minorities to-day, on the artificial and indefinite line of communal division may quite possibly change into economically the dominant parties. Would they even then be treated as Minorities ? Section 311 giving certain definitions, explanations or interpretations of the phrases used in the Act is silent on this point. Say the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, which considered this Act in its Bill form, and over which the present Governor-General of India presided.

" We doubt if it would be possible to define ' legitimate interests ' any more precisely. The obvious intention is to secure some means by which minorities can be reasonably assured of fair treatment at the hands of majorities, and ' legitimate interests ' seems to us a very suitable and reasonable formula. Nor do we think that any good purpose would be served by attempting to give a legal definition of ' Minorities ', the only effect of which would be to limit the protection which the Governor's special responsibility is intended to afford. No doubt it will be the five or six well recognised and more important minorities in whose interests the Governor's powers will usually be invoked ; but there are certainly other well-defined sections of the population who may from time to time require protection, and we can see no justification for defining the expression for the purpose of excluding them. We need hardly say that we have not in mind a minority in the political or parliamentary sense, and no reasonable person would, we think, ever so construe the word. Nevertheless, to prevent misunderstanding, we recommend that the Instrument of Instructions should make this plain, and further that this special responsibility is not intended to enable the Governor to stand in the way of social or economic reform merely because it is resisted by a group of persons who might claim to be regarded as a minority " (para. 79).

But even the Instrument of Instructions will not make it plain as to what is intended by " Legitimate interests ", especially when it is a question of the protection of those interests of the overpaid Britishers in the public service of this country.

WHITE CIVILIZATION EXERCISES ITS TRUSTEESHIP

"Civilization, civilization, pride of Europeans,.....you build your kingdom upon dead bodiesyou move in lies.....you are not a torch, but a destroying fire. Everyone who touches you, you consume.....If people knew of what daily baseness colonial life consists, they would speak less of it, or more."

—René Maran in "*Batouala*".

QUITE ten years ago Colin Ross drew attention in his book *Die Erwachende Sphinx* to the awakening of the African peoples and to the problems with which the world was consequently confronted. Ross was sure that the oppressed Asiatics would free themselves from the imperialistic yoke; but he hoped that the European Powers would succeed, by revising their colonial methods, in meeting the negroes half-way in their development, so that their striving after independence could be united with the political and economic dominance of the Europeans.

As was to be expected, this hope, that such a revision would take place, has proved to be idle. Not only have the colonial methods not been changed anywhere—and least of all in Africa—but we notice on the contrary an ever greater economic and political exploitation and oppression. The growth of reaction in the divers motherlands was felt immediately and strongly in the colonies. Colonial administration has, after all, always been essentially a fascist administration: the fascist mentality is the only one which has ever really ruled in the colonies. The colonial system possesses fine words and pretexts, such as trusteeship, as a camouflage to quieten the ethical souls; as a foundation it has the desire for profits, race pride and a complete contempt for humanity and justice.

Even if we know all this, even if we are well informed about colonial conditions, if we know the facts about the proceedings of

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Spaniards, Portuguese and Dutch, of Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen, we shall be deeply shocked in reading George Padmore's book, which has been published by Wishart Books Ltd., London, under the title of *How Britain Rules Africa*. The real face of the ruling class proves again and again to be more barbaric than we had supposed.

In this article we can cite only a few facts from the abundant material which Padmore has collected, while, in addition, we can give only a vague idea of the heart-rending conditions, of the continual insults to which the native peoples of Africa are exposed. Deep shame must make itself master of all white people who have read this book . . .

The natives of the Australian Mandate Territory of New Guinea—a district consequently which, according to the phraseology of the League of Nations Convention, ought to be administered exclusively in the interests of the native population—are exposed to starvation, in order that land may be available for imperialistic purposes. The same takes place regularly in those districts of Africa that belong to the British Empire.

Practically all native peoples suffer from a shortage of land. In South Rhodesia 52,000 Europeans possess 62% of the land, while 1,000,000 natives have only 37%. In North Rhodesia the best land has been taken from the Blacks. The line of policy followed in Kenya aims at making this colony a white man's paradise. Hundreds of thousands of independent black farmers and herdsmen have been turned into landless proletarians. What the famous Magna Charta meant for the natives of this colony was clearly seen when gold was discovered. For then its everlasting and unchangeable provisions were so altered that it was possible in such cases to take the reservations from the negroes: on the strength of concessions to gold diggers 10,000 natives had to vacate their land! In the South African Union 1,800,000 whites possess 80% of the best land and 7,000,000 Bantus must live in unfertile and waterless areas.

The land-policy adopted by the authorities has two purposes: firstly to procure land for European settlers and

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enterprises, secondly to see to it that so many proletarians exist that the labour market is always well supplied.

For instance, since 1913 the natives of the South African Union have an economic basis only inside the reservations. For in this year the Native Lands Act was passed. This Act made it impossible for the natives to buy or hire land from white farmers in Cape Colony, Transvaal and Natal, and establish themselves as independent farmers which until that time they could do. Moreover the white farmers were forbidden, on penalty of a fine of £100 or 6 months' imprisonment, to permit natives to allow their cattle to graze on their estates. Thanks to this law 2,000,000 black people have since this year been reduced to economic slavery and have consequently increased the supply of labour. In addition to these 2 millions there are also 1,500,000 who could not find any work on the farms and went to fill the towns and mining districts.

There exists in South Rhodesia the Lands Apportionment Act, 1930, the object of which is the same as that of the South African Native Lands Act. In addition to the existing reservations there are, it is true, 7 million acres of land destined for sale exclusively to negroes, but the greater part is uneconomic, and the whole situation compels the natives to become proletarians.

While in Kenya the poorer European farmers were willing to let their land to the natives which they could not cultivate themselves, the large estate owners opposed this most resolutely, and, according to the Resident Native Ordinance the hiring of land by a native is regarded as a punishable offence, unless he works 180 days a year for the farmer from which he hires the land. In practice this period has already grown to 270 days: the whites practically possess a land monopoly and this, added to the existing legislature *re. vagrancy*, delivers the natives bound hand and foot into the hands of farmers and planters.

What could not be attained by means of land-dispossession, has been attained by means of taxes. Shortly after the World War the Chief Native Commissioner for Kenya made an attempt to introduce compulsory recruiting of labourers. This did not

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succeed, in that a storm of protests arose in English liberal and humanitarian circles. But then a sharper system of taxation was introduced, by means of which the desired result was obtained: in order to be able to pay their taxes the natives had to allow themselves to be hired as labourers. In Kenya the Masai pay 20, the other tribes 12 shillings tax. In 1929 the natives paid £531,016, in 1930 £591,424, in 1931 £530,877 in hut and poll taxes. For the instruction of Africans, Asiatics and Arabs, a sum of £82,896 was spent in 1932, while £49,000 was expended on the education of several hundred European children. The average amount of the costs of education amounted to £2 18s. 3d. for every white child, and 8d. for every coloured child! Since this time the costs of instruction for the natives have been still further decreased, in spite of the fact that in 1931 the whole white population paid £665,781 in direct taxes, and the Africans £791,000. For a population of 3 million natives there are three government hospitals with 1,500 beds. The further medical help that the natives enjoy may be clearly seen from the fact that the death rate of children is 125—400 per thousand, 95% of the inhabitants suffer of chronic malarian infection, 70% in some districts from hookworm.

In Bechuanaland the costs of administration amounted in 1932 to £612,560, while 25—60% of the children got food only once a day, and that consisted of a little mealie porridge. For 10 schools with 181 white children £4,393 were spent, for 95 schools with 8,787 coloured children £6,575. The three government hospitals provide room for 10 whites and 150 natives (the native population consists of 155,354 persons!).

In South Rhodesia the best schools are for the whites. In 1934 the costs of instruction here amounted to about £50,000 for 100,000 native children, and £160,000 for 8,000 white and half-caste children. To this must be added that the money for the instruction of the natives is paid for out of taxes paid by the natives themselves, while the money for the instruction of whites came from revenues to which both negroes and Europeans had contributed. The taxes paid by the blacks amounted in 1934 to £340,000, while the total income-tax of the whites amounted to £366,809.

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The labour conditions are everywhere such that no other word exists for them than slavery. Floggings are permitted everywhere. The breaking of contracts by the natives is punished by a fine or imprisonment.* Refusal to follow the orders given by the employer, insulting of the employer, his wife or daughter, the giving of incorrect information, etc., are punished in Rhodesia Nyassaland, Sierra Leone and Zanzibar with one month's imprisonment, in Bechuanaland, and Basutoland and Swaziland with two months' imprisonment and in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda with six months' imprisonment. In 1933 there were in Kenya 3,000 persons in prison for having infringed these regulations.

The situations in the South African Union is the worst of all. The penalties for infringement of the labour contract deliver the black labourers completely into the hands of the employers. There exist here no fewer than 12 kinds of passports for the natives, and in 1934 380,000 persons were sentenced for breaking the Pass Law. The negro is not a *human being* in South Africa: hatred of the black is just as much an article of faith with the Boers as the dogmas of Calvin. The Native Service Contract Act of 1932 compelled the farmers to evict hundreds of thousands of black squatters. This law, called by Colonel Creswell (leader of the reactionary Labour Party) a "barbaric piece of legislation," contains a clause according of which no farmer has the right to hire a native if the latter is not able to produce a paper from which may be seen that his present employer has given him permission to look for other work. "This clause is the hangman's rope in the Act, for it gives the landlords full and absolute control over the very lives of the natives. It enables them to tie the Africans in bondage to the Land. In other words, the Act legalizes serfdom. The Blacks dare not run away, for there are pass laws...which weave a network of control around their movements. In South Africa 'desertion' from work is considered a criminal offence." (Padmore)

Moreover the natives are exposed to the arbitrariness of the whites in all manner of respects. It is difficult for the

* In this manner the last defence the native has against inhuman treatment by the employer is taken from him.

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proletarians in the democratic countries of Europe—and in many cases practically impossible—to get justice done. One can imagine how it must be in colonial countries. When whites murder blacks, they do not need to fear over much the “avenging arm of the law,” as the institution, euphamistically named justice, is called. Mrs. Salwyn Godfrey, who in 1934 had a negro flogged to death in an attempt to make him confess the theft of a cow-bell, was sentenced to 12 months’ imprisonment for this crime. Six months of this sentence she passed in a separate ward of the hospital at Nairobi, and then she was set at liberty. A white farmer fastened a sixteen year old negro girl to his wagon and flogged her till she died: he was sentenced to six weeks’ imprisonment. In Nylstroom a white shot a negro, killing him: a fine of £25. In the Barberton case two Europeans, who had flogged a native worker to death each got a fine of £20. Piet Jameson flogged one of his black workers to death: a fine of £12. And these are not exceptional cases. The *Johannesburg Star*, one of the leading capitalist newspapers of South Africa, has been forced to say that. “If the police were to compile and publish a complete list of fatalities of this kind, their number would stagger even the apparently callous South African countryside.”

White workers occupy a privileged position in the South African towns, just as elsewhere in Africa. They feel themselves to be members of the ruling class. They shut the negroes out of their organizations. They support every policy which is directed towards keeping the natives in a state of economic, political and intellectual slavery. Dwelling and hygienic conditions are untenable for the natives. They are compelled to live in slums, which are a perfect breeding-place for diseases and vices. Consumption, dysentery, typhus, syphilis and gonorrhœa are for the most part responsible for a death-rate, amounting in some native urban communities to 500 per 1,000.

According to the Colour Bar Act work, that demands skill, may be done only by white labour. Consequently the houses in which the badly paid natives must live, are built by white workers who earn wages at least five times as high as those of the negroes. In Africa the white workers support the capitalist class, because they are only able to maintain their privileged position by doing

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so. A few figures. In the mining industry a sum of £8,342,402 was paid in 1931 to 23,000 white workers in wages; 240,000 blacks had to be content with the same amount. In 1934 30,000 European workers received £11,256,000 in wages; 270,000 Africans only £8,766,000. The average annual wage for the whites was £376, for the coloured men £36.

In the mining districts the black workers live as in concentration camps, which, as long as their contract runs (generally a year) they can seldom leave. They are in reality prisoners and guards and foremen rule them with the sjambok (whip). These labourers sleep like animals on the concrete floor. From 2-30 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon they work in the mines, their only food during this time consisting of a pan of mealie porridge, which they get before they begin their work. The least transgression causes them to be ill-treated by their white fellow-workers.

While in 1929 £1,120,000 was paid to the white miners in accordance with the stipulations of the Miners Phthisis Act, the natives get either no or very insufficient compensation in case of illness and accidents they incur during their work. If they are not able to work any more, then they are sent back to the reservations.

This is a picture of the capitalist trusteeship, exercised over the "backward" and "cultureless" people, in the year 1936 of the Christian civilization. And there exist still credulous people who believe all the talk about the great work of civilization of the white race; who think that, under the prevailing socio-political system, it can ever be a question of anything but profits and big dividends; who suppose that the small group, possessing economic and political power, is indeed willing to educate the oppressed peoples to independence and self-government.

Besides this criminal confidence in the good faith of the propertied classes is the just as criminal indifference of the western proletariat to the fate of their fellow-workers in the colonies. There are signs that the coloured peoples are beginning to identify completely the white proletariat with the imperialists. If this process, which is taking place, continues, it means a

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defeat for socialism greater than that which it has now suffered in various European countries.

For the present the great majority of the white workers seems more willing to defend "democracy" against a foreign fascist enemy than to join issue with their own rulers, who act everywhere in the colonies as fascists. This attitude practically amounts to the concluding of a truce with the bourgeoisie and a repudiation of the united front with all the exploited of the world. The proletariat joins its destiny herewith to that of the ruling classes and incurs a serious risk of being ruined with the latter and the world dominance built up by them.

"The negroes," so spoke Lamine Senghor, French African negro, at the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held at Brussels in 1927, in a speech about the struggle for liberty of the coloured peoples, "have slept too long. But beware! Those who have slept long and soundly and have then awakened, will not fall asleep any more. The negro youth begins to see things in their proper light. We know and have established it as a fact that we are French if we are needed to work or to kill. If however it is a question of giving us rights, then we are no longer Frenchmen but negroes."

Senghor made an appeal to all who are oppressed by capitalism and imperialism. George Padmore hopes that his books will arouse the conscience of the British people, and especially of those classes which in the metropolis are oppressed by the same powers that exploit the Indians, the Africans, the Chinese and other Colonial people—that it will become a weapon in the struggle for a new society. The choice lies between national truce and world embracing solidarity!

AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES IN INDIA

INSTRUCTIVE PAGES FROM OLD HISTORY

[BY INDU LAL YAJNIK]

IN view of the current discussions on the ever-increasing debts piling on the bent backs of the Indian peasantry, and the sporadic agrarian disturbances often directed against the village money-lenders in all parts of the country, it would be instructive to study the course of similar events since the advent of British rule in India.

A wave of agrarian riots swept through the villages of Poona and Ahmednagar districts in 1875. The Commissioners appointed by the Government to inquire into the genesis of these disturbances submitted a heavily documented report on its course and causes and made several recommendations for the protection of the peasants that were afterwards incorporated in the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

The Commission also gave a brief résumé of similar disturbances that had happened before in the Bombay Presidency and reproduced a whole chapter on the Santhal Rebellion of 1855, as an appendix, from Sir W. W. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*.

The facts about these disturbances dating from 1845 to 1875 are briefly reproduced below from the above sources. The Deccan Riots of 1875 will be dealt with in the next section:—

I. 1845—1875.

In 1845 the Bheel Chief Raghoo Bhangrin headed a large body of plundering Bheels, whose practice it was to cut off the ears and noses of Marwari sowcars wherever they could find them.

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The Kolis of the hill ranges between the Poona and Thana districts have from time to time organized gangs which have employed themselves chiefly in the plunder, often in the murder and mutilation, of money-lenders.

In a remarkable letter of Sir. G. Wingate to the Bombay Government in 1852 the following passage occurs:—

“These two cases of village money-lenders, murdered by their debtors almost at opposite extremities of our Presidency must, I apprehend, be viewed not as the results of isolated instances of oppression on the part of creditors, but as examples in an aggravated form of the general relations subsisting between the class of money-lenders and our agricultural population. And if so, what an amount of dire oppression on the one hand, and of suffering on the other, do they reveal to us? What must be the state of things which can compel cultivators, proverbially patient and long-suffering, accustomed to more or less of ill-usage and injustice, all time, to redress their wrongs by murder and in defiance of an ignominious death to themselves? How must their sense of justice have been violated? How must they have been bereft of all hopes of redress from law or Government before their patient and peaceful natures could be roused to the point of desperation required for such a deed?”

The Santhal Rebellion.

The Santhal rebellion of 1855, is so far as we are aware, the only other instance in the history of British India of a wide-spread disturbance arising out of the relations of the agricultural and money-lending classes.

The following detailed account is called from Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*:—

Along the skirt of the Santhal country, from the ring-fenced colony on the north to the highland valleys of Beerbhoom, (Bengal) Hindu hucksters settled upon various pretences, and in a few years grew into men of fortune.

They cheated the poor Santhal in every transaction. The

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forester brought his jars of clarified butter for sale, the Hindu measured it in vessels for salt, oil, cloth and gun-powder; the Hindu used heavy weights in ascertaining the quantity of grain, light ones in weighing out the articles given in return. If the Santhal remonstrated, he was told that salt, being an excisable commodity, had a set of weights and measures peculiar to itself. The fortune made by traffic in produce were augmented by usury.

The Hindu dealer gave them a few shillings worth of rice, and seized the land as soon as they had cleared it and sown the crop. Another family, in a fit of hospitality, feasted away their whole harvest, and then opened an account at the grain-dealers' who advanced enough to keep them above starvation during the rest of the year. From the moment the peasant touched the borrowed rice, he and his children were the serfs of the corn merchant. No matter what economy the family practised, no matter what effort they made to extricate themselves, stint as they might, toil as they might, the Hindu claimed the whole crop, and carried on a balance to be paid out of the next harvest.

Year after year the Santhal sweated for his oppressor. If the victim threatened to run off into the jungle, the usurer instituted a suit in the Courts, taking care that the Santhal should know nothing of it till the decree had been obtained and execution taken out. Without the slightest warning, the poor husbandman's buffaloes, cows, and little homestead were sold, not omitting the bronze household vessels which formed the sole heirloom of the family. Even the cheap iron ornaments, the outward tokens of female respectability among the Santhals were torn from the wife's wrists.

A mitigated serfdom like this is indigenous in every country where the people increase and the means of subsistence stand still. It represents the last resource of labour when placed by over-population completely at the mercy of capital. The labouring man, toil as he may, can earn at most a bare subsistence, a bare subsistence is the least that the master can give to his slave. Between 1838 and 1851 the population within the pillars increased from 3,000 to 82,795, besides 10,000 on the outskirts; and the landless Santhal, finding himself seldom worse off as a serf than

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as a free labourer, acquiesced in his fate.

But in 1854 events occurred that completely altered the relation of capital to labour in Bengal. Government had determined to give Railways to India, and the line skirted the Santhal country for two hundred miles. High embankments, heavy cuttings, many arched bridges, created a demand for workmen such as had never been known in the History of India. Some years later, twenty thousand were required in Beerbhoom alone: and the number along the sections running through or bordering on the Santhal territories amounting to one hundred thousand men, or more than the whole over-flowing of the Santhal race during a quarter of a century.

It was then that the distinction between the slave and the free man began to make itself felt. The entire free population who had not land of their own went forth with their women and children, their bows and arrows in their hands, and the national drum tattooing in the front, to work for a few months on the railway, and then to return and buy land, and give feasts to their clansmen. The slaves, who are compelled to remain working for their masters at home, contrasted their own lot with that of the prosperous adventurers. Running away became common: and the Hindu masters had recourse, in self-defence, to a much stricter and more vigilant system than they had ever before practised. The same causes that had made the slave eager for freedom had rendered him more valuable to his master, and it became clear that the great issue would soon have to be tried, whether it was possible, in the second half of the present century, under British laws, to keep men slaves when it was worth their while to be free.

During the cold weather of 1854 and 1855 the Santhals appeared to be in a strange, restless state. They had gathered in an excellent crop, and the influx of capital had enhanced the local price of agricultural produce. Nevertheless the highlanders continued excited and discontented.

The truth was that the rich Santhals had determined to be no longer the dupes of the Hindus, who intercepted these high prices, the poorer agriculturist had determined to be no longer

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their serfs, and the day-labourers had determined not to be their slaves.

To a people in this frame of mind, leaders are seldom wanting. Two brothers, inhabitants of a village that had been oppressed beyond bearing by Hindu usury, stood forth as the deliverers of their countrymen, claimed a divine mission, and produced heaven-sent tokens as their credentials. The god of the Santhals, they said, had appeared to them on seven successive days, at first in the form of a white man in a native costume, next as a flame of fire, with a knife glowing in the midst: these as the perforated slice of a sal trunk which forms the wheel of the Santhal's bullock cart. The divinity delivered to the two brothers a sacred book, and the sky showered down slips of paper, which were secretly spread throughout the whole Santhal country. Each village received a scrap without a word of explanation, but with an imprecation, as it would avoid the wrath of the national god, to forward it without a moment's pause to the nearest hamlet.

The brothers found that they had raised a storm which they could not control. A general order went through the encampment to move down upon the plains towards Calcutta, and on the 30th June 1855 the vast expedition set out. The body-guard of the leaders alone amounted to 30,000 men (thirty thousand!). As long as the food which they had brought from their villages lasted the march was orderly, but unofficered bodies of armed men roaming about, not very well knowing where they are going, soon became dangerous: and with the end of their own stock of provisions, the necessity for plundering or levying benevolences commenced. The leaders preferred the latter, the rabble the former.

On the 7th of July, a Native Inspector of Police heard of the entrance of a vast body of hill-men, with the two brothers at their head, into his jurisdiction: and the Hindu usurers, becoming uneasy, bribed him to get up a false charge of burglary against the band, and apprehend their leaders. He went out with his guards, but was met half-way by an embassy from the Santhals, with instructions to escort him into their camp. The two brothers ordered him to levy a tax on every Hindu family in his jurisdiction, for the subsistence of their followers and were about to

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dismiss him in peace, when some one discovered that he had come out with the intention of getting up a false complaint. At first he denied the charge, saying he was on his way to investigate an accidental death from snake-bite, but afterwards confessed the usurers had bribed him to get up a false case of burglary, and bring in their leaders bound. The two brothers said, "If you have any proof against us, take us and bind us". The foolhardy Inspector, presuming on the usually peaceable nature of the Santhals, ordered his guards to pinion them, but no sooner were the words out of his mouth, then the whole mass rushed upon, and bound him and his minions. After a hurried trial the chief leader Sidu slew the corrupt Inspector with his own hands, and the police left nine of their party dead in the Santhal camp.

From this day—7th of July—the rebellion dates. At the time of their setting out, they do not seem to have contemplated armed opposition to the Government.

When all was over, their leaders, who in other respects at any rate disdained equivocation or falsehood, solemnly declared that their purpose was to march down to Calcutta, in order to lay the petition which the local authorities had rejected at the feet of the Governor-General: and the truth of this statement is rendered probably by the fact that their wives and children accompanied them. Indeed, the movement could not be distinguished at first from one of their great national processions, beaded by the customary drums and pipes. Want drove them to plunder, and the precipitate outrage upon the Inspector of Police changed the whole character of the expedition. The inoffensive but only half-tamed highlander had tasted blood, and in a moment his old savage nature returned.

About the 25th July, Government finding that it must take severer measures, placed the reduction of the rebels in the hands of an experienced commander, with instructions that amounted to delivering over the disturbed districts to the military power.

The details of border warfare, in which disciplined troops mow down half-armed peasants, are unpleasant in themselves, and afford neither glory to the conquerors nor lessons in the military art. After a lapse of thirteen years, the officers who reduced the

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Santhals can hardly be brought to dwell minutely on the operation. "It was not war" one of them has said to me. "It was execution; we had orders to go out whenever we saw the smoke of a village rising above the jungle. The Magistrate used to go with us. I surrounded the village with my sepoys, and the Magistrate called upon the rebels to surrender."

II

Deccan Riots

The Commission appointed to report on the Deccan agrarian riots of 1875 did not refer to any instances of lawlessness directed against money-lenders between 1855-1871.

No doubt there were periodical revision settlements and consequent additions to the Government demand of land revenue. But the American Civil War of 1865 brought a boom in the cotton market and a harvest of gold to the cotton growers and other peasants of the Presidency.

But the boom period suddenly ended with the Civil War in about 1870 and the unwary peasants who had borrowed extensively on the strength of their illusory prosperity found themselves literally crushed under heavy burdens of debts in the seventies of the last century.

Let us now follow the narrative of subsequent disturbances as given by the Deccan Riots Commission.

1871—1875.

In Kaira—From April 1871 to July 1875 money-lenders were the victims in the following offences:— Murders 9; grievous hurt and wounding 10; arson 7; assaults 24; assault with a view to rescue property attached or taken for debts 12; thefts 3; trespass by re-entry into property taken under attachments 4. There were besides 3 suicides of debtors on account of debt, and 2 cases of Traga (self-inflicted hurt) for the same reason. Total 79 offences in four years and three months.

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In Ahmednagar.

From April 1871 to October 1874 money-lenders were the sufferers in the following cases :—murders 2 ; dacoities (including one case of mutilation) 5 ; house-breaking with theft of property and bonds, etc., 7 ; riots 3 ; arson 1. Total 18 offences in three years and six months.

In Poona.

In the years 1872 to 1874 money-lenders were the sufferers in the following cases :—murder 1 ; robbery, 7 ; mischief 8 ; theft 24 ; hurt 29 ; criminal force 8. Total offences in five years 71.

The Police Reports of the Presidency for 1874 show two murders and 4 dacoities, of which money-lenders were the victims, in the districts of Ratnagiri, Satara, Sholapur, and Ahmedabad.

The Ryots Premonitory Disturbances

The first open indication of the spirit of hostility against the Marwari money-lender which led to the riots, was shown by the inhabitants of the village of Kardeh, in the Sirur Taloka of the Poona Collectorate, at the end of 1874. A Deshmukh (district hereditary officer) of good family and some influence, who had accumulated a fortune in the service of His Highness Scindia, to whom he is related, had settled in the village, and having spent his fortune had fallen deeply in debt. Two of his creditors, Kalooram and Bhugwadas, Marwaris, got decrees against him and Kalooram took out a warrant of arrest. The Deshmukh gave Kalooram personal ornaments, and the warrant was not executed. About four months afterwards some ornaments and property belonging to the temple of Vittoba at the Deshmukh's house were attached, but at the instance of the villagers, Kalooram allowed the attached property to remain in deposit with a third party for two months. At the end of that term, as the Deshmukh had not paid the value of the property, it was taken possession by Kalooram. A third execution was issued on Kalooram's decree, and the Deshmukh's house and lands were attached and sold for a song, there being no bidders against the Marwari decree-holder.

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The villagers who combined against these Marwaris did not confine themselves to a passive hostility. Besides refusing service as water-carriers, barbers, household servants, etc., they subjected the Marwaris to annoyance by throwing the carcasses of dogs and other filth into their premises, and generally showed such a spirit of personal hatred, that the money-lenders, on retreating to Sirur for the protection of the police of the taluka headquarters, petitioned the Magistrate, representing that they were in bodily fear of the villagers. The Magistrate considered the spirit shown by the people to be of a dangerous nature, and reported it to the Police Commissioner accordingly.

The Outbreak

The first actual outbreak occurred at Supa, a large village of the Bhimthari Taluka of Poona, on the 12th May 1875. The victims of the rioters were the Guzerathi Sowcars, of whom there are a large number in Supa. Their houses and shops were attacked by a large mob principally recruited from the hamlets round Supa, who had assembled ostensibly to attend the market on bazar day. The houses and shops were gutted of every thing that the rioters could find, and one house was burnt down, but no violence to persons was committed. The rapidity with which the example was followed, through the whole area affected, shows that everywhere the same influences had brought the villagers to the same readiness for resort to force.

Within twenty-four hours of the riot at Supa the leading Marwari Sowcar of Kheirgaom, a village about 14 miles distant, had his fodder stocks burnt down and his house attacked with fire, and during the following days riots occurred in four other villages of Bhimthari and were threatened in seventeen more. The contagion spread to the neighbouring districts of Indapur and Purandher, in the former of which a disturbance, which would have been serious from the number assembling, was averted, as were the riots threatened in the seventeen villages above noted, by the promptitude of the police. A detachment of native infantry having arrived at Supa, the police were relieved and available for other duty, and order was quickly restored.

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In the meantime riots commenced in the Sirur taluka. The first violence was committed at Navra, where a Marwari, who had left the village for safety, was mobbed and prevented from removing his property to the place whither he had himself retreated. An uncle of this Marwari had some two years previously been murdered by his debtors. Other villages of Sirur followed the example, Kardeh being one : at Damareh a Marwari had his leg broken and was saved from death by some of the rioters dragging him out of his burning house. Altogether fifteen villages of Sirur Taluka and three of Haveli Taluka were the scene of riot or threatened disturbance. The Regiment of Poona Horse, which has its headquarters at Sirur, supplied parties to assist the Assistant Magistrate and the police in restoring and maintaining order.

While these disturbances were going on in the Poona District, similar outbreaks were occurring in the neighbouring talukas of Ahmednagar, and during the fortnight following the riot at Supa on 12th May, riots took place in the talukas of Shrigonda, Parner, Nagar and Karjat, and beside actual rioting there were numerous gatherings which were prevented from proceeding to violence by the timely arrival of police or military. A detachment of native infantry was moved to Shrigonda, and parties of the Poona Horse were active in patrolling the villages in the west within reach of their headquarters at Sirur.

The Extent of the Riots

In Poona disturbances more or less serious took place in five villages of Bhimthari Taluka, and six villages of Sirur taluka.

Disturbances were threatened but averted by the arrival of the police in :—

17	villages	of	Bhimthari
10	"	of	Sirur
1	"	of	Indapur
3	"	of	Haveli

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In Ahmednagar disturbances took place in :—

6	villages	of	Parner Taluka
11	"	of	Shrigonda
4	"	of	Nagar Taluka
1	"	of	Karjat

Disturbances were threatened in many other villages.

The following shows the number of persons arrested in connection with the disturbances and the results of the trials held :—

In Poona

Persons arrested 559, of whom 301 were convicted and 258 discharged.

In Ahmednagar

Persons arrested 392, of whom 200 were convicted and 192 discharged.

Punitive police posts, mustering a total of 98 men, were established at the expense of the inhabitants among the disturbed villages. As was to be expected, the greatest difficulty was experienced by the Magistrates in obtaining trustworthy evidence against the rioters.

The riot at Supa was singular in the wholesale plunder of property, and that at Damareh in the murderous assault upon the money-lenders. In a few other instances personal violence was used, and in several places stacks of produce belonging to money-lenders were burnt : but as a rule the disturbances were marked by the absence of serious crime. The object of the rioters was in every case to obtain and destroy the bonds, decrees, etc., in the possession of their creditors : when these were peaceably given up to the assembled mob, there was usually nothing further done. When the money-lender refused or shut himself up, violence was used to frighten him into a surrender or get possession of the papers. In most places the police interfered during the first stage of assembling and threatening, and so prevented violence. From many villages the Marwarí sowcars fled on the first news of the

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outbreak. In other villages they opened negotiations with their debtors for a general reduction of their claims, and in some cases propitiated their debtors by easy settlements. In almost every case enquired into the riot is stated to have commenced, on news arriving of pounds having been extorted in some neighbouring village, with the usual story which will be noticed hereafter that the Government approved of the proceeding. The Marvari and Gujur sowcars were almost exclusively the victims of the riots, and in villages where sowcars of the Brahmin and other castes shared the money-lending business with Marwaris, it was usual to find that the latter only were molested. There were, however, exceptions where the leading or only sowcars were of the Brahmin caste, as in the case of the village of Ghospuri.

The last of the connected series of outbreaks occurred at Mundhali in Bhimthari Taluka on the 15th June, but there were subsequently two isolated cases in Poona, which showed that the warning conveyed by the long catalogue of convictions and punishments and the imposition of punitive police posts, had not extinguished, but only repressed, the violent temper of the cultivator.

On 22nd July seven men of the village of Nimbut, Taluka Bhimthari, besides committing a robbery of documents, cut off the nose of a man who was enforcing a decree of the Civil Court, which had put him in possession of land belonging to one of the perpetrators of the outrage. On 28th July the villagers of Karhati, Taluka Bhimthari, broke into the house of a Marwari sowcar and took away grain which was stored there. He had refused them advances of grain except on terms as to the renewal of his bonds or settlement of his debts, to which they were unable or unwilling to agree.

Besides these two cases in the Poona District, etc., sequels as it were of the general movement, the following case must be noticed. On the 10th September in the village of Kukrur, in the South-West of the Collectorate of Satara, a riotous outrage was committed by the rioters of Poona and Ahmednagar. About 100 or more of the villagers attacked, plundered and burnt the house of a leading Gujur sowcar, collected all papers and accounts which they found in the house, destroyed them, and then dispersed. The

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cause of the riot was declared by the rioters who were arrested to be the harsh proceedings of the sowcar against his debtors: The Magistrate incharge of the Taluka reports that "news of the doings in Poona and Nagar Districts had no doubt reached all parts of the country some time ago, and probably suggested the idea to the people of Kukrur." Kukrur is more than 100 miles from the nearest part of the disturbed District in Poona.

The Moderation of the Peasants

In reviewing the character of the disturbances generally the most remarkable feature presented is the small amount of serious crime. A movement which was a direct appeal to physical force was over a large area usually restrained within the limits of a mere demonstration: the few cases which show the vindictive spirit usually displayed in agrarian disturbances, are probably to be accounted for by the presence of other elements besides the ordinary Kunbi peasantry. This moderation is in some measure to be attributed to the nature of the movement itself. It was not so much a rebellion against the oppressor, as an attempt to accomplish a very definite and practical object, namely the disarming of the enemy by taking his weapons (bonds and accounts), and for this purpose mere demonstration by force was usually sufficient.

A NEGLECTED PEOPLE

[BY VERRIER ELWIN]

I HAVE recently spent some interesting days collecting and analyzing the dreams of the wild Gonds and Baigas of the forest-clad Satpura Mountains where I live. Of course, you all know the Freudian theory of dreams, that they refer mainly to the sexual sphere, and are a disguised fulfilment of our repressed wishes. Now that is all very well for the conventional middle-class society of Europe, from which Freud got most of his data, but among the Gonds and Baigas—and it is just the same, for example, among the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia—where there are very few repressions and the tribal life is free and simple, sex is not the dominant tension nor the secret impulse of their dreams. A Baiga has no psychic conflict over sex and so he does not dream about it. Then what does he dream about? Well, I have discovered two main emotional conflicts in his dreams—'anxiety' and 'hunger for food'.

The Bhumijans

Now let me say at once that my experience is mainly of the so-called aboriginal villages. I do not like the word "aboriginal" any more than I like the word "Uplift". Do let us get rid of uplift. And by the way if you want to cure anyone of talking about uplift, give him P. G. Wodehouse's latest story "Archibald and the Masses," with its picture of the philanthropic rich, with bared teeth and flaming eyes forcing bread upon the martyred proletariat, and he won't talk about it any more. And as for aboriginals, the Gonds call themselves Koiture, which simply means men. The names of two other tribes, Kol and Kurku, also mean 'Men' while the Baigas have a more ambitious title—Bhumi a raja, lords of the soil. I wish that we could call the eighteen million aboriginals of India Bhumijan or Bhumiaraja, on the analogy of Harijan. I have lived among the Bhumijans for the last five years, and I think they are the most interesting, the most

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lovable and the most neglected people in India. And so the village as I see it is the Bhumiaraaja village; my observations may be quite at fault for the rest of India.

Anxiety and fear

But in the villages I know, I have found from both dream-analysis and mythanalysis that the prevailing psychological tension is anxiety. Fear compasses these people like a blazing forest fire. They are at odds with the whole world. The unseen gods are hostile to them. Their lives are shadowed by witches, landlords, ghosts, forest-guards, their tribal rules and their own adhesive and quarrelsome relations. They are anxious about the weather, their crops, their debts. In their own system of dream-interpretation, the tiger represents the creditor, the bear stands for the police, the crocodile symbolizes the landlord. Through the long dark nights, these creatures pursue them in fantastic nightmares. The greatest need of the Indian village as I see it is a spiritual need – it is the freedom from fear.

Heart of the problem

Now I want to stress this very very strongly, because I believe it is the foundation of everything. You must give the villager something to live for! You must create in him the desire for a fuller, richer life; you must establish the spirit of mutual credit within the village community. A certain Bishop was once talking to Dr. Samuel Johnson about the poor. 'They grow quite torpid,' he said, 'for want of property.' And Johnson replied, 'They have no object for hope. Their condition cannot be better. It is rowing without a port.' There is the very heart of our problem. It is no good sending out your vaccinator, if the villagers rub off the serum directly his back is turned. It is no good increasing wealth if it is all to be wasted on litigation or jewellery. You cannot persuade a man to keep poultry so long as he knows that the neighbours will steal his hens. And so propaganda and education is the vital foundation of all material advance, an education that will do much more than just fit people for jobs, that will give them an optimistic view of the world, that will establish the spirit of love and trust as the guiding principles in all village relationships. I do not

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think it altogether fantastic to suggest that a deep faith that "perfect love casteth out fear" will give a double power to our schools and our baby-shows, our bulls and our demonstration farms.

"Call me a man"

Now remember a great deal of this can be done without passing a single law or spending a single pie, simply by everybody setting to work to create a new public opinion about the villager. The Gond says, "Call me Koitur, a man; treat me as a human being, not as an animal." Persuade the landlords, as a beginning, to treat their tenants in a broad human way; then later some of them may try to turn their own villages into model villages. One of the most important things is to convert the village merchant and the village official; these people have far greater influence than is realized, and they could do wonders, if they choose.

Two primary needs

So here are two things, one is to teach the villager that in spite of all appearances the world is rational and friendly, the other to persuade all those who have any dealings with villagers to treat them in a new spirit. Friendliness and credit are the two primary needs.

But I am not forgetting that my Baigas are haunted by another kind of dream, the hunger dream. They even have cannibalistic visions, and enjoy them. And how eagerly they hunt the deer, with what zest they take these visionary unsubstantial meals, how happily a Gond medium once described to me how his dead mother came to him in a dream and said, "Here we are living in a big village, and God is with us. He gives us as much 'dal bhat' as we can eat." "As much 'dal bhat' as you can eat"—that is heaven—for the villager.

Annadev's migration

They say that Annadev, the god of food, used to be tall and strong, but when the railway came, he took train to Bombay and now he lives there and makes people fat—a pathetic comment on the march of civilization.

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And it rather puts the responsibility on us, does it not? Happily, hunger is a curable disease and we can all try to cure it. Still better, an almost standardized system of treatment has been established. We all know what to do, the better is to go and do it.

Steeped in ignorance

For the tribesmen only the simplest things will help. What gives them supreme happiness is to sit round the fire over which a goat is slowly roasting, with a few bottles of wine, their girls dancing outside in the moonlight, the pipe of fellowship passing from hand to hand, and the outside world far far away beyond the hills. They know very little about the outside world; many of them have no idea that there is a British Government, many have never seen a motor car; I once met a Baiga, who thought that Mahatma Gandhi, was something to eat. They don't like the outside world, they don't want it. The more they are left alone the better. Listen to what a great ethnographer has said about the Melanesians—and remember that scientific ethnography is an essential guide to rural reconstruction in a tribal area—"Once you make life unattractive for a man," says Professor Malinowski, "whether savage or civilized, you cut the taproot of his vitality. The rapid dying out of native races is, I am deeply convinced, due more to western interference with their pleasures and normal occupations, to the marring of their joy of life as they conceive it, than to any other cause." And there are all too many people concerned to mar the joy of life of those simple tribesmen, in their villages, as in the great sea, the big fish eat up the little fish. Everyone going to live in a tribal area should have a licence—that is the rule, and it is a very good rule, in Travancore. Just as the Punjab has a Rural Reconstruction Commissioner, so we badly need an Aboriginal Tribes Commissioner, to look to the protection and development, along a path natural to them, of the Bhumi jan.

For, of course, when I say that they should be left alone as much as possible, I don't mean that nothing should be done for them. I mean that they should be protected from people who would exploit them economically or debase them culturally. But

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as I have already said, education is essential. I would like to see itinerant primary schools with a very simple two years' programme (a Gond often cannot spare his children for more than two years) which would include some training in health, and certainly a course of worldly wisdom. These people are already very clean. Their houses are often beautifully kept. They have a passion for soap. I can never keep a bit of soap for more than a few days, someone invariably steals it - and that is the kind of theft that seems to me to be more or less on the right lines.

The Gonds' Choice

But it is chiefly through the soil that you must help these Lords of the Soil. The Gonds have a legend that at the beginning of things, God called all mankind to His court. There He had prepared seats of gold, of silver, and of earth. The Hindu chose the golden seat, the Musalman took the silver seat, but the Gond unhesitatingly chose the earthen one. Then God embraced him and declared that it was on him and the labour of his hands that the whole world would be established. The Baiga too has a passionate attachment to the Earth, his mother. He is the child of Earth, and she loves him and tells him all her secrets. And so, above all, other forms of assistance. I would put the improvement of agriculture, I doubt very much if you can introduce subsidiary industries to the tribesmen. They have inherited a tradition of field and forest, and their whole heart is there. And so we want improved seed, especially of the millets, kodon and kutki, improved goats and cattle, and the promotion of vegetable gardening and fruit trees, and anything else that the agricultural people can advise. The trouble is that I usually find the agricultural expert settled down in a non-tribal town or village; unless he goes out to live among the tribesmen, he cannot really help them. They will never come to us for help, they are too shy, too independent, we have got to go to them.

Toll of Disease

The economic loss due to disease is enormous. Leprosy is beginning among the tribesmen; at all costs it should be checked. Venereal disease is endemic, at least among the Gonds. In the forest areas, malaria takes a tragic toll of life and vigour. Motor

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ambulances that could tour the remoter districts and bring the worst cases into hospital and distribute quinine all along their route, would be of great value.

But before I finish, I come back to my starting point. All these things will be of no avail unless we can infect the villager with the spirit of love and co-operation. I am afraid this is very like a sermon, but it is so important that I must stress it. If you and I can love the villager, and somehow make our love practical in action, then the villagers will begin to love each other and to co-operate. And when they co-operate, they will advance.

A Stupendous Task

It is a stupendous task, and a noble one—to fight just these two things, Fear and Hunger. You cannot do it by legislation. You cannot do it by spending money. You can only do it through dedicated human lives which will go and tackle the problem themselves. I doubt if there is a greater career open to anyone. Whether they apply to your own children or to others, the words of Burns are true :

To make a happy fireside clime

For weans and wife ;

That's the true pathos and sublime of human life.

GIDHA

AN ILLUSTRATED BOOK IN PUNJABI (GURMUKHI SCRIPT)
ON GIDHA THE POPULAR FOLK-DANCE OF THE PUNJAB

By

Prof. DAVENDRA SATYARTHI

FOLK-SONGS have more than a fleeting importance. They have not only gladdened the heart of the villager who has sung them and has danced to their tune for years, or, perhaps with slight variations for several decades; they really represent his inner most soul. He has created them according to his mood. Through them he has sung his love and his loss. They have been his emotional outlet in joy and in sorrow. They have represented his mental development from time to time. They are, like all light literature, a source of permanent happiness to the nation.

The very soul of the Punjab peasant bubbles forth in his immemorial folk dance popularly known as Gidha. With the beat of his dancing feet, the peasant takes part in the Gidha dance which is as old as his joys and sorrows themselves. This book offers a study of the origin and growth of the Gidha songs.

The last chapter of this book deals with the new product of Gidha songs. One must read it to realize what the villager thinks of his altered conditions of life, of the new economic system, of the taxes and water rates, of the money-lender, of the law courts and the lawyers with whom he has to deal now, and of his recruitment in the army. All this is vividly expressed here.

It is really a comfort to note that in spite of his poverty and miserable condition the peasant retains his lively sense of humour. Through these songs we can still see his soul—his simplicity, courage, trusting nature, and his acute mind.

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IS PALESTINE PROSPEROUS?

[BY BRITISH RESIDENT]

ZIONISTS often declare: "Even granted that Zionism has assisted British imperialism in thwarting the Arabs in their struggle for independence, from the Arab point of view that disadvantage has been amply compensated by the prosperity which Jewish immigration and the introduction of Jewish capital have brought to them."

This argument—the argument *a prosperiori*—is worth considering in some detail. It is at present the favourite weapon in the armoury of Zionist propagandists and their sympathizers. An examination of the argument should at the same time lay bare the effect of British rule and Jewish immigration upon the economic situation of the Arabs, and show how far, from an economic point of view, their demands for independence from British rule and the stoppage of Jewish immigration are justified.

In order to judge how far the present reported prosperity of the Palestine Arabs is fact or myth, it will be worth while to consider one by one the various sections of the Arab population,* and to inquire how far each has become prosperous through Jewish immigration.

Landlords, Tenants, and Small-holders.

Many Arab landowners have certainly become prosperous by selling their land to Jews. It was estimated by the Jewish Agency for Palestine† that between 1918 and 1930 about 175,000 acres of agricultural land were bought by Jews from Arabs at a total cost of not less than £3,000,000.

*Treatment of the other sections, the Bedouin and the urban population, will be found in the pamphlet *Who is Prosperous in Palestine*, published by the *Labour Monthly*, London, at 6d.

†In a pamphlet called *Financial Aspects of Jewish Reconstruction in Palestine: How the Arabs have benefited through Jewish Immigration*.

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The official figures for Jewish land purchases since 1930 are as follows :

Area purchased (approximate)		Price paid (approximate)
	in acres	£
1931	4,500	100,000
1932	4,700	149,000
1933	8,000	855,000
1934	15,500	1,548,000
1935	18,200	1,699,000

That is to say that since 1930 an additional 50,900 acres have been bought at a cost of an additional £4,351,000. The Jews are now officially estimated to possess about 300,000 acres, out of a total cultivable area of about 3,000,000 acres, or 10 per cent. The land which they possess is all situated in the most fertile areas of Palestine. According to evidence given by Dr. Ruppin before the Shaw Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929, "of the land purchased by the Jews . . . relatively small areas not exceeding 10 per cent. (i.e., 10 per cent. of the total land purchased) were acquired from peasants. The other areas have been acquired from owners of large estates most of whom live outside Palestine and, in consequence, leased their land or allowed it to be worked on various conditions of tenure." That is to say that, up to 1929, at least 90 per cent. of the land bought by Jews from Arabs was bought from large landlords, most of whom were absenteees. One of the most considerable of such purchases was of twenty-two villages in the Vale of Esdraelon—a total area of about 50,000 acres—which were sold between 1921 and 1925 for £726,000 by the family of Sursoq, rich Christian Arabs living in Beirut.* The already prosperous Sursoqs certainly became more prosperous as a result of this sale. What happened to the villagers ?

Legally, according to a law which remained in force from 1921, the Palestine Government might only consent to the sale of land which was leased if it was satisfied that the tenant in occupation would retain sufficient land for the maintenance of

*Report on the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929 (Cmd 3530, page 117.

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himself and his family. In fact, however, according to evidence given to the Shaw Commission, this law was always ineffective. The purchasers regularly bribed the tenants to waive their right to be left with land sufficient for their maintenance. In the case of the particular sale referred to the Jews stated that they paid more than £30,000 as compensation to the tenants who lost their land. The total number of tenant families displaced by this sale, according to the Jewish Agency was about 750: according to the Arab Executive the total was about 1,750 families. That is to say that the compensation received by the Arab tenants for having the land which they cultivated—probably in most cases their only source of livelihood—and where they had lived for generations, sold over their heads, was between £17 and £40 per family. The payment received by the landowners for losing their rents was £726,000.

Who is made prosperous by Jewish immigration ? According to the Jewish Agency's evidence, the depressed tenants found land in the same district which they could cultivate. According to the evidence of the Arab Executive a large number of the tenants emigrated to America, and others found temporary employment as stone cutters and lime burners in connection with the construction of new buildings, but would have no occupation to turn to when these were completed. In view of the congestion on the land occupied by Arabs the evidence of the Arab Executive seems, *prima facie*, to be more likely to represent the facts than the evidence of the Jewish Agency. The enquiry of a Commission on the Economic Condition of Agriculturalists in 104 Arab villages, which reported in 1930, establish that of 23,573 families resident in those villages 6,940 families owned no land and were dependent for a livelihood upon work as labourers. Of the remaining 16,633 families who owned and cultivated land, the average holding was $18\frac{3}{4}$ acres per family. The estimate of the minimum holding necessary to support a family varies, but the general opinion of experts is that on unirrigated land in Palestine, with Arab methods of cultivation, about 30 or 40 acres are required*. That is to say that the

*Sir John Hope Simpson's Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, etc. (1930).

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average Arab holding in 1930 was about half the minimum subsistence area. Since 1930 the Arab peasant population has increased and the area available for them to cultivate has decreased on account of further Jewish purchases. In view of this shortage of land among Arabs, it is more likely that the tenants dispossessed by the Sursoq sale eventually drifted to the towns, probably to Haifa, to look for work than that they found land to cultivate in the same district—particularly in view of the great expansion of Haifa during the last few years. It may be assumed that the normal effect on the Arab tenant of the sale of the land which he cultivated by an absentee landlord is to force him to emigrate to the towns to find work and to become absorbed in the proletariat.

The effect of the sale of the Sursoq lands upon the bedouin, who, while these villages were inhabited by Arabs, used to come down from the hills after harvest and pasture their flocks on the village lands, was to deprive them of this right.

One particularly iniquitous aspect of the sale of the Sursoq land was that the real owners of part at any rate of the land sold were, apparently, not the Sursoqs, but the cultivators. Under the Turkish regime it had been the practice of peasants who owned land to make an arrangement with the Sultan or with some powerful landowner whereby they admitted his overlordship, and thus obtained, in return for an annual rent protection against extortion and other benefits. In this way "persons of importance and position in the Ottoman Empire acquired the legal title to large tracts of land which for generations and in some cases for centuries had been in the undisturbed and undisputed possession of peasants who, though by the new arrangement they surrendered their prescriptive rights over the land which they cultivated, had undoubtedly a strong moral claim to be allowed to continue in occupation of those lands."^{*}

What has been done by the Palestine Government for the cultivators who have been dispossessed by these sales of land? Until 1929 nothing effective was done. In 1929 an Ordinance

^{*}Report of the Shaw Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929, p. 120.

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was enacted which attempted to ensure that cultivators received compensation for the land they lost. This compensation was usually quite inadequate to support them and their families for any length of time. Under pressure from the Shaw and Hope-Simpson Commissions which visited Palestine after the 1929 disturbances and pointed out that one of the causes of Arab-Jew hostility was the increasing Arab landlessness, legislation was passed the intention of which was to make it impossible for a landlord to sell over his tenant's head the minimum area of land necessary for his subsistence. This legislation appears to have had the effect of slowing down the rate of Arab land sales but not of stopping them altogether. The figures quoted above show that in the years 1931-1935 about 50,000 acres were sold by Arabs to Jews.

Another scheme arising out of the reports of these Commissions was launched a few years ago. Its aim was to resettle on the land Arab tenants who had been dispossessed. It was a fine-sounding scheme which was to cost £250,000, and a £2,000,000 loan was voted by the British Government partly for this purpose.

When it came to the settling of the Arabs, applications for admission to the register of landless Arabs were received from 3,271 families of which only 664 were accepted by the Palestine Government. The rejection of the remaining 2,607 applications appears to have been due to the Government's refusal to include in its definition of "landless Arab" any head of a family (a) who still retained enough land to provide him (in the Government's opinion) with a livelihood; (b) who, though he had lost all his land, had found work elsewhere. That is to say that landless Arabs who had drifted to the town and become proletarians were left to the fate of proletarians: to have a job at two or three shillings a day when there was work going, and when there was none to be destitute.

Of the 664 families whom the Government has registered as landless up to the present, not more than a hundred have in fact been settled at a total cost of about £11,000 on land for which they have to pay rent and taxes to the Government. They also

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have to pay back to the Government the cost of the ploughing animals and agriculture implements with which the Government has provided them. The net income which they will be able to derive from the land on which they are settled will be, at best, the bare minimum necessary for their subsistence. They have lost their independence and homes and have been moved from the land which they, and probably their ancestors, cultivated. They are reduced to the position of paupers kept alive, so long as they continue to work by the Government. The normal attitude among Arabs, who have become landless, to these settlement schemes is that they would rather starve than live as the Government's serfs. It is not surprising, therefore, to read in the Annual Report of the Palestine Government for 1935 that, "as none of the remaining registered Arabs (*i.e.*, in addition to the one hundred families already settled) have signified their willingness to take up holdings upon Government estates, no new schemes have been put in hand this year."

This statement of the Government has, of course, been seized upon by the Zionist press and interpreted to mean that there are no more landless Arabs; that there is no landless Arab problem; that there is no Arab problem at all; that all Arab objections to Zionist colonization are fictitious—and anything else that they want to believe. What the statement in fact means is that the Government's scheme for resettling landless Arabs has broken down, since the Arabs prefer to be exploited for two or three shillings a day in the towns, or even to starve (in both of which cases they retain a degree of independence), than to work in one of the Government's labour camps.

A typical case of the sort of misery produced by the dispossession of Arab cultivators is given in the Government's Annual Report for 1935. An area of about 3,000 acres in Haifa sub-district, owned by one of the Sursoq family of Beirut and cultivated by about sixty families of a tribe called the Arab Zubeidat, and by some fellahin, was sold in 1925 over the heads of the tenants to a Zionist organization called the Palestine Land Development Company. The tenants were paid about £1,800, or less than £30 per family, as compensation by the Company. A dispute arose between the Arab Zubeidat and the Company in

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regard to a further area of 1,000 acres which the Company claimed had been included in, and the Arabs claimed had been excluded from, the transfer. In 1927, the Jews lodged a criminal action against two Arabs of the tribe who tried to prevent Jews from ploughing on the disputed area. The Court gave judgment in favour of the Jews. The Arabs appealed against this judgment, and in 1929 the Court returned the case to the Land Court for rehearing. In 1933 judgment was again given by the Land Court in favour of the Jews. The Arabs again appealed, and in 1934, the Court of Appeal confirmed the judgment of the Land Court. An action was then brought by the Jews for the eviction of the Arabs. Eviction was ordered in November, 1934, and carried out in January, 1935, by a strong police force. The Arabs tried to resist eviction by stoning the police. The police fired and killed an Arab. The rest of Arabs were then evicted.

In 1931 the Government had offered to resettle fourteen of these Arab families on Government land in the Beisan sub-district (about 30 miles to the East). This offer was refused by the Arabs because, as they said, they did not want to leave the lands where they had been born and reared and start to live and cultivate in a new place and under Government control in a climate that was too hot for them. The Government does not state whether it has renewed its offer of resettlement.

The present position appears to be that these Arabs—sixty or more families—are left with 300 acres of cultivable land and 700 acres of forest which they possessed in addition to the 4,000 acres which they have lost, in the neighbourhood of their old lands, and no other source of livelihood: an average of five acres per family, or about one-sixth of what is normally estimated to be the minimum area on which a family can support itself.

This instance is typical, not exceptional. The process of Jewish settlement frequently involves for the Arab tenants the miserable round of sale by absentee landlords, inadequate compensation, expensive law-suits dragging out over many years, police evictions, accompanied sometimes by shooting, and finally drifting to the towns to be exploited by Jewish or Arab capitalists or by the Government. So long as Jewish land purchases continue, involving this tension and conflict between the Jews and the dispossessed Arabs, you cannot hope to see anything but tension and conflict in the general relations between Jews and Arabs.

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In the last few years sales of land by small-holders have increased. According to Zionists, when a small-holder sells his land to them he only sells part of it and is able, with the capital which he gets by the sale, to develop the part which he retains. This is very nice in theory and may sometimes happen in practice. But it also frequently happens in practice that a small-holder sells all the land which he possesses; runs through the money which he receives for it in a few months or uses it to pay his debts; and is then forced, like the dispossessed tenant, to drift to the town, with the alternative of finding underpaid work or destitution.

The Arab small-holder has every inducement to sell his land. One strong motive is that the price which the Jews offer is usually far in excess of the real value of the land: (the average price paid by the Jews for land bought from Arabs during the last three years is about £100 per acre.) But the chief motive is his own poverty. According to investigations made by Sir John Hope-Simpson in 1930, the average gross income of an Arab peasant in Palestine was £29 4s. The average cost of production of his cultivation was £22. The average burden of debt was £8. The average burden of taxation was £5. The average cost of living for a family of six (the minimum necessary to support life) was reckoned as £26. That is to say the average minimum necessary expenditure of a peasant (£61) was in 1930 estimated to be more than twice his average gross income. Since 1930 the economic position of peasants has probably slightly improved. Prices of agricultural products have risen, so the peasant's average gross income has increased. Taxation has been somewhat reduced. But substantially the picture given in Sir John Hope-Simpson's report is a true one. That is to say the average expenditure of the peasant on cost of living must be considerably less than the £26 per annum which has been reckoned as the minimum necessary for subsistence*; he is always in debt: (in 1930, the total debt of the Arab peasant population of Palestine was estimated by the Palestine Government's Commission on the Economic Condition of Agriculturalists at £2,000,000: the normal rate of interest charged by money-lenders varies between 30 per cent. per annum and 50 per cent. on a sum borrowed at the time of sowing and

* The *Economist* (Oct. 10) however claims that the cost of living "has suddenly climbed in 3 months to the level ruling 3 years ago"

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repaid at harvest): he is always in arrears with taxes: he never has any capital of his own to develop his land and is seldom in a position to borrow any.

Insufficiency of land, lack of capital to develop the land, debt and excessive taxation are the chief causes of the poverty of Arab peasants. The Commission on the Economic Condition of Agriculturalists referred to reported that, out of 27,573 families visited in 104 villages, only 5,477 families had enough land to support themselves without finding additional work elsewhere. Sir John Hope-Simpson, writing on the subject of land-shortage among Arab peasants, remarked:

There is also a progressive diminution in the areas of holdings; in every village visited there were complaints on this score. Portions of the holdings have been sold either to pay off debts or to pay the Government taxes or to obtain the wherewithal to keep the family alive.

The population of the villages is increasing faster than in Turkish times, owing in large measure to the cessation of conscription. There is consequently increasing competition for land, and division of holdings among the increased number of members of the family.

This increase in the Arab population since the war is often used by Zionists as evidence of the increased prosperity of the Arabs, due to Jewish immigration. In fact, however, at any rate as far as the village population is concerned, it is a cause of increased poverty. The cessation of conscription is not, of course, the only cause of the increase of population; the Government's health services, restricted though they are, have done something to lower the death-rate and to decrease infant mortality. But prolongation of life without at least proportional expansion of the means of life is a doubtful benefit.

The Commission on the Economic Condition of Agriculturalists recommended that an income-tax should be imposed with a view to improving the miserable economic condition of Arab peasants. An expert was sent from England to look into the question, but vested interests were too strong and the proposed income-tax was shelved. The result is that the burden of taxation on agriculturalists is out of all proportion to their capacity to pay, while the rich Jewish entrepreneur and highly-paid British official get off almost scot free. One example of the way in which small-holders living in the neighbourhood of towns are driven by the Government to sell their lands to Jews is by imposing taxes on those lands at urban rates, although the land is used for

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agriculture. It was pointed out by Mr. Nevile Barbour, writing to the *Palestine Post* in July, 1936, that the annual tax on agricultural land in a village near Jerusalem has increased in the last few years from 3s. 4d. per acre to £5 4s. per acre, and again to £8 per acre. The annual net income from the land is probably between £1 and £2 per acre. At such a rate of taxation cultivation is of course impossible and the cultivator has no alternative but to sell.

It is of interest to contrast the economic position of the Arab peasant with that of the Jewish agricultural settler. The following are data in regard to the annual income and expenditure in three Jewish settlements collected by the Commission on the Economic Condition of Agriculturalists, together with the corresponding figures for the average Arab peasant, collected by the same Commission. The three settlements referred to are co-operative settlements, and the figures in the first column refer in their case to the average share of a family or individual in the total income of the settlement. The figures in the next four columns refer to the average share of a family or individual in the expenditure of the settlement upon the various items mentioned. It will be observed that the average annual deficit of the Arab peasant is £22.650 mils. This is, of course, an impossible figure, and is probably to be explained partly by the fact that the average Arab peasant family actually spends much less than £36 a year on cost of living.

(figures of pre-1930 price fall.)

Settle- ment	Gross Income £	Cost of Living £	EXPENDITURE		Cost of Production £	Balance or Deficit £
			Communa Taxes and Rent £	Interest on Debt £		
Yaffel (per family of 6)	£121	(Farm produce, £26, clothing, £7.)	£33	£4	£57	
Kinnereth (per family of 6)	£244	(Farm produce, £27, Clothing, £46)	£25	£4	£141	+ £1
Ginegar (per family of group)	£83	(Farm produce, £14; Clothing £6. Other re- quirements, £14 Social and cul- tural expendi- ture, £16.)	£7	£3	£24	nil
Arab Peasant (per family)	£38.350 mils.	£36	£5	£8	£22	- £22.650 mils.

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These figures, though only estimates, and probably not entirely accurate as regards the present situation (owing to a rise in prices, reduction in taxation, etc.), show one thing pretty plainly, namely, that the average Jewish agricultural settler, though not rich, enjoys at present economic security, and the average Arab peasant does not. The average Arab peasant obviously does not possess an income sufficient to provide him with the bare necessities of life. The Jewish settler has an income sufficient to meet these necessities, with something to spare (in two cases out of the three selected) for comforts and pleasures. The figures also show that, by failing to give economic security to the Arab peasant, the Government is responsible for a situation in which the Arab is practically forced to sell his land to the Jews when a good price is offered him. The Government is in this way in alliance with Zionism to deprive the Arab of his lands and to make them available for Jewish settlement; and at the same time to create a landless proletariat to be exploited by itself, and by Jewish and (to a less extent) by British and Arab, capitalists.

It is true that most of the Arab peasants who have drifted into the towns and work intermittently at a wage of two to three shillings a day receive, while they are in work, a money wage which is more than the income, reckoned in terms of money, which they got from their land when they worked as peasants. Against this must be set the fact that the old form of their lives has been broken up: that they are cut off from the wheat and olives, fruit and vegetables, which as peasants they had ready to hand and which they must now buy in the market at high prices: (the cost of living in Jaffa and Jerusalem is high; in Haifa at least as high as in English towns); that many of them now have to live in tin huts instead of in stone houses; that they have lost the land which gave them the assurance of a *permanent* livelihood—however miserable in terms of money that livelihood may have been. Now they are at the mercy of all the currents of capitalism. From 1933 until 1935 there was a boom in Palestine—chiefly on account of the unnaturally large influx of capital, brought by immigrants from Germany. Towards the end of 1935, a depression seemed to be beginning.

Indeed, according to the *Economist* of October 10, at the time of the outbreak of the strike "a first-class economic crisis was

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already in full swing." This crisis began in the autumn of 1935, when the Mediterranean tension reached its climax. By the end of the year it was officially estimated that 6,000 Jews, or 6 p. c. of the total employable Jewish population, was unemployed. This depression the strike has of course intensified. The following figures show the sharp recession in foreign trade during the second quarter of 1936

	1935	1936
	(April-June)	
Imports	£ P4 255 929	£ P3 000 684
Exports	£ P 14 863	£ P 218 861

The two processes, the sale of Arab lands and the industrialization of Palestine, are complementary. Zionist industrialism, and Government ports, roads, and railways, require an Arab proletariat, and the proletariat which they require is created by Zionist land purchases. The British Government backs Zionist activities for the reasons of imperial strategy referred to by Mr. Amery, and for business reasons. A Zionist industrialized Palestine makes a far better market for British goods and a far more profitable field for British investment than a purely Arab peasant Palestine could have made. Presumably, therefore, this mutually profitable partnership between Britain and Zionism that has now lasted for sixteen years will not be terminated by anything short of national revolution in Palestine or social revolution in England.

SCIENCE AND THE NEW HUMANISM—II

LANCELOT HOGBEN

III.—The Need for a Science of Human Nature

THE last article which dealt with the impact of scientific technique on social organization ended by pointing out that we now stand on the threshold of an era of biological inventions with new possibilities of bodily and mental health, if we plan our resources intelligently. There is little hope that we shall do so while the socialist parties of highly industrialized countries are directed exclusively by trade union leaders and a legalistic intelligentsia with an exclusively urban outlook. At present orthodox socialists make common cause with liberals and with the parties affiliated to the Comintern in declaring with one accord that the Fascist ideal of self-sufficiency implies a "lower standard of living." If a standard of living is defined in terms of the variety of commodities which are produced, this is probably true. On the other hand it is not necessarily an evil, because a large variety of objects which are not essential to human welfare is not a sufficient criterion of bodily and mental health. Socialists who object to self-sufficiency for this reason have allowed themselves to be trapped into an arbitrary standard of social values conveniently devised by the advocates of *laissez faire*. The folly of doing so is shewn by the popular appeal which the plea for self-sufficiency exerts. It is already apparent that the leaders of the Totalitarian movements have not the slightest intention of organizing self-sufficiency, which could only be carried through by a comprehensive collectivist project. Their objective, wherever they have seized control of the state, is now avowedly imperialistic. In other words urban socialism has left its opponents to canalize prevailing discontent by promises to achieve an end which could only be realized by the methods which socialism advocates.

Most people implicitly associate a high standard of life with purchasing power. Since the range of choice in any community

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is limited by its technological basis and social tradition, the greatest number of different goods which the greatest number of people can enjoy is not necessarily the same thing as the greatest good of the greatest number. The important point is not the absolute number of different things people can buy with what incomes they receive. It is whether most people can get what most people most need. The only rational bias for such a discussion is scientific research into the character of fundamental human requirements, and the material resources available for gratifying them. These together make up the major part of a real science of the Wealth of Nations. In the absence of a rational basis for decision people are more likely to listen to the rhetoric of dictators than to take much notice of the results of "economic analysis". The fact that they do so, reveals an essential difference between what a scientist means by prediction and what an economist means when he uses the same word. Prediction in science involves a specification of what steps to take if we wish to observe a regularity of nature. Prediction in economics, as Professor Robins defines it, is a purely abstract assertion that a certain result would occur if people were, in fact, different from what they are. Predicting where a planet will be at a certain date is equivalent to *prescribing* where to put a telescope at a particular time, if we want to see it. It is, therefore, a recipe for correct conduct. Prediction of what would result from a particular economic policy would be comparable to prediction in astronomy, if it also included a specification of what steps must be taken to induce people to adopt it. Otherwise it is an excuse for social inaction, and as such, the reverse of what is meant by prediction in real science.

Of one human need we at least know a little. If a society is to continue it needs to produce children. The population crisis to which urban civilization is now heading is the biological proof of its inadequacy.* We are thus faced with two alternatives. We may let the future look after itself, and probably revert to a primitive rural economy, or we may plan the redistribution of population in a predominantly rural economy making the fullest use of biological science. The failure of private enterprise to

* *Vide* End Charles, *Twilight of Parenthood*, referred to in the last issue.

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provide an effective stimulus to biological inventions and their use is sufficiently evident. The collectivist critics of private enterprise do not yet inspire more confidence. The unavoidable pre-occupation of the trade unions with securing minimum rates of pay, and the strength of trade unionism in congested areas mean that any party dominated by the trade union outlook is also dominant by an exclusively urban outlook. When a powerful body of scientific opinion voices the demand for a ministry of nutrition, the British Labour Party prefers tinkering with London transport facilities to mobilizing the salaried middle classes on the same platform as the agricultural labourer and the unemployed in a constructive project for collectivist development of the nation's food supplies.

If we hope to avert the fate which has overtaken progressive movements on the continent, the popular appeal of self-sufficiency is therefore worthy of more attention than has been given to it. It is now the fashion to regard men like William Morris and Edward Carpenter as charming but ineffective cranks. Certainly they were idealists, in so far as they had no practical proposals for adopting electrolytic metallurgy and cellulose biochemistry to the problem of spacing out a population. On the other hand, perhaps they were much better psychologists than their successors. Half an hour devoted to the advertisement columns of *Fur and Feather* will make you wonder whether the Workers' Flats which Dollfuss destroyed really represent the most urgent aspiration of the average man and woman. Why has Blake's poem been sung and quoted till we are almost tired of it, if the masses really prefer the passive enjoyment provided by cheap gramophones in a labour-saving flat to the active satisfaction of breeding fancy rabbits in a backyard?

Though it would be foolish to pretend that a dogmatic answer to such questions can be given, it is none the less important to ask them. Intelligent social prophylaxis is not possible if we keep up the pretence that we know the origin of a disease when we are totally ignorant. The truth is that the eczema of dictatorships in Contemporary Europe is a denouement for which neither Liberalism nor Marxism provides a prognosis. The prevailing Liberal belief has been that increasing confidence in

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democracy would grow side by side with an advancing standard of material welfare. The official Marxist forecast was the collapse of capitalism through the despair of the destitute masses. Neither of these things has happened. We have gained the dole and are losing democracy. Marxism, Liberal Social Reform and Labour Party Collectivism have all been dominated by the bread and butter philosophy of distributive justice. If the widespread unrest of the present generation is not merely a desperate revolt against sheer lack of material goods, envisaged as the final crisis of capitalism by writers of the revolutionary school, it is not likely that minor reforms in the distributive machinery will allay it. One of Bernard Shaw's characters is made to say that the leisured classes are divided into two sections, the equestrians and the neurotics. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to paraphrase this by saying that the hypertrophied urbanism of modern society is only tolerable, if people are rich enough to get away from it or are compelled to work so hard that they have no time to think. Urban unemployment creates a leisured class with no alternative to mass neurosis. A comparison of English vital statistics from 1875 to 1935 shews that the tragedy of vast unemployment in the midst of which we are living is certainly not that material poverty is greater than it has ever been before. It would seem more reasonable to conclude that the dissatisfaction which sweeps youth into Fascist reaction is more fundamental than mere discontent with poverty or lack of prospects. May it not be regarded as disillusionment towards a whole pattern of social habit dictated by material forces with no social prevision?

Several of our leaders of scientific thought in recent pronouncements have attributed the social disequilibrium of the last few years to the fact that our knowledge of external nature has got too far ahead of our knowledge of human nature. While it may be doubted whether ignorance of human nature has much to do with the break-down of our economic institutions there is very good reason to believe that it has much to do with the crumbling away of our social traditions under the stress of economic crises. The nineteenth century telescoped into three generations an amazing panorama of social changes without parallel in the previous history of mankind. New patterns of social behaviour succeeded one another with astonishing rapidity

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during a period occupied by only three generations. At the end of the nineteenth century it seemed as if Western civilization was progressing in orderly procession towards the general enlightenment, individual freedom, settled prosperity, and peace foretold by Condorcet and Godwin in the closing years of the century which preceded it. To-day the Swastika symbol of the Stone Age signalizes a headlong retreat to barbarism, and half Europe is beneath the heel of the sub-men. Condorcet and Godwin, with their doctrine of human perfectibility, were not wrong, because, as their opponents said, nature does not change. Of human nature, as of external nature, Bacon's doctrine is equally true. To be commanded, Nature must be obeyed. The nineteenth century set out to change human nature without discovering its laws of change. It imposed new modes of behaviour on human beings without finding out how men must be educated if the new social pattern is to remain a stable one.

Three aspects of this pageant of social change illustrate how new strains were put upon human nature without any attempt to fortify it with new means of resistance. The opening years of the nineteenth century, following the Romilly bills in England, saw the sudden birth of a public attitude to the infliction of pain without parallel in previous history. Torture and public infliction of death, retributive ideas of justice were features of all ancient civilizations. While isolated sects like the Stoics or Essenes, and exceptional individuals like Erasmus or Voltaire, might condemn them, the growth of the public conscience against cruelty, well-nigh universal in the English-speaking world at the beginning of this century, did not assume an important magnitude until the American revolution. Another characteristic change of the nineteenth century was the emergence of the health cult. This was catalyzed by the discoveries of Pasteur and Lister and by the new chemical technique for the manufacture of soap on a commercial scale, when synthetic alkalis were available. The habit of frequent washing, new to Northern climates, spread over a large section of the population. Fresh air became a fetish. A new ritual of domestic hygiene brought with it distaste for bodily odours and the fastidiousness which has now made an intimate pattern of marital life an object of opprobrium. A third feature of social change was the isolation of the individual. The growth

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of concentrated population made human life less gregarious. Large numbers of people found themselves transferred to suburbs, remote from their workmates, with no social roots where they were domiciled. As religious belief declined, one of the few ties between the family and a corporate social life disappeared.

The social reformers of the nineteenth century complacently reflected that human beings are better and safer when there is less cruelty, less dirt, and more privacy for those who want it. They believed, and rightly believed, that cruelty, disease, and superstition are eradicable nuisances. Their weakness was that they completely failed to understand that, if eradicable, the need for cruelty, dirt, and superstition is deeply rooted in human nature, fashioned as it is by our present social institutions and current methods of education. During a century which saw an extraordinary limitation of cruelty in public life, nobody asked, and few have yet asked seriously, what kind of education makes people less likely to be cruel. The answer given by educational reformers is based purely on sentiment unfortified by the results of anthropological research. During a period of vast improvement in public health, nobody except doctors troubled themselves with the prevalence of sexual neurosis. While mankind had been forced to be less cruel and less pugnacious it had not fully learned to enjoy alternative forms of excitement. While it had made great strides in the conquest of bodily disease, it was becoming afraid of the uses of the body. While the individual had gained the freedom to be alone, he had lost the means of escaping from his own loneliness.

With growing sense of frustration civilized mankind becomes more aware of its losses than of its gains. Civilization itself becomes the enemy. Anticipating public sentiment, writers like D. H. Lawrence enlist adolescence in the exaltation of barbarism. An Austrian bricklayer celebrates his rise to power by reviving mediæval pageantry with orgies of sadism and coprophilia. For years to come the life of Western civilization will be less gentle. There will be less reasonableness, less tolerance, more violence. We shall not harmonize the public needs of a progressive society with the private needs of individual human nature till we have a science of man's behaviour. Therein

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lies the social importance of pioneer labours such as those which Havelock Ellis has undertaken.

If it is right to conclude that the Retreat from Reason is symptomatic of a growing dis-illusionment towards the whole pattern of social habit which has evolved within the framework of planless private enterprise, three conclusions follow. The first is that paralysis of the will to mobilize the vast resources for human betterment now available cannot be arrested, unless we are willing to undertake a far more drastic repudiation of the fundamental principles of *laissez faire* than socialists in the past have been prepared to countenance. The second is that the crude doctrine of the class war is out of date, because dissatisfaction with the plan of life which capitalist civilization has imposed on us is not confined to, or most articulate among, the most depressed sections of society. The third is that a party which hopes to rally all progressive forces to the constructive rehabilitation of western civilization has nothing to gain by weak-kneed attempts to convince its would-be supporters, that it is not essentially different from its predecessors.

IV—Blue Prints for a Modern Institute of Social Studies

To redesign human life in accordance with growing knowledge of the nature of fundamental human needs and the material forces which are now at our disposal, if we care to use them intelligently, is not a task which can be or will be undertaken by political leaders who have little regard for the nature of human needs and less knowledge of the technological resources which can now be utilized by intelligent organization. Reason has not failed us. It has not yet been given the chance. We have inherited from the Reformation an educational system which has no relevance to the immediate social tasks of our generation, and our political leaders are products of that system. The Founders of our Grammar Schools had, broadly speaking, three aims; to discredit Romish innovations by making the Bible an open book, to strengthen the influence of the burghers by exalting the merits of the Greek city states and to equip the counting house with the new mercantile arithmetic. Classical scholarship as an aid to biblical exegesis and familiarity with the political ideals of the city state supplemented by the new algorithms and cyphers broadcast by Protestant pedagogy were insufficient to meet the needs of nineteenth century

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industrialism. So modern languages and vocational courses in natural science were added to the curriculum to satisfy the requirements of a growing volume of foreign correspondence and an ever-increasing demand for technical experts. In the newer type of secondary schools, where "modern" studies predominate, the demands of civic education have been met by a smattering of English political history in place of classical training, and those who proceed to the university to prepare themselves for teaching it almost invariably concentrate on modern languages rather than science.

It is doubtful whether we have as large a proportion of scientific men actively interested in politics to-day, as there were at the time of Joseph Priestley and Benjamin Franklin. Since scientific education has been designed to meet the demand for technical experts, very few scientists are alive to the social problems of our age. Hence people have no reason to expect the scientists to help them out of their difficulties, unless they elect representatives who know enough about the scope of technical possibilities to enlist their skill. While this certainly means that no one is politically educated, unless he has some knowledge of natural science, it is equally clear that the way in which natural science is taught at present is not suitable to meet the requirements of a rational curriculum of humanistic studies. We need more science, but not more science as it is taught at present for vocational purposes.

I use the word *present* advisedly in this context, because political administration must be the vocation of some people in a highly organized society. The adjectives cultural, doctrinaire, and vocational as applied to educational policies should be treated with grave suspicion whenever used. When knowledge is said to have cultural value, further enquiry is usually closed by the statement that it is worth having for its own sake. This is another way of saying that we value it as individuals without knowing any good reason to commend it to any one else. When teaching is described as doctrinaire, we mean that it is directed by an intelligible social objective of which we strongly disapprove. When we say that training is vocational we usually mean that it helps us to gain a livelihood irrespective of the social usefulness of the occupation

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itself. It may perhaps be said that people sometimes speak of a cultural education, when they mean an education which equips an individual to exercise his social responsibilities outside the domain of his daily work. If so, it would be more straightforward to admit that when we speak of a cultural education, we mean a tendentious one.

Education is only a live social issue, *when it is frankly tendentious*. Scotland led the way in popular education because John Knox wanted to found the Kingdom of God in Edinburgh and knew what he wanted. Education was a live issue at the time when our Grammar Schools were founded, because the Protestant reformers had clear ideas of why they wanted to teach the things they taught at the time at which they taught them, and, therefore, did not need to rely on the obscurantist device that Greek is worth studying for its own sake. It was a live issue in the time of Faraday and Huxley, because people were dissatisfied with the old classical tradition and wanted to produce chemists. You can re-capture the attitude of a generation which valued education in the words which Cobbett wrote in his letters on English grammar for a working boy :

But to the acquiring of this branch of knowledge, my dear son, there is one motive, which, though it ought at all times to be strongly felt, ought at the present time to be so felt in an extraordinary degree. I mean that desire which every man, and especially every young man, should entertain to be able to assert with effect the rights and liberties of his country. When you come to read the history of those laws of England by which the freedom of the people has been secured . . . you will find that tyranny has no enemy so formidable as the pen. And, while you will see with exultation the long imprisoned, heavily fined, the banished William Prynne returning to liberty borne by the people from Southampton to London over a road strewn with flowers, then accusing, bring to trial and to the block the tyrants from whose hands he and his country had unjustly and cruelly suffered, while your heart and the heart of every young man in the kingdom will bound with joy at the spectacle, you ought all to bear in mind that, without a knowledge of grammar, Mr. Prynne could never have performed any of those acts by which his name has been thus preserved, and which have caused his name to be held in honour.

Dislike and Distrust of Education which is the hallmark of the Retreat from Reason in our own generation is due to the fact that our educational system has ceased to be an instrument to

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assert the rights and liberties of our country, or indeed to have any intelligible objective except in so far as it helps some people to gain a livelihood. Although there are no evident signs of violent social disintegration in our own country, there are many disturbing indications that we are sowing the seeds of cultural decay whose first symptom is the cult of blind obedience to the leader. One is the candidly contemptuous and hostile attitude to any extension of instruction common in the mischievous propaganda of the eugenic movement, which recruits its supporters chiefly from the childless rentier—twentieth century Bourbons who have earned nothing and begotten nothing. Another sinister feature shews itself when we compare popular scientific articles and broadcast talks with such lectures as those which Faraday, Huxley, Ball and Tyndall delivered to audiences of working men. Huxley wanted to impart knowledge. He was content to take simple well tried truths of science and to explain them in clear and simple language. The prevailing fashion is to parade the most speculative, socially insignificant and least digested hypotheses at the theoretical periphery of specialized research before mystified audiences who duly register their bewildered reverence for the great masters.

Our objective in these articles has been to discover a rational basis for a programme of humanistic studies. For my part I do not think we can find that basis unless we adopt the spirit—as opposed to the letter—of Cobbett's words. Natural science recognizes no finality in the arbitrary divisions of its subject matter. If you ask a biologist what is biology, he can only tell you that biology consists of problems which are studied by biologists. So it will clear the air, if we drop the conventional division of the social sciences into political science, political economy, political philosophy, etc., and ask instead what vital problems are involved in the task of organizing the resources of an age of potential plenty? You may prefer to put the question in a more restricted form:—"of what does the wealth of nations consist?"

The biologist sees man as a creature with common species characteristics and individual idiosyncrasies of hereditary make-up responding actively to a changing environment, largely the product

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of his own past activities. So the question is a comprehensive one, and demands a comprehensive answer. If a Martian observer whose telescope could only detect the light reflected from waistcoat buttons attempted to reconstruct the principles of biology from the transitory movements of buttons in a four dimensional continuum, his researches could hardly be less divorced from reality than a social outlook circumscribed by the currency problem. Broadly, the wealth of nations depends on: (a) the material resources of man's environment; (b) the biological resources of social personnel; (c) the social resources for mobilizing the common will to make the fullest use of the first two. Naturally we cannot rely on much enlightenment from those who advertise their limitations by recording "a sense almost of shame . . . at tedious discussions of technical education" and recoil with débutante sensibility from "spineless platitudes about manures."* We find little provision made in any existing curriculum for the first division of a programme of social research though *geography* is beginning to shoulder the task. We blundered into the age of coal and steel with no provision. We are now blundering on the threshold of a plexus of technical changes which may have far more drastic consequences. Here are a few of them which are already in being: the production of mobile power from unlimited supplies of natural energy; electrical communications, the replacement of the heavy metal economy of high energy expenditure and localized sources of material by the light metal alloys from universally distributed sources which can be made available for use without the necessity of high temperature processes: the replacement of crude traditional building and clothing materials by synthetic plastics and cellulose derivatives; a vast increase in the realizable productivity of field and pasture, crop and stock through synthetic fertilizers, control of soil bacteria, genetic selection for fertility and disease resistance, elimination of parasites, etc. For a short account of these the reader may refer to Bernal's article in the *Frustration of Science*, the first chapter of Enid Charles' *Twilight of Parenthood*, Wilcox' *Can Nations live at Home?*, and two books in the Century of Progress Series (Allen and Unwin) entitled respectively *Chemistry Triumphant* by W. J. Hale and *Our Mineral Civilization* by Thomas Read.

**Nature and Significance of Economic Science*, p. 65.

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The Russian experiment owes its success very largely to the fact that Lenin saw how to mobilize resources of power which private enterprise had failed to develop. In England the left and the right of the Labour movement eternally quibble over the tactical merits of confiscation and compensation of industries which may be soon destined to disappear. If the intellectual leaders of the English Labour movement were equipped with knowledge of emergent technical forces they could formulate a policy which would rally the common support of the wage-earning and salaried classes for an irresistible programme of national reconstruction. The B. B. C. is an example of a new industry which was publicly owned from its inception. Since industries are not eternal I can see no reason for believing that such a policy could not carry us smoothly as far as it is beneficial to go. Judging from a recent oration by Lord Lothian, one may suspect that many Liberals would cooperate with Socialists in carrying it out. I can see no reason for saying that it would fail, since it has not been given a sufficient trial. The alternatives to it are a cult of insurrectionary and conspiratorial violence, which will inevitably breed a successful and ruthless reaction, or an acquiescent Opposition, content to gather the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table.

The professional apologists of social paralysis have not been slow to see this. Unpleasantly aware that the infusion of a little genuine scientific knowledge would compel them to undertake researches for which they lack both requisite training, social inclination, orthodox economists have adroitly entrenched themselves behind a barrage of paradox which when stripped of rhetoric reads like this. (i) Wealth is what you have and the man next door has not: (ii) if he had it, what you have would not be wealth: (iii) hence there can be no wealth without scarcity: (iv) since there cannot be scarcity if there is plenty, there cannot be plenty if there is wealth: (v) if there were no wealth there would be no economics: (vi) but since there is economic there cannot be plenty. As an Englishman it pleases me to reflect that this elegant sequence was concocted by the Teutonic brain, and I offer no apology for using a plain English word in the plain sense in which Englishmen have always used, and will probably continue to use it, when Austrians have discovered how to preserve the

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tradition of liberal thought in their own country. If the word wealth is to be given a more precise meaning for scientific discussion, the necessary desideratum is to define human needs consistently with the Darwinian doctrine.

The biologist is at one with the wholesome wisdom of Professor Tawney when he says that clever men emphasize the differences which separate them from their fellows and wise men emphasize what they have in common. Man is an animal. He has certain needs which he shares with all other animals—*e. g.*, the need to reproduce if he is to survive as a species. He has needs which he shares with particular groups of animals, *e. g.*, his common mammalian needs. He has species needs, which any individual shares with all other members of *Homo sapiens*—diet, shelter and protection from disease. Finally he has idiosyncratic requirements which result partly from the fact that individual members of the species do not all have the same hereditary make-up, and probably in greater part because they do not share the same uterine, postnatal and social environment. Whether you call these requirements "wants" or "needs," it is obvious that in plain English a plain Englishman who has the power to collect Persian carpets is not what is ordinarily called a wealthy man, unless he also has the power to order a square meal. In seeking a basis of public discussion, the first questions which arise, unless we have been permanently incapacitated for lucid discourse by prolonged pre-occupation with the gold standard, are whether the common needs of mankind as members of the same species, phylum and type of matter, are at present satisfied, what resources for satisfying them exist, and how far they are used.

Thermodynamics supplies the only kind of answer which science can provide for such questions. A human being of a given size and age living at a given temperature requires among other things so many calories of organic materials of particular constitution and a certain amount of material of specified heat conductivity to compensate surface loss by convection and radiation. Whether a community has actual or potential plenty is therefore a calculus for which the materials exist in a world of discourse into which Sir Josiah Stamp's recent lecture* nowhere penetrates. Man

**The Calculus of Plenty*

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can secure the requisite minimum of free energy by his own activities with or without the assistance of other species like the horse. He can secure it by liberating the potential energy stored in the earth's surface by the heat engine, in which case there is a permanent calorie debt of human effort entailed in overcoming gravitation. He can also secure it by harnessing natural forces to the production of mobile power. Taking these three major categories, the energy debt in human calories is greatest in the first and least in the last. The word *Plenty* defined with reference to man's species needs has therefore a perfectly clear social meaning which remains in spite of the continued existence of Austrian economists. *Plenty* is the excess of free energy over the collective calorie debt of human effort applied to securing the needs which all human beings share. In this sense the statement that we are living in an age of vast potential plenty as compared with our grandfathers is a truism. It is convenient to conceal it beneath an avalanche of Austrian sophistication, because a very large number of Englishmen and their families are not receiving the bare minimum of daily calories which the British Medical Council prescribes. Since we cannot find a common basis for enquiry until we have faced the fact that men have common species needs, another topic of research which emerges from our ignorance of available material resources must be an inventory of what these needs are. Vital statistics and dietetics are not merely departments of medicine. They are first and foremost part of a scientific enquiry into the wealth of nations.

In contradistinction to social technology or geography the second broad category of problems suggested by an inquiry into the wealth of nations is the utilization of social personnel. If you want a name for it, you can call it social biology. Individually men have different gifts, and a society organized to make the fullest use of its material resources for producing wealth must also make the fullest use of individuals gifted with skill in technical performance, scientific enquiry and social organization. It is convenient to circumscribe the scope of a discipline concerned with the wealth of nations without regard for this truism, because its recognition would lead to dangerous thoughts. About one-sixth of the total number of English children are able to receive the kind of training which would make it possible to detect whether they

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possess the gifts necessary for the most responsible activities of the modern state. The implications of this fact have been the subject of a recent series of investigations undertaken under the direction of my colleague Mr J L. Gray. The results were recently published by Mr. Gray and his collaborator Miss Moshensky, in the *Sociological Review* (1935). Those interested in the subject will be able to read an account of the work in a short volume to be published by Watts and Co. in the next few months. I hope they will do so. Mr. Gray's pioneer work needs all the encouragement and recognition it can get.

Work of the type which Mr. Gray has undertaken only deals with one aspect of a very large problem. It gives us a close-up view of the first step on the educational ladder. How we recruit the various grades of skilled work, foremen, administrators, organizers of industry and so forth are questions which still wait research. When we can answer these questions we shall have an inventory of resources of human ability available for increasing the wealth of nations. To this field of enquiry belong the work of Carr Saunders on the professions and a preliminary enquiry on occupational mobility by Professor Ginsberg. The extension of enquiries like these offers a field in which, I think, research groups in the Adult Education Movement might play a useful part.

The third major division of a growing body of social science concerns the social resources available for canalizing a common will to increase the wealth of nations. This is the field to which the Webbs applied their gifts in a distinguished career of fruitful research which is still a model to their successors. The work of the Webbs was firmly rooted in the great empirical tradition which established the supremacy of British science, and patriotic Englishmen may recoil with "a sense almost of shame," when the English tradition is relinquished to continental scholasticism. If little is here said about the pivotal importance of understanding the powers of government, the machinery of the social services, associations of producers and consumers, the employment market, etc., it is because so much has already been done, and is still being done by the pupils of G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski.

However, there is another aspect of the general problem of mobilizing the common will in contradistinction to the social

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machinery through which man's common needs are canalized. It is the discovery of how individual preferences are determined by nature and continued by nurture. The emergence of new instruments of propaganda—the school, the press, the film and the radio—and the part they have played in recent mass movements, reminds us how little we know about the way in which individual preferences and social aspirations are conditioned by current circumstances. Much might be learned from statistical analysis of the practice of business advertisement, parliamentary elections and population figures, all of which provide the raw numerical data of a science of psychological engineering. My own belief is that the complete ignorance which prevails about this cardinal requirement for a science of social evolution is due to the fashion of isolating a subject called social psychology from the laboratory of materials which history, anthropology, and the study of social institutions provide. In the social sciences, anthropology and history occupy the place of palaeontology and ecology in evolutionary biology, and if space does not permit me to emphasize their importance as separate disciplines, it is not because I wish to minimize it. On the contrary I would suggest that every type of social enquiry would be more fruitful if fertilized by due regard to its historical and geographical context.

The threefold division which I have outlined leaves one gap, and I will resist the temptation of capitulating to the triadic formula of Hegel by adding to the list social pathology. Here we may put the prisons, the asylums and the banks. Specialists in skin diseases have a necessary if humble niche in the science of medicine. So it may be wise to let a few people occupy themselves with currency problems, and leave the remainder to more savoury courses.

DURGA'S TEMPLE*

I

BABU BRIJNATH was as fond of his law studies as his two children were of quarrelling. Shayama was screaming "Munnu won't give me my doll." Munnu yelled "Shyama has eaten my candy."

Brijnath turned in anger to his wife "Aren't you going to do anything about these screaming wretches? If not, I'll give them both the lesson of their young lives."

Bhama busy trying to light the fire merely remarked "Do you intend poring over your books all evening? Give them a rest for a moment."

Brijnath: That's right: do nothing. Merely sit there laying down the law. Just wait: I'll give these brats such a beating that you'll be screaming their wrongs to high heaven.

Bhama: I have'nt had a moment's rest or sleep. What if you should let them play for a little? I did'nt contract to be their nurse-maid

Brijnath had no reply. Anger swells like a flood that knows no bounds. Though Brijnath was well acquainted with the principles of justice he chose to ignore them in this crisis. Complainant and defendant alike received the weight of his cane, and leaving them to tearful protest, he strode off deliberately to the College Park with his law-book under his arm.

II

It was the month of August. There had been days on end without a cloud in the sky. The trees were clothed in an attractive green. The soft breeze hummed an autumn hymn and the cranes rocked cradles in the high swaying branches. Brijnath was seated on a bench with his book in front of him: but it was the book of nature that gripped his senses. He

* Translated from the Hindi of Prem Nath by "M".

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studied by turns the sky and the leaves and the sensuous green and the children playing by his side in the park.

Suddenly a ball of paper appeared before him on the grass.

Imagination suggested a peep inside.

Wisdom said: What's the good? Let it lie.

But the curiosity of imagination won. Brijnath rose and picked up the wad of paper. Perhaps it contained money that someone had dropped. He opened it and found—sovereigns. He counted them one by one—eight. His joy knew no bounds.

His heart fluttered. He took the eight sovereigns in his hand, troubled as to what he should do. If he left them there anyone might get hold of them and carry them off. No, it wouldn't do to leave them where they were. He must report his find to the police-station and make over the sovereigns to the Inspector, who would give them to the owner; or if he couldn't find him—well, it would be no fault of his. He at least would have a free conscience.

Then a sly thought assailed his defences. He gave up the idea of going to the police-station and decided to have a joke with Bhama. Moreover it was time for supper: he could go to the police-station at his leisure to-morrow.

When Bhama saw the sovereigns she was all agog. "Whose are they?" she cried. "Mine." "Come, where did you get them?" "I found them on the road." "You fibber. What a gift from the gods. But the truth—where did you get them? Whose are they?" "That's the truth: I found them." "Swear to it?" "On my honour."

Bhama tried to snatch the coins from his hand. "What are you snatching at, my dear?" "Come, give them to me" she pleaded. "Leave them alone, I am going to report the matter to the police." Bhama turned sulky—"Why report findings to the police?"

"Why not, sweet-heart: am I to sell my honour for eight pieces of Gold?"

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"As you please, but not now. You can go in the morning ; it's much too late to-night."

"Brijnath agreed. The Police Inspector would do nothing at night, and since the money had to lie somewhere it might as well be in his house as at the police-station.

He put the coins in a box. After dinner Bhamā by way of a joke asked him if it was stealing to keep what had come his way. "Give them to me" she pleaded, "and I'll have that necklace made that I've been longing for all these years."

Bhamā seeing Brijnath's look pretended it was only a joke but he merely sneered. "Instead of a necklace do you want a noose for your neck?"

III

Early next morning Brijnath was ready to go to the police-station. It would mean cutting a law-lecture, but what did that matter? He had been a pleader's clerk in the Allahabad High Court : but seeing no hope of advancement in that line, for the past year he had been devoting himself to legal studies with a view to a pleadership.

But this morning just as he was in the act of dressing an old friend appeared—Munshi Gorelal. Having helped himself to a seat Gorelal began to unfold the long saga of his woes :

"This time, my dear man, I've got into such a hopeless mess, that I can't think what I'm to do. You're a good fellow. Lend me a hand—just for once. Give me only thirty rupees : and with that I'll manage somehow or other to survive. To-day's the thirtieth of the month. You'll get your money back sure to-morrow evening."

Brijnath may have been a good fellow, but his credit was not good for much. He easily succumbed, however, to the breath of flattery. A false pride was his characteristic weakness. In order to display his power he would habitually sacrifice his own essential comforts for some trifling convenience to a friend. His partner Bhamā, however, would have no truck with this idiosyncrasy of his. So that whenever Brijnath got into difficulties of this kind, he had inevitably to suffer at her hands a temporary

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shattering of his customary peace of mind. He had not the strength of will to refuse the least importunate beggar or resist the most guileless overture.

A little diffidently he went inside to ask Bhama if she had thirty rupees. It was Gorelal, he added, that was asking for them. Bhama replied somewhat dryly that she had nothing.

"But you must have something, my dear: you're only pretending—"

"Well, suppose I am pretending—"

"Then, what am I to say to him?—"

"Tell him that there's no money in the house. If you won't tell him, I'll do it myself from behind the pardah screen—"

"But if I tell him that, he won't believe me. He'll think I'm only pretending."

"Let him think what he likes—"

"But I can't be guilty of such gross rudeness. He is my bosom friend; how can I refuse him?—"

"All right, tell him what you like. I've told you I've got no money—"

Brijnath was greatly distressed. He had hoped that Bhama would give him the money. She was only refusing, he knew, to embarrass him. His obstinacy strengthened his resolve. He removed a couple of the sovereigns from the box and told Gorelal by all the sanctity of friendship to see that they were returned to him to-morrow evening by the time he came back from court. They had been given him in trust and it would be an insufferable disgrace if he could not return them to their owner to-morrow. He wouldn't dare put his face out of doors.

Gorelal pocketing the money reflected that the only person who could have given them to him was his wife and with that surmise he made off home.

IV

It is the evening of the first of the month. Brijnath is seated at the door waiting for Gorelal.

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It has struck five, but Gorelal has not appeared. Brijnath keeps his eyes glued on the road. He has a letter in his hand, but he scarcely looks at it. Every now and then his glance travels up the road: he reflects: "To-day is pay-day that is why he is so late in coming. But he'll come." Six o'clock: no trace of Gorelal. The clerks from the District Court troop by one by one. Brijnath has moments of doubt. Then "Here he is; it must be him. That's his coat and that's the way he wears his cap. It's his walk. Yes, of course it's him. He is coming this way." It seems as though a weight were lifted off his mind. But when the approaching figure draws nearer he sees it is someone else. His high hopes are dashed to despair.

Brijnath remains sorely perplexed. He gets up from his chair and standing on the threshold of the verandah scans the road in both directions. Not a sign of any one.

Once or twice an approaching pony-trap seemed to announce Gorelal's arrival. The wish is father to the thought.

At seven the lamps are lighted. It begins to get dark outside. Brijnath anxiously paces up and down the road. He decides at length to go to Gorelal's house. He turns in that direction; but is afraid lest he should meet anyone and they should wonder why he is so perturbed about a few rupees. He has not gone very far when he sees someone approaching. He thinks it might be Gorelal: and turns to take refuge in the verandah and hesitation assails him again. Why should he be so late? Why hasn't he left the Court by now? The thing's impossible. His office people have left long ago. Well, there's only two possibilities, either he has decided to leave it off till to-morrow, thinking there's no point in coming to-night; or else he has made up his mind not to return the money. He was short of cash yesterday, it's my turn to-day. I know—I'll send someone to him. But who is there to send? Munnu can go: Gorelal's house is on the road."

With this, he returns to his room, lights the lamp and sits down to write a note. But his eyes remain fixed on the door. Suddenly he hears the sound of footsteps. He pushes the note-paper under a book and goes out into the verandah. It is his

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neighbour the grocer with a telegram which he wants read. "My good man, I've no time to read the thing now. Bring it later." "Babu," he pleaded, "please look at it: every one in the house is upset". Eventually, Brijnath rather ungraciously takes the envelope and glancing at the contents says "From Calcutta. The goods have not arrived." The grocer, now very excited, cries "Babu, look at it again and tell me who sent it." Brijnath drops it with a gesture muttering "I've no time; away with you."

Eight strikes. Brijnath begins to despair. Munnu cannot go out when it is so dark. He is so annoyed that he decides to go himself. How much consideration is he expected to show the poltroon? Curse him good and hard, that's what he would do and get his money back. Courtesy is all right with gentlemen, but with knaves like this it is mere folly. He puts on his coat, goes inside and tells Bhama that he has to go out on some business and asks her to close the doors.

He sets off: but there is hesitation in his every step. While still a long way from Gorelal's house he can see the lamp shining in the window. He stops short with the thought "What am I going to say when I get there? Suppose he should go and get the money and apologise for the delay, then it's going to be a bit awkward for me. He'll think I'm a poor, shiftless, spineless specimen. No: why should I mention the money? I'll simply say, I've had a stomach-ache all the time and I've come to ask him if he's got any strong vinegar for it. But if he hasn't, this excuse will seem hopelessly lame—that'll rather crack the varnish. Any way, why this hesitation? He'll know as soon as he sees me. I won't get a chance to mention the matter." Brijnath moves on with these problems seething in his mind like the waves of a river which, try as they may, cannot escape from the banks that confine them.

He arrives at Gorelal's house. The door is shut, but he dare not call any one. He decides that Gorelal must be at his supper. He slips away from the door and slowly meanders along the road for at least a mile. He hears nine strike. 'Gorelal must have finished his meal' with this thought he returns. But when he arrives at the door, it is in darkness; and the spark of hope dies within him. He stands for a moment in doubt what to do. Then

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he decides it is still quite early, nothing much is likely to have happened in the meantime. He tip-toes into the verandah and puts his ear to the door, after a careful glance behind him to see no one is looking. There is a confused hum of talk. He listens closely. A woman is saying "If the money is all gone, how do you propose to pay back Brijnath?" Gorelal answers "What is all the hurry? I'll give it him later. I made my application to-day; to-morrow it will be sanctioned and in three months I shall be back again, and every thing all right."

Brijnath looks as though he had received a blow on the face. He leaves the verandah choking with rage and disappointment. He turns homewards, staggering like a foot-sore beggar of the roads, weary with journeying.

V

Brijnath turned and tossed the whole night through. He cursed Gorelal's meanness and his own weak-mindedness by turns. God knows what poor soul's money it might have been. But anger or grief was useless now. Still he would worry - where could he get the money from? Bhama had already refused to do anything. There was not enough to spare from his wages. If it were only a matter of ten rupees it would have been saved with a little economy. So what was the alternative. Borrow? But who would lend? He had never borrowed in his life: and his friends were not the sort who would lend. They were ready enough to pester him, but would they oblige him? Then he had an idea—if he gave up his legal studies for a few days and did a little hack translation he could find the money. A month's hard work would do it. True, the glut of cheap hack translators had forced the remuneration down. Yes, it was a nasty business. Goodness knows whose enmity he had earned.

Having so decided, from the very next day Brijnath devoted himself to only one pursuit—money. In the morning he attended his law classes, and in the evening he brought home from court a bundle of judgments and sat up half the night translating them. He kept his nose relentlessly to the grind-stone. At one or two in the morning, too dazed to concentrate further, he would take himself exhausted to bed.

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This unwonted intensity of concentration brought on splitting headaches. Bilious attacks would be succeeded by fever. Nevertheless, he kept himself to his mechanical drudgery. Bhama would fret about him saying, "It is getting late. Enough of this asceticism. If there were half-a-dozen men like you there would presently be no work left for anyone to do." Brijnath made no attempt to reply to her irritating sarcasm. At day-break he would pursue the same old round.

Three weeks of this toil brought in about twenty-five rupees. Brijnath thought that two or three days more would see him through. But at the end of the third week he was seized with a violent fever and for three days he could not get up. He was confined to bed and had to give up work. It was September, so Bhama thought it was merely biliousness. But she began to get alarmed when despite a week's attention from the doctor the fever got no better. Brijnath gradually became delirious, and Bhama hearing him raving would rush from her room. She had to remove the children from the patient's room and shut them up elsewhere. Then it occurred to her that the fever was an infliction connected somehow with the money. Who knew but that the owner of the money might have done something? Yes, that must be it—otherwise why was'nt he getting any good from the medicine?

When misfortune befalls us we turn superstitious: and when we despair of doctors we betake ourselves to religious protection. So with Bhama. As a rule she kept the festivals of Krishna and Shiva and remembered the third day of the lunar fortnights, but did nothing else by way of worship. This time, however, she decided to keep that most arduous of fasts, the nine nights of Durga.

She contrived to get through eight days. On the morning of the ninth when she had given Brijnath his medicine, she went off to Durga's temple for worship with both the children. The benign presence of the goddess wrapped her in a spirit of devotion. When she reached the courtyard of the temple the worshippers were squatted at their prayers. The place was filled with the fragrance of burning wood and aloes. She entered the temple: the huge image of Durga raised its dazzling splendour before her. The light of an oil lamp played on her great lotus eyes,

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whose reflected rays seemed to penetrate the surrounding gloom. A deep sanctity suffused the whole. Bhama lowered her dazzled eyes before the deity's lustrous form. A strangely delightful sensation of fear filled her soul. She sank on her knees, and joining her hands in supplication, wailed in high-pitched plaint : "Mother, have mercy on me."

The goddess appeared to smile : A look of benign favour shed from those gracious eyes filled Bhama's heart. In her ears she seemed to hear the divine utterance : "Return what is not yours ; so will you prosper."

Bhama got up : a strange vision of adoration filled her eyes. She radiated the spirit of pure love as though the deity herself has clothed her in her own lustre.

While she stood thus entranced, an other woman appeared, her glossy hair dishevelled and hanging lank over her cheeks. She wore only a white sari, and the bangles on her wrists : nothing else. She stood there, the very personification of grief and despair. She bowed her head in the deity's presence, and spreading her garment in supplication, prayed : "Your curse be on the wretch who has taken my all."

Like the touch of a plectrum on a zither, Bhama's heart-strings tautened with a premonition of evil. The words penetrated her heart clean as a shaft from a bow. There was terror in the gaze that she turned on the goddess. With horror she beheld the ghastly light that gleamed from the idol's eyes. From the trees in front of the temple, from the pillars at its door, from the lamp that burned on the throne, from the awesome mouth of the goddess herself her terror-stricken conscience heard the words re-echo through the surrounding air "Return what is not yours, or perdition befall you."

Bhama got up and asked the old woman : Have you lost anything ?

The worn, old figure turned to her with a look nigh to the despair of a drowning person clutching at a straw,

"Yes, my child."

"When was this ?"

Contemporary India

"About six weeks ago."

"How much did you lose?"

"In all about a hundred and twenty rupees—"

"How did you lose them?"

"I must have dropped them somewhere. My husband used to be in the army. He died some years ago, and now I get a pension of sixty rupees a year from the Government. I had just drawn two years' pension at one visit to the treasury and was taking the money home when I lost it. There were eight golden guineas altogether."

"What would you give to get it back?"

"I would give at least fifty rupees."

"No, but besides money is there nothing better you could give?"

"But my child what else could I give? If you were to find it, I would sing your praises as long as I live."

"No I don't need that—"

"Well, my child, what else have I got?"

"Give me your blessing. My husband's ill: that will help him—"

"Why, has he found the money?"

"Yes, he's been searching for you ever since."

The old woman sank on her knees and in attitude of supplication, with voice a-tremble, implored the goddess to bestow her blessing.

Bhama turned a piteous look to the deity, whose austere form now seemed haloed in the light of love. And her eyes had the friendly gleam of compassion. This time the skies whispered to an over-wrought conscience: "My blessing goes with you."

VI

It is evening. Bhama and Brijnath are on their way on a pony-cart to return the money belonging to Tulsī. All the earnings of Brijnath's industry had gone to paying for the doctor's visits: but Bhama had scraped some money together by selling

Durga's Temple

her ear-rings through the agency of a neighbour. Bhama had been delighted at the time when these pretty ornaments had been made for her, but she was even more delighted now to be parting with them.

When Brijnath had first shown her the eight guineas, she had thrilled with excitement, though she had not the courage to betray her joy in look or gesture. Now that she was losing the money there was the genuine sparkle of joy in her eyes: a smile played on her lips, her cheeks were flushed and her body electric with the thrill of it. Her elation on that first occasion had been sensual and greedy, but this was spiritual. There was a lurking shame in what she had felt then, but now she was openly proud of her joy.

Tulsi's blessing had been fruitful. Now after three bed-ridden weeks Brijnath was sitting up with the help of a cushion. He would gaze on Bhama with affectionate eyes for she seemed to him like a very goddess. Previously he had only seen the outer garment of her beauty as it were: but now he seemed to see the beauty of her soul.

They stopped at the entrance to the lane leading to Tulsi's house. Brijnath got out and with the help of his stick and Bhama's arm hobbled to the door. Tulsi received the money and raising her hands in supplication called the blessings of Durga on them.

A bloom spread over Tulsi's pallid cheeks like the green freshness on foliage when deluged by welcome rain. Her withered body seemed to come to life, and the lines of care to melt like magic from her cheeks. A transformation to dazzle the eyes!

When Brijnath had returned home and was seated at his door, Gorelal unexpectedly appeared and sat down beside him. But Brijnath suddenly accosted refused to take any notice of him.

Gorelal tried to engage him in conversation.

"And how are you, my friend?"

"I'm very well, thank you;" said Brijnath drily.

Contemporary India

"Forgive me, I'm exceedingly sorry to have been so long in returning your money. On the first of the month I got an urgent message from home, and I had to take three months' leave there and then to go and see what it was about. If I were to tell you the whole wretched story, it would never end. But when I heard to-day the unfortunate news of your illness I came here straight-way. Here it is. Take the money. I'm terribly sorry for all this delay."

Brijnath's wrath melted: courtesy had won. He said simply: "Yes, I've been ill: but I'm all right again. There's no need to worry about me. If it's not convenient for you now, you can return the money later. I'm solvent at the moment: so there's no hurry."

Gorelal went off and Brijnath took the money inside to tell Bhama that Gorelal had returned it.

But Bhama refused to take it, saying that it was not hers but belonged to Tulsi.

"But Tulsi has got all her money back" Brijnath remonstrated.

"Well, suppose she has: this is in return for her blessing."

"And how will you get your earrings back?"

"Well, if I can't show a prettily adorned ear to the world, I can at least in future show unadorned honesty."

SONGS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE—VI

Collected and Translated

[BY DEVENDRA SATYARTHI]

The Ballads of Mamunai

(Two Char-Beta songs from Pathan countryside. In spite of the complicated metres of the Char-Beta songs, the standard of their style and diction is not very far from that of folk-poetry.

Unlike the English ballad, not only the name of each Char-Beta-author appears in the concluding lines of his compositions, but also he himself is very often speaking in the first person among the characters of his story. Char-Betas are always considered to be fragmentary if the ending lines fail to supply their authors' names. But all this does not seem to take them far from the region of folk-songs, as the process of oral repetition is apt to alter their text; the members of every passing generation go on improving upon old Char-Betas in their hours of inspiration. This is evident from the different versions of the same songs. But whoever improves upon any old Char-Beta does so with every care to preserve the name of its original author. Thus every Char-Beta that has survived to the present day is "like a forest tree with its roots deeply buried in the past but which continually puts forth new branches, new leaves, and new fruit."

Mamunai, the heroine of the following two Char-Betas, was married in the Navagai village and was unfortunately killed by her own husband, Sher Alam, who suspected her of having illicit connections with a gallant, named Khalil. As seen in the ending lines, the original author of the first song is Muhammad Hasan, a countryside minstrel. The second song is from Fazal-i-Rahman, a village-carpenter, who appears on the scene with a little different diction and style. He tells how Mamunai's husband had two wives and it was Mamunai's co-wife who proved to be a scandal-monger.)

Contemporary India

1

YOU were like a flowery branch : alas, you fell down from
your throne !
Your beauty proved a fatal fire, thus came your death in youth.
Alas for you, O Mamunai alas for you !
Perfect was your beauty your arms like Egyptian swords.
Your forehead, like a pearl shedding its light on all sides.
And your lovely face a glimpse of starry heavens.

LIKE a silver ornament was your face
And your body was like an eagle's
The scandal-monger proved a crow
Between yourself and your husband.
Proving you guilty, the scandle-monger poisoned your husband
against you

To what trouble were you put !
O you were like a flowery branch.

To great trouble were you put
When you were innocent about the matter
O dear one, you were quite unconscious
O there was a grace in your steps, so slow.
Alas for you, O Mamunai, alas for you !
You were like a flowery branch, etc.

You could'nt see through the mischief.
Your sad little daughter was lying in your lap.
On the next day you saw the play of fate.
The conspiracy had been going on for a long time.
O you were like a flowery branch, etc.

THE whole world knew when the flower was cut from its branch.
Sher Alam showed his cruelty to Mamunai.
O Sher Alam, you have killed an innocent woman.
Alas for you, O Mamunai, alas for you !
You were like a flowery branch, etc.

YOU believed, O Sher Alam, in the words of the scandal-monger
And you were convinced of Mamunai's bad character.
You have made even your own life sad
And a bad name have you brought to your own person.
You did no wrong to anyone else but your own self.
O you were like a flowery branch, etc.

Songs of the Indian People—VI

YOUR own sister, O Sher Alam, became your enemy.
Guilelessly she said something against Mamunai,
And like a foolish child you were convinced of Mamunai's
immoral character.

Alas for you, O Mamunai, alas for you !
You were like a flowery branch, etc.

NOW you shed tears, O Sher Alam, like a foolish child.
You are merely crying over spilt milk.
But the water has burst the dam and it will not return.
Khalil merely wanted a little tobacco from Mamunai.
O Sher Alam, the wretched fellow.
O you were like a flowery branch, etc.

THIS must have been Mamunai's fate.
It was a late morning in autumn
When Mamunai's life came to an end.
May Allah pierce your body, O Sher Alam, with bullets from a
big gun.

Alas for you, O Mamunai, alas for you.
You were like a flowery branch, etc.

MAY your heart be shot through, O Sher Alam,
And may your world fall to pieces !
Only then you will understand the pain which Mamunai received
at your hands.
Finish your pathetic strain, O Muhammad Hassan, the minstrel,
Finish your pathetic strain.
O you were like a flowery branch, etc.

ALL the bulbuls of Navagai village cry and cry :
' The lovers have turned faithless and bad times have come.
O Mamunai died a Martyr's death !'
Alas for you, O Mamunai, alas for you !
You were like a flowery branch, etc.

2

O THESE are the ways of this wretched world—
Mamunai is killed and now everyone mourns her.
How faithless is the world !
O these are the ways of this wretched world.

Contemporary India

MAMUNAI, who was like a houri, is killed.
A goddess was she in beauty
And was famous in her country.
She belonged to the stock of the PARACHGAI family of BAJAUR
And was crowned with every ornament.
Her own SOUT (co-wife) accused her behind her back
That she was in love with some gallant.
How faithless ! O these are the ways of the world.
O these are the ways of the world.

MAMUNAI's own SOUT turned a scandal monger
And strangers as well as her own relatives gathered round her
and demanded her death.
Beauty and grace proved a curse for Mamunai.
and she cried . ' Lo ! here comes my death ! '
How faithless ! O these are the ways of this wretched world !
O these are the ways of the world, etc.

" SHARPEN the daggers, ye people—
Take your pleasure and smear your hands with my hot blood ;
But bring my daughter to me,
Let me see my daughter with my own eyes,
For soon shall I bid her adieu for ever,"
Thus broke forth Mamunai.
How faithless ! O these are the ways of this wretched world.
O these are the ways of the world !

In agony shrieked Mamunai as she saw her child.
Her legs trembled and she seemed to imagine her clothes,
drenched with blood.

What a good thing, O Separation,
If you had never existed at all .
Many homes have you ruined.
A hard life has he to live whoever keeps two wives in his house.
How faithless ! O these are the ways of this wretched world !
O these are the ways of the world, etc

WHOEVER keeps two wives loses all his respect .
You'll see that one scandalizes the other.
Behold, Mamunai died a sad death.
Thus Fazal-i-Rahman, the carpenter, says,
This little ballad of Mamunai
How faithless ! O these are the ways of this wretched world !
O these are the ways of the world !

Songs of the Indian People—VI

Durga-Puja Songs

(Two Durga songs from Bengal: The first one is known as AGOMANI (Welcome) and the second one is called VIJOYA (Farewell).)

The AGOMANI and VIJOYA songs play a remarkable part during the Durga-Puja festivities. Giri Raj (the great Himalaya), Uma, Uma's mother, and Shiva—the characters of these songs—are of purely divine origin, but they are all the more endeared to us when we see that they do not lack the human pathos of domestic life. Uma's mother, as depicted in most of these songs, is like a house-wife whom we can see everyday in Rural Bengal. She always longs to see her daughter Uma who is with her husband, Shiva. Uma and Shiva, two, more or less represent the village bride and bridegroom.

The mother longs for her daughter throughout the year and at last Shiva sends Uma to her parental home for a few days. The first day of the Durga-Puja festivities commemorates Uma's coming to her mother. This is the time when AGOMANI (welcome) songs are sung.

But soon comes the day when Shiva comes to take Uma back to his place and Uma's mother weeps like a simple village mother. The pathos of Uma's separation from her mother is the theme of the VIJOYA (Farewell) songs.)

1

WHEN wilt thou bring my Uma to me, O Giriraj?
O tell me atonce what I ask from thee.
Why art thou so mute? Death is coming nearer as my
Uma is not with me.

UMA is my only daughter and there is none else to address
me.

Saying: 'Mother, O mother so dear!'
Ah me, how unfortunate am I whose son-in-law is a
FAKIR!

I FEEL my Uma is just a baby at the breast.
She must be crying for me there in her husband's place
with tears in her eyes.

AH me, Shiva has no father or mother,
Then who is there to love and cherish her?
But to me my moon-faced Uma is like a golden creeper.

Contemporary India

2

AH me, Uma will have to go away to-day !
O why did the ninth month of the moon dawn,
Into the day of the tenth moon ?

THE time of Uma's stay at my place is the eighth and the
ninth day of the moon,
But, ah me, Shiva has come to take her back
Even before the tenth day of the moon.

Song of Sonu

(Sonu—the heroine of this Song—is a village-girl of Maharashtra-
This Song of Sonu offers an interesting glimpse of Maharashtra village.
life.)

THEY have come to our door
To ask for the hand of Sonu—our daughter,
Give them a good seat to sit upon,
Why should they stand so long ?

It is right that the boy is a farmer's son,
But let us know his caste.
Sonu—our darling—is a Brahmin's daughter,
She goes to fetch water with a cloth on her head.

CARRYING a brass-pot, on her head
Sonu went to the village-well,
She filled her pot with water
And homeward then she came.

' I SAW a holy boy near the well,
How cheerful is he, O father so dear.'
' Handsome is that boy and the master of good fields,
O I'll offer him my Sonu's hand.'

Songs of the Indian People – VI

Behold the Bride's Face !

(A wedding-song from the countryside near Delhi. The women-folk join in a sweet chorus to sing this typical piece of their oral poetry ; it is known as *Banra* among the women themselves. The proper time to sing it is perhaps the marriage night.)

BEHOLD the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

THE sky is full of stars to-night :
And the bride is like a moon-beam.
Behold the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

ROSE-LIKE the bride is lying asleep.
How sweet are the bride and the groom,
Behold the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

THE bride, sweet-scented, lies asleep,
How sweet are the bride and the groom,
Behold the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

IN sweet embrace she lies asleep
How sweet are the bride and the groom,
Behold the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

ON a flowery bed she lies asleep,
How sweet are the bride and the groom,
Behold the bride's face, O groom,
How full of love is she !

The Jaru Flowers

(Here is a Khondh love-song from Udayagiri Agency, Madras. The flowers play an important part in the love-poetry of the Khondhs. ' Even flowers love ' is one of their popular proverbs.)

ON the distant hill-top, my love,
A Jaru plant I clearly see :
Two flowers in full bloom are there,
One for thee and one for me.

Contemporary India

A Holar Song

(*Holar* is the new-born son, and the songs sung on this occasion are known as *Holar* songs in the Punjab.)

The reference to the physical pain and travail as well as the joy and hope of the mother, of the period immediately before the arrival of the great moment, is the constant theme in the Holar Songs. The new-born son often figures as Krishna.

As the physical pain is too agonizing to bear, the mother, in the present song, quite naturally breaks forth—

‘O why did I carry a child in my womb!’

But the anticipated joy of the coming delight is no less and she instantaneously blesses the pain. The town-bred woman cares more for an outward show of decency, the countrywoman for its inward aspect with the result that the town-bred woman is formal, reserved, but suggestive, while the countrywoman, as depicted in the following Holar Song, is outspoken and frank but pure.

Sundh is a native drug given to the mother and when mixed with *Gur* (country sugar), it is known as *Sandhola*. *Laung* is one of the spices.)

How blessed are my first pains !
Wake up, my mother-in-law, wake up,
To cheer me in my agony, and share my pain,
The pain rises and travels straight to my heart !
This *Sundh Sandhola* I will not take !
This *Laung*-powder I will not take
O why did I carry a child in my womb !

How blessed are my second pains !
Wake up, my elder sister-in-law, wake up,
To cheer me in my agony, and share my pain,
The pain rises and travels straight to my heart !
This *Sundh Sandhola* I will not take,
This *Laung*-powder I will not take,
O why did I carry a child in my womb !

How blessed are my third pains !
Wake up, my younger sister-in-law, wake up,
To cheer me in my agony and share my pain
The pain rises and goes straight to my heart
The *Sundh Sandhola* I will not take,
This *Laung*-powder I will not take
O why did I carry a child in my womb !

Songs of the Indian People—VI

How blessed are my fourth pains !
Wake up, ye sisters of my yard, wake up,
To cheer me in my agony and share my pain,
This pain rises and goes straight to my heart,
This *Sundh Sandhola* I will not take
This *Laung*-powder I will not take
O why did I carry a child in my womb !
How blessed are my fifth pains !
Wake up, ye women of my neighbourhood, wake up
To cheer me in my agony and share my pain,
Now no pain travels straight to my heart,
This *Sundh Sandhola* I must take
This *Laung*-powder I must take
Happy am I that I carried this little Krishna in my womb.

Look at the Charm of the Genda Flowers !

(A spring-song from the Punjab. The girls sing of the Genda Flowers along with an innocent prayer for the long life of their brothers and parents.)

O LOOK at the charm of the Genda Flowers !
Take one for thyself, my friend.
O listen to me, my sister, going away from my side,
O listen to me, my sister, coming so close to me.
O LOOK at the charm of the Genda Flowers,
Take one for thyself, my friend.
Long live the brothers of the sisters,
Long live the parents of the daughters,
O look at the charm of the Genda Flowers !
Take one for thee, my friend.

The Rajput girl looks for a brave man

(Here is a folk-song from Rajputana. The country people popularly believe that it is heavenly drops deposited in shells which form themselves into pearls. Again, the folk-lore tells that a particular bird known as 'chakvi' is attracted by ties of love to the rising sun. In the last line of this song, we find that the ideal of the Rajput girl is to find a brave man for her husband.)

THE shell awaits the fall of the heavenly dew
The bird 'Chakvi' looks for the rising sun :
The hero awaits a battle started anew,
The Rajput maiden looks for a brave man.

Contemporary India

The Mandarmuli plant

(A spring-song, known as *Bahar Serein*, from *Santhal* country. In spring the Santhal people always dance and sing of their native flowers. As suggested in the present song, a Mandarmuli Flower is not only a thing of beauty to the Santhals ; it is much more than that. With a heart full of innocent devotion, the flowers are offered to the village-deities.)

IN a corner of my hut,
There stands a Mandarmuli plant ;
Don't uproot it, do not break it,
For my deity I sowed this flowery plant.

Sleep is sweet when one is a child !

(A cradle-song from U. P. The profound sweetness of mother's love is beautifully reflected in this piece of folk-poetry. Village-life has resounded to scores of such cradle-songs since times immemorial.)

SLEEP my little one, innocent and tender,
Sleep is sweet when one is a child—
Sleep, my child, sleep.

A YOUNG man's life is full of struggle
Where then your cradle and where then your sleep ?
Sleep, my child, sleep.

ALL the games in the world you must play,
My child, O thou the star of my eyes—
Sleep, my child, sleep.

YOUR mother and father are living, my darling
Within our care,
Sleep, my child, sleep.

ON the world's stage be a worthy player
That your parents may never feel ashamed.
Sleep, my child, sleep.

TREAD with fear and tread with care
Slippery is the way in the valley of this world—
Sleep, my child, sleep.

SLEEP my little one, innocent and tender
Sleep is sweet when one is a child—
Sleep, my child, sleep.

Songs of the Indian People—VI

Song of the New Mother

(In this Nepali folk-song the heart of Queen Bibli is filled with joy at the approach of motherhood. Bibli seems to be a typical name in Nepalee folk-lore.)

THE ninth month ended and the tenth began,
And Queen Bibli was in travail.
She gave birth to a flower like son and said :
' Read, O astrologer, my son's destiny.'
' A Moon Child you have got, O queen,
—Now give me a pot of gems and pearls.'
' Ready am I to give you one-half of my kingdom,
O what are gems and pearls, my astrologer ?'
' Like a prince, O happy queen, I live in your country,
Give me gems and pearls and not one-half of your kingdom.'

On the Ravi-bank

(Punjabi folk-literature is full of songs that celebrate the sister's love for her brother. A married sister is seen here awaiting her brother who at times comes to take her to her parents' home. These songs are known as *Bhenan Bhravan De Git* (*lit.* songs of sisters and brothers). In this the sister is prepared to build a new cottage on the Ravi-bank to celebrate her brother's coming.)

WE shall build a house on the Ravi-bank
If a guest from my father's village
Comes to our door, O mother-in-law !

MANY people come, and many go,
But my mother's son never comes to me.
We shall build a house on the Ravi-bank
If a guest from my father's village,
Comes to our door, O mother-in-law.

Contemporary India

Here flows the river of Love

(That Love is like a river, is a popular theme in the folk-songs of the Punjab—the land of five rivers.)

HERE flows the river of Love, my friend,

Here flows the river of Love :

Do not drown, O innocent one,

Here flows the river of Love.

Offer my hand to a Shepherd of my own Country

(A Gaddi marriage-song from Chamba State (Punjab). The Gaddi women sing it in chorus with great enthusiasm, and it reveals beautifully the outlook of a Gaddi damsel for whom only a shepherd of her own country can make an ideal bridegroom. It will not be irrelevant to note that the Gaddis are all shepherds. A Gaddi girl is a lovely sight to see. Her face outshines even the beautiful flowers and roses of her land, she is always true to her husband and it is very seldom that she loses her peace of heart and pleasure in pastoral life.)

MARRY me not to an old man, father,

Marry me not to an old man :

Widowhood will undo my marriage tresses

Marry me not to an old man.

MARRY me not to a man who is ill, father,

Marry me not to a man who is ill :

Widowhood will undo my marriage tresses

Marry me not to a man who is ill.

MARRY me not to a servant father,

Marry me not to a servant :

The orders of his master will send him far away

Marry me not to a servant.

MARRY me not to a stranger, father,

Marry me not to a stranger

Offer my hand to a shepherd of my own country,

Marry me not to a stranger.

MARRY me to the master of many sheep, father,

Marry me to the master of many sheep :

He'll give me a home-made woollen *Chulu**

Marry me to the master of many sheep.

*The national garment of the Gaddi women.

ALL-INDIA KISAN* MANIFESTO

KISANS' CHARTER OF RIGHTS †

The object and main task of the Kisan movement are stated in the following resolution passed at the first All India Kisan Congress held at Lucknow on the 11th April 1936 —

"The object of the Kisan movement is to secure complete freedom from economic exploitation and the achievement of full economic and political power for the peasants and workers and all other exploited classes.

"The main task of the Kisan movement shall be the organization of peasants to fight for their immediate political and economic demands in order to prepare them for their emancipation from every form of exploitation.

"The Kisan movement stands for the achievement of ultimate economic and political power for the producing masses through its active participation in the national struggle for winning complete independence."

The one outstanding fact of Indian economic life is the grinding poverty and utter misery of the vast peasant masses which comprise 80 per cent of its population. No political or economic programme which has the audacity to ignore their needs and demands can by any stretch of imagination be labelled a national programme. Every organization claiming to represent the people of India must place the interests of the bankrupt and much-exploited ryots, tenants and agricultural labour in the forefront of its programme if it is to vindicate its claim.

Inasmuch as the Indian National Congress is to-day the only effective political body with a country-wide organization claiming to champion the cause of the masses it must necessarily make the solutions of the problems of the peasantry the chief plank of its political and economic policy.

The terrible conditions of the Indian peasants is too well-known to need repetition. The tenants are oppressed by Zamindars, Talukdars and Malguzars, Inamdars and other landlords. The peasant proprietors have to bear the yoke of a harsh system of land revenue. The agricultural labour receive, if at all, starvation wages and work and live in conditions bordering on slavery.

But unfortunately while the condition of the peasantry dominates the whole political and economic life of the country, the peasants themselves

* Kisan means Peasant

† This manifesto was again adopted by the Second All India Kisan Congress at Faizpur on 26th December 1936

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have been most backward politically and organizationally. The results are twofold ; firstly the peasants have been deprived of all the ameliorative legislation, that could have been passed during the last 16 years, even by the present legislatures, if the legislators had felt obliged to satisfy the peasants ; and secondly the political movement itself in the country has remained more or less unconcerned with both the immediate and basic problems of the peasantry.

The Indian National Congress at its last Lucknow session declared that the misery and poverty of the peasantry is "fundamentally due to the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue system". Indeed, the fundamental cause that makes for their present starvation is the land tenure and revenue and credit system which is nothing else but a device perfected by British Imperialism to wring out of the peasants the utmost that can be got out of them without actually killing them. It is this that must be immediately abolished before any other constructive measures aiming at the welfare of the peasantry can be undertaken.

Our objectives may not be possible of realization under the present system of Government. Yet the peasants, if they are to save themselves from utter ruin, must fight to secure them. The system of Government must go if it stands in the way as it undoubtedly does. This is how the struggle of the peasantry merges into the fight for swaraj. It is for this reason that the Kisan Conference had declared its resolve for complete independence. In this manner do the Kisan and political movements become interdependent, the strength of the one adding to that of the other.

Under these circumstances it is essential that a *political movement* must be developed in our country as to draw its main strength and inspiration from the peasantry. It must also strive for the removal of all those obstacles that stand in the way of a true and lasting solution conducive to the fullest well-being of the agricultural masses of the country. The peasants' fight for bread and land is linked up with the national fight for political freedom.

The Kisan Sabha means the unity of the peasants. All our peasants *must combine to fight the forces that are driving them deeper and deeper into misery and poverty.* By organizing the peasants, by setting them on their feet, the Kisan movement not only enables them to put a stop to the thousand and one harassments and extortionate practices of the landlords and land-revenue officers and Sowcars and their agents, but also advances them greatly toward the goal of political freedom, thereby strengthening as nothing else can the movement for national independence.

Fortunately, the Kisans all over the country are becoming more and more conscious, politically and economically, of their basic problems. The All-India Kisan Committee is an expression of this awakening among the

All-India Kisan Manifesto

peasantry. They have at last realized that they must fashion out their own militant class organizations if they are to make any sustained advance towards their goal. The Kisan Sabha represent not only the ryots, the tenants and the landless labourers but in some places the petty Zamindars. In other words it represents and speaks and fights for all those who live by the cultivation of the soil. All these different strata among the Kisans will have to combine and fight for the removal of all the fetters imposed by British Imperialism and its allies—the landlords. In short, they must fight for complete National, Socio-economic Independence. India, a Dependency of Britain, must be transformed into free, progressive and Democratic India of the masses. The fight for such an India can only effectively be conducted on a programme based on the grievances and demands of the Kisans of India.

While the fight for these basic changes goes on, the peasants must also fight for all that can be gained within the framework of the existing economic order. Only in this manner can they prepare themselves for the bigger struggle, the objective which must be kept ever present in the minds of the Kisans.

To this end, we frame the following charter of fundamental and minimum demands of our Kisans: the Provincial Kisan Sabhas having the right to supplement it by a list of their local needs

Fundamental Demands

1. Whereas the present system of Zamindari (U. P. Orissa, Bengal, Behar, Madras, and Assam), Talukdari (U. P. and Gujerat), Malguzari (C. P.), Ishtimardari (Ajmere), Khote- (Deccan), Zamis (Malabar), Inamdars, involving as they do the vesting of ownership of vast areas of land and of the right of collecting and enjoying enormous rent income, is iniquitous, unjust, burdensome and oppressive to the Kisans,

And whereas the Zamindars, etc., rack-rent their crores of tenants while neglecting the irrigation sources,

All such systems of landlordism shall be abolished, and all the rights over such lands be vested in the cultivators and these Kisans made to pay income-tax like the Ryotwari ryots

2. Whereas the present systems of land-revenue and resettlement imposed by Government in Ryotwari areas have proved too vexatious and resulted in the progressive pauperization of peasants, all such systems of land revenue and resettlement shall be abolished and replaced by a graduated land-tax upon net-incomes of Rs. 500 and more (for a family not exceeding five) (as also recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee).

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3. Whereas the peasants have been over-burdened by oppressive rural indebtedness and the usurious rates of interest,

Whereas the lands of most of the peasants have either passed or are passing into the hands of absentee landlords, Sowcars and urban classes,

The peasants shall be completely relieved from all liability to pay their old debts or interest thereon and the State shall immediately put into operation the necessary machinery to provide agricultural credit for peasants' current needs.

4. This Committee demands that landless peasants and those having less than five acres each be provided with land to cultivate on the basis of co-operative farming (without the right of alienation) and since one-third of the total cultivable land is still unoccupied and vested in Government and landlords, this Committee resolves that all such lands be granted to the landless Kisans.

MINIMUM DEMANDS.

The Peasants will immediately take all possible steps to achieve the following minimum demands:—

1. Cancellation of all arrears of rent and revenue.
2. Abolition of all Land Revenue Assessment and rent from uneconomic holdings.
3. Reduction by at least 50 per cent. of rent and revenue and also of water rates; and in no case shall the rent charged by landlords be more than what the Ryotwari ryots have to pay to Government in the neighbouring District or Province under similar circumstances; and in regard to the tenants of the proprietary ryots suitable tenants legislation must be passed for their relief.
4. Immediate grant of the right of permanent cultivation without the right of alienation to all tenants and actual cultivators of the lands of Zamindars, Talukdars, Inamdars, Malguzars, Istimardars, Zanmis, Khotas, etc.
5. To grant of the right of remission of rent for all tenants of landlords whenever crops fail and to stop all re-settlement operations and all kinds of enhancements of the rent or land revenue and to survey and settle all the Zamindari, etc., lands.
6. To immediately impose an adequate and graduated income-tax, death duty and inheritance tax upon all the agricultural revenues of landlords and merchants,

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7. Abolition and penalization of all feudal and customary dues and forced labour, including Begar and illegal exactions.

9. The declaration of a 5 years' moratorium for all agrarian indebtedness.

8. An immediate enquiry to be made into the extent of repayment of the principal borrowed, interest thereon and the assessment of the assets and liabilities of the peasants.

10. Freedom from arrest and imprisonment for inability to pay debts, rents and revenue.

11. Immunity from attachment for all minimum holdings, stables, living quarters, household necessities, dairy and other cattle in execution of civil decrees and revenue and rent demands.

12. Rate of interest charged by private money-lenders not to exceed 6 per cent., compound interest being penalized.

13. All money-lenders shall be licensed.

14. State credit, Co-operative and Land Mortgage credit shall be advanced, at not more than 5 per cent simple interest and for 40 years and Land Mortgage Banks shall be established everywhere.

15. To lower the freights upon the transport of agricultural commodities and third class railway rates and the development of canal and road transport.

16. Abolition of all indirect taxes particularly duties on salt, kerosene, sugar, tobacco and matches.

17. Introduction of one-pice post-card.

18. Prohibition of dumping of food products.

19. Stabilization of prices of agricultural products at 1929 level by the necessary adjustment of exchange and currency policy and other methods.

20. The customary rights of peasants and workers to secure forest produce (grazing and timber fuel) must be safeguarded, the grazing fees abolished and the regulation of grazing and distribution of timber in forests to be vested in village Panchayats and the tanks, rivers, etc., therein freely thrown open to their cattle and peasants given licenses for bearing firearms to protect themselves, their cattle and crops from wild animals and made immune from prosecution for killing such animals and penalize private punishment inflicted on them by landlords for killing such animals.

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21. The administration of all communal lands, howsoever originated, and grazing lands (Gochar) shall be vested in village Panchayats.

22. A Peasants' Union Act must be enacted to safeguard their fundamental rights by collective action.

23. Minimum Wage shall be assured and the Workmen's Compensation Act be extended to all agricultural workers.

24. To so redistribute the burden of taxation both Provincial and Central jointly or variously as to impose at least 75 per cent of the tax-burden upon the richer classes and to so redistribute the public expenditure as to spend and devote 75 per cent. of it for the welfare of workers and peasants.

25. To compulsorily fix a minimum fair price for sugar-cane on a rising scale to give the fullest benefit of Sugar Protection Act to Kisans and to suitably protect the cultivators of jute and cocoanut by fixing a minimum price.

26. To develop co-operative and State marketing and thus prevent the exploitation of peasants by middlemen and to abolish all kinds of "Charity" deductions made by merchants and transference of all such present funds to the Peasants' Associations

27. To develop the irrigation and drainage facilities for protecting peasants from famines, and to take all other steps to insure peasants against such calamities and to establish Tank Restoration Funds in all the areas of landlords, pay adequate contributions to finance, adequately and timely repairs and improvements of all irrigation and water supply sources.

28. To develop garden and intensive cultivation to supply cheap and tested seed and useful fertilisers to popularize the latest methods of cultivation and to carry on the agricultural and industrial operations of the State in close consultation and co-operation with the Kisan Sabhas.

29. To provide cattle insurance, fire-insurance and health insurance.

30. To establish a Village Panchayat for the administration of the civic affairs of every village and to entrust to it the function of distribution of irrigation water supply.

31. To empower the Kisan organizations, as in the case of the Sarada Act, to bring to book all those officials (particularly of the P. W. D., Excise, Revenue, Railway and Police) who take bribes from peasants and workers and so exempt the peasants and workers who are obliged to give bribes from any penal punishments.

32. To pass an Agricultural Insolvency Act.

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33. Adult franchise and functional representation in all legislatures.
34. Repeal of all anti-peasant, anti-labour and anti-national laws, ordinances and regulations in British and Indian India and the release of all Kisan labour and political prisoners whether sentenced or detained without trial.
35. Re-instatement of all peasants deprived of their lands, etc., owing to their participation in the movements for their economic and political freedom and also owing to their failure to pay revenue or rent during this economic depression.
36. Immediate establishment of free and compulsory education for girls and boys, medical and sanitary aid, provision for drinking water and a national housing policy.
37. To grant the right to all peasants to bear arms

KARL MARX LETTERS ON INDIA

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WHITHER PEASANT ?*

[BY PROFESSOR N. G. RANGA, M. L. A.]

"If the world does not resound to the trumpet calls of peasants,
poured fourth in all their unforgettable melody and happiness from
their gathered harvests in their tireless fields, and if the world is
not filled with the pastoral joyous cries,

Can heroic and heartening blood flow through the veins of mother earth
Will not all courage and daring disappear from our daily life ?"

WE are naturally proud of the fact that our All-India Kisan† movement has come to occupy a very prominent place in the political horizon of our country, though it is hardly a year and six months when the idea of an All-India organization was first mooted by some of us. To-day our Kisan Congress is, in the view of the politically-minded, second in its importance, only to the Indian National Congress. There has come to be thus a significant halo about our peasant movement.

Encircled by a Huge Python

All over India there is one all-absorbing but blind activity going on. Everyone is thinking of the coming elections. But only a few, like comrade Jawaharlal in the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi outside it, are aware of greater things to be done, than to capture Legislative Majorities and nobler ideals to achieve than the Ministry Formations or wrecks. This Government of India Act is the visible cause for this suicidal side-tracking of our fight against this British Imperialism and its allies. It is our slavery, economic and political which is the cause of all this mischief. Every minute, howsoever employed, of our life is being poisoned by the tightening grips of the huge Python of our subjection to this Empire.

*Presidential Address at the Second All-India Kisan Congress held at Faizpur on the 26th December 1936.

† Kisan means Peasant.

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Peasants were never a Party to the Act

Fortunately for us, either because our movement did not show its head by that time on an all-India scale, or because no Empire pall-bearer had thought of claiming to represent us at the Round Table Conference, we have not yet had the misfortune of any one claiming to speak for us, taking part in the making of this New Government of India Act. We are not even a party to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which though an advance it may be over this Act, certainly does not seek to rid us of our abject slavery. So we are in the happy position of reviewing to-day our position *vis-a-vis* this Act and the constitutional activity that encircles us.

The Act

What is it that the new Act holds in store for us? More Slavery, More Chains and More Poison. Why are the Second Chambers provided for if it is not to prevent us from abolishing all those laws that have degraded and defrauded us till to-day, not to speak of passing any fresh legislation to effect our positive uplift? Why have so many safeguards been provided for, if we are not to be permanently disabled from wresting our rights from the vested interests in land and factory? Why is it so many special representations are given to several warring communities, if the intention is not to bar the growth of nationalism and to perpetuate our distinctive and wasteful religious differences and animosities? Why are so many groups, economic and religious, such as the European, Zamindari, Indian commercials provided double and treble representation in the Legislatures? Only to give them a tactical advantage and weightage against us. Glory to our peasants, that they are not sought to be protected from any one else. Happy we are that our name is not sullied by any mention of any safeguard for us in that Act. Proud we ought to be as our national enemies have always been conscious of our potentialities for revolutionary action and radical thought, even long before we have ourselves come to realize our own possibilities. I am thankful that at last through our All-India Kisan Congress, our peasants are fast becoming class-conscious, to protect themselves,

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Such a Government of India Act cannot have any claim whatsoever even for our forbearance. The present British domination is bad enough. But the future domination, political and economic, over us of the combined forces of British and Indian capitalism and land-lordisms is unimaginably vicious and killing. We must rise in all our stature and fervently repudiate this Act, remove the power of Parliament which made it and set about the task of destroying the whole super-structure of slavery built so laboriously with the hard stores of repressive laws and safeguards, anti-peasant Acts and institutions.

Our Past Unreadiness is a Blessing in Disguise

So our past unreadiness to organize ourselves in political matters has proved itself at least in one direction a blessing in disguise. The coming elections find us unprepared to jump into them in the name of our movement. We do not have a Peasants' Parliamentary Party to wrangle about the acceptance or non-acceptance of ministry or to display its ingenuity over the casuistry of wrecking or working the constitution Act from within the legislatures. We are not to fall into the attractive snares of this Act and claim to win some seats in the Upper Chambers and Council of State. We are not even allowed, the right, in spite of our repeated endeavours, by the Indian National Congress to form the Congress-cum-Kisan Parliamentary Groups in the Legislatures to safeguard us from the vicious reactions and results of this Act, although such a right is sought to be conceded in full to our Harijan brethren even by Mr. S. Satyamurti. So, though this Act seeks to eat into our very vitals, it does not take us as its willing slaves.

National Congress Fights with the Act

The Indian National Congress has set about the task of fighting this Constitution from within. Despite the warnings of many, even including the Anti-Imperialist Rally, it hopes to wreck this Constitution through the activity of not only the Lower Chambers but also the Upper Chambers. It has so far refused the proffered cooperation, on an organizational basis, of our peasants and workers in the selection of candidates, in the

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formation of undiluted anti-Imperialist, anti-ministerialist, class-conscious and disciplined blocs within its own Parliamentary Parties in order to energize, strengthen and safeguard the revolutionary fibre and spark of the mainbody of Congress Parliamentarians. So I am afraid the great Indian National Congress, is committing the grave mistake, equalled only to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, of entering the armed, one-sided and poisoned arena, prepared by the enemy, entirely unprepared for the attack to come and the vicissitudes to face.

We are its Loyal Allies

It is true that the least that our peasants can do at this critical juncture is to lend all their support to the Congress in its electioneering campaign against all the united forces of reaction. But we cannot be expected to accept its election manifesto, which falls far short of our minimum demands. We cannot even subscribe to its faith in the efficacy of its present policy of uncertainty in regard to the acceptance or non-acceptance of ministry. We will be failing in our duty to ourselves if we do not openly and unequivocally repudiate the assumption underlying the present Congress Parliamentary Policy; that our immediate fight is only political and so it shall not be complicated by any economic issues.

Our Fight is at once Both Political and Economic

Our National Congress Parliamentarians would not be making their present mistake of concentrating to such an extent upon the issue of acceptance or non-acceptance of the Ministry and wrecking the Act through the Ministry or from outside the Ministry, if they have had the courage to convince themselves of the real nature of our present-day fight against this imperialist domination over us. Once they realize that we are suffering to-day not only from a political imperialist domination but also an economic imperialist subjection, not to speak of the many minor ills, they will have no hesitation to begin to view our present constitutional crisis from the right angle.

The Right Angle

The right angle from which to visualize the present

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constitutional crisis is to seek and utilize every means to frustrate the real objectives of the framers of this Act and to break into the enemy's ground. Let us not disguise from ourselves the extremely unpalatable fact that all these safeguards to our Princes, merchant princes and landed Rajas and gilded Maharajas were conferred upon them with a definite purpose. We must be prepared to destroy the purpose, *i.e.*, that of strengthening the hold of all our vested interests over our economic and political life. So if by accepting the Ministry, our Parliamentarians can and will make a determined attack, through legislative, administrative and even social and religious means upon the many and varied privileges of our vested interests, the acceptance of ministry need not be such a terrible bugbear as it is to-day. But we know, just as well as our Congress Parliamentarians themselves know in their heart of hearts that they are not prepared to bend all their energies and resources to strike hard against the citadels of Indian Interests of Exploitation. Hence our anxiety also to join hands with the Congress anti-Ministerialists at least to prevent our premier National Organization from discrediting itself by entering this pre-arranged conflagration of legislative Palaces of Lac like the Pandavas of old.

Conflict in our Ideology

The whole trouble arises from the failure of our national leaders to realize that we cannot and ought not to wait for the beginning of a socialist approach to life until after the achievement of Political Swaraj. Life refuses to be compartmentalized in such a convenient fashion. While we are fighting for complete independence, our enemies who will be more and more Indianized in their colour and domicile will be doing all that lies in their power to undermine the economic stamina of the masses. They will utilize all their resources, religious, social, financial and legislative, to capture and retain an ever increasing section of our masses in their power and democratic hold. They will thus either prevent the achievement of complete independence with the active or subterranean support or sympathy of our chicken-hearted national leaders or let us win independence on their own terms. We do not merely talk in terms of theory and history. We know what has been happening

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to us all these sixteen years and what is now being attempted by the Zamindars and Sahukars with the help of our Legislatures and Governors. The Mont-Ford Reforms had brought the Zamindars and Sahukars into our politics, entrenched them in the legislatures, enthroned them in the Provincial cabinets and tutored them in the Western wiles of democratically poisoning the mind of the populace and enslaving them to their own right to rule through an insidious and perpetual propaganda through the platform, Press and various kinds of pulpit. To day surely it is going the wrong way to let our opponents gather strength and gain courage from our failure to come to grips with the vital issues of our times. If we follow those of our Nationalist Intellectuals like Mr. C. R. Reddi who are prepared to put up with the British connection, when the worst comes to the worst and those of our National Sirdars like Vallabhai Patel who wish to retain the support and affection of the capitalists and landlords until we gain freedom, we can but achieve a so-called political freedom which can ill-disguise a more intensified and merciless hold of the rich and the landed upon the masses, the kisan and the worker.

While our national leaders are still hesitant about their attitude towards us and are unwilling to shake themselves of their soft feelings towards the Established Order of supremacy in our society, the British, the experienced high priests of capitalism are carrying on their propaganda in the most effective manner. Protected as they are by the usual halo about the Government House and encircled as they are by layers of dignitaries, the Provincial Governors have been whipping up the enemies of the people into forming themselves into solid political parties to at least perpetuate their hold upon our life. The United Nationalist Party of the Punjab and Sind, the Agriculturist Party of United Provinces, the Justice and Peoples Parties of Madras, the Non-Brahmin Party of Bombay owe their inception and inspiration, strength and stamina to the leadership of the Governors. It is even rumoured that the British conservative party is supplying the sinews of electioneering war to these Parties. The manner in which Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has found convenient berths and even that most independent-minded M. A. Jinnah came to be closetted with Ministers and Governors of the Punjab and Bengal

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shows how actively the forces of reaction are being mobilized by the British. The refusal to remove the legislative disqualification against six of the Bengali fighters for our Peasants' cause; the imprisonment of a large number of our trusted comrades in the Punjab, Bengal and Madras and other provinces, the demanding of a heavy security, even before they have begun to function, from our 'Kisan Press' and 'Vahini' Paper of Madras and the commencement of Security Proceedings against a large number of comrades of all parts just at this time ought to be a danger signal to our national leaders. If in spite of all this overwhelming and unmistakable evidence of how anti-national and anti-peasant forces are being mobilized to war against the Peasants and independence movements, our National leaders persist in their present unfortunate policy of trying to win Swaraj first and socialism next, then our Kisan Congress will have to courageously and immediately offer to guide and lead our Kisans not only in economic matters but also on political issues. Hence our slogan, *to ally with the Congress.*

Can Masses alone achieve Swaraj?

But will the rich help us?

Once we decide upon independent political action for the achievement of our ideals, we are faced with the formidable question whether masses alone can achieve Swaraj. Our national leaders are doubtful about it. Most of them still think that we need the support, in men and money, of the rich and the landed. But what we have to realize is not whether the support of the rich and the landed is useful but whether it is likely to come in such a large measure as to compensate for the great concessions we have to make in return. What has happened till now during our three great National struggles and the 'Peace' years proves beyond all doubt how little and grudging has been their support. What is happening now in every province during all kinds of elections is enough to shake even the stoutest heart of their supporters in the National Congress. Who can expect any considerable support from the rich and the landed for our anti-imperialist fight? How can we imagine that they will be so foolish as to hasten their own end by standing by us? If to-day

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any particular class is highly and super-abundantly conscious of its own aims, needs and means, it is the capitalist and landed classes in our country. So it is foolish on the part of any Kisan or Indian worth the name to cherish the hope that his anti-imperialist fight will be strengthened either openly or secretly by the upper classes.

Masses alone have to win Swaraj

Therefore it is the masses and not the upper classes who have to win Swaraj. Only those whom Swaraj can be expected to benefit will have to fight for it. So long as British imperialism and capitalism are in alliance with our Indian upper classes, they have nothing to gain from Swaraj. What with the Provincial autonomy, in which the Governor's special powers and special responsibilities will be sheathed so long as the rich and landed rule over the land, our upper classes will shudder at the thought of the advent of complete and all-sided Swaraj. It is wrong to think that they are likely to be ranged against us at some future date, for, they are already ranged against us either openly or secretly and are fast forming themselves, with the active guidance and tuition from the British into a solid phalanx against not only our forces but also the nationalist forces. So we are left with only the masses to win the much-coveted Swaraj.

Can they win it ?

It is only cowards who can put themselves such a question. If Swaraj is good, if it is needed and if with its achievement alone, there can be real progress in the moral and material conditions of our masses, as is certainly the case, then it must at any cost be won. To achieve it, many struggles may have to be ventured upon, many sacrifices made, sufferings borne and lives lost. Venture we must and struggle we must and success has to be achieved anyhow, at any cost and at any time. For centuries Ireland has waited for her freedom and not in vain.

We must gain Complete Independence

It is not only because the National Congress has decided

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upon the immediate achievement of complete independence that we also demand it. We are convinced that as long as the British Imperialist control over India, even through the vestiges of the Westminster Act, continues, there can be no real freedom for our masses from the exploitation of the upper classes, irrespective of their nationalities. What we want is not the achievement of mere political freedom. The masses of Italy and Germany, Spain and China have won it and are none the better for it. We do not wish to struggle and sacrifice and fight for Swaraj in alliance with the upper classes, under the leadership of the latter, as is inevitable when any such alliance is effected and then be obliged to impotently look aghast, as the German masses had done in 1919, while the upper classes lord it over all of us, in the name of a so-called democratic Regime. We must gain complete independence and not a shadow of it. We can win it only by ourselves and in spite of the others.

How Best to achieve it ?

We therefore have to devise the most effective means for achieving our immediate goal; which alone when achieved can pave the way for the beginning of our betterment, *i.e.*, the inauguration of Socialist method of social life. All the different occupational sections among our masses, *i.e.*, ourselves, workers, middle classes functionaries and tradesmen and lower cadres of intellectuals have to organize themselves in their functional movements and develop their resources to fight for complete independence and Purna Swaraj. All of us can best serve our common cause and best achieve our common end by trying through our functional organizations to improve the immediate lot of our rank and file, not by reformistic methods but by revolutionary means and by militarizing and radicalizing the outlook of our peoples.

The Role of the National Congress

It is to centralize and guide our independent but mutually dependent propagandistic, organizational and ideological campaigns so as to make them most effective and least wasteful, we need the Indian National Congress. It is our common Forum. In it

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we shall meet each other. Through it we shall inspire one another. In it we shall reflect our common and growing fighting strength. It not only has thus to serve as our common meeting ground and rallying force but has also to be our anti-imperialist watchdog as against all anti-nationalist forces in the country and our sentinel to draw inspiration and strength from the international struggle of the toiling millions of the World. Unfortunately our Congress is not quite as advanced, clear-headed and convinced in this masswise ideology as we would like it to be, if it is to play its historic rôle as outlined above successfully and satisfactorily. But it is the duty of every section of the masses to struggle hard and revolutionize its attitude towards the masses as a whole and every one of our sections in particular.

The Content of the Congress

The content of the Congress has to be overhauled. The present overwhelmingly bourgeoisie-minded urban middle class leadership has to be replaced by a genuine revolutionary leadership of the masses in all their live sections. To this end, functional representation has to be provided in it for the peasants, working class, youths, women and Middle class Functionaries. The membership fee to be charged either by the National Congress or by any of the functional organizations must not be more than two annas per annum. Proper and effective steps have to be taken to rid our organizations of their corrupt practices at the time of their internal elections. A ceaseless and energetic, missionary and powerful propaganda must be instituted to radicalize the attitude of the members and organizers of our committees and congresses. A systematic effort has to be made to carry out a periodical purification campaigns to weed out undesirable, agent provocateurs and others of suspicious or doubtful motives who are proved to be sabotaging the national campaign. What is most essential is the training of the organizers and propagandists of all our mass organizations, in our Political Institutes, started by our functional or national congresses on the lines of the Andhra and Punjab Peasants Institutes in order to ensure better and more effective propaganda, based on an intelligible system of mass-minded thought. The institution of a series of National Days, one for each one of our functional

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organizations, on the lines of the Queen Alexandra Day in England, for the collection of funds, from one pice or quarter anna upwards is highly necessary, if we are to outgrow our partial dependence for finances upon the rich and extreme dependence upon the cruel calls, daily being made, upon the very slender resources of our own unpaid and whole-time servants.

Our own Contribution

Let it be perfectly understood that our immediate objective of the achievement of complete independence of India cannot be achieved by the Indian National Congress alone. All its past fifty years' heroic effort has shown that until and unless our kisans and workers join hands with it and fight with all their might, real Swaraj becomes unattainable. But without the achievement and advent of complete independence, neither kisans nor workers can begin their revolutionary task of achieving Socialism on the ashes of the vested interests. Therefore it is our inviolable unavoidable and sacred duty to prepare ourselves for our share of the fight.

Ours is a Double-sided Battle

Unlike the working classes of other countries which enjoy their own political freedom, we have to be fighting at one and the same time, all through our prolonged battle both the British Imperialism in all its manifestations and the Indian medievalism with all its ramifications. At every stage, our Zamindars and Capitalists are obstructing our struggle for Swaraj. It is therefore as much our duty to continually fight and undermine the stamina of our Indian vested interests as it is our necessity to remove all vestiges of the foreign domination. It is however largely true to say that in direct proportion to our anti-capitalist campaign, the strength of the British Imperial Domination comes down. So every blow struck at the former is reflected in all its intensity upon the latter. Hence the edifice of safeguards for the vested interests so scrupulously built up in the 1936 Government of India Act. Therefore we have to organize ourselves so intensively, so class-consciously and so determinedly as to be able to carry on our double-sided struggle to a successful end.

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Our constant Endeavour and Need

It is wrong to think that just because to organize ourselves is not an end in itself, we shall not all the time be concerned with organization work alone. It is the nature and degree of our organized strength, at any moment which can settle the success or failure of everyone of our campaigns. None shall forget the fact that our struggle may possibly be a prolonged and torturous one. We have to keep our organized forces, constantly trimmed up, trained and reinforced, ready to take to fight and rush to sacrifice. The Legislatures are only one of the numerous fronts on which our enemy is trying to maintain his ill-gotten ground, to win fresh rights and to take us unawares and *worst* us in the skirmish. We have to guard ourselves from the punitive attacks of the Zamindars in our Forests, the one-sided or costly litigation in courts, the *Zulum* of official and quasi-official ranks to the administrative machinations of the Provincial and Central Governments, if we are to remain at least in our present unenviable position. Throughout this vast land and in everyone of our seven lakhs of villages and through every District Board and Provincial and Central Legislature, fresh chains of slavery and subjection are being forged to be donned on us. To fight them constantly and to ward off all the unprovoked attacks of the vested interests, we must be able to depend upon our organized rank and file, and well-trained, tutored and trusted servants and well-marshalled organizations.

* * * * *

Insist upon our Minimum Demands

The Congress Election Manifesto falls far short of our Charter of Minimum Demands which really is our absolute Minimum Charter. Even the few Provincial Congress Committees, such as those of the United Provinces, Tamilnad, which have tried to amplify it have not gone far enough. So it is the duty of every Kisan to see that Kisans' votes are voluntarily canvassed and cast through the influence of the Kisan Movement only to those Congress Candidates who readily pledge themselves to sponsor, support and strengthen our Minimum Demands, in so far as it lies in their power, as the Congress Members of a Legislature.

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Loyalty to National Congress *versus* Peasants Demands

There need be no fear that this policy of ours is likely to bring National Congress Legislators into open conflict with the National Congress itself. In everything, concerning the nation, the decision of the National Congress, as represented by its Parliamentary wing also will be taken as final. But in regard to our functional matters, the maximum amount of freedom of speech and action also ought to be given to the Kisan-minded Legislators, consistent with the dignity and final decisions of the National Congress and its Parliamentary Parties. This much has been conceded even by comrade Jawaharlal and much more, on the lines of our Andhra Peasants Demand for the formation of a quasi-independent Congress-cum-Kisan Group, has been consented to, even by Mr. Satyamurti. If my present suggestion is acceded to, it will only compel and strengthen the Peasant-minded Congress Legislators to try their best to radicalize every Congress decision at every stage of their Parliamentary career and thus to strengthen our Kisan cause.

Our Five-Year Programme

If the prevailing atmosphere is to be trusted, an intensive, nationwide and determined anti-imperialist struggle may not be expected during the term of the first Reformed Legislatures. But it is our duty and privilege so to work and develop our fighting strength as to usher in the final struggle even much earlier. It is however meet that we shall pause a while and sketch out a Five-Year campaign of preparation and propaganda, for a national battle and guerilla skirmishes and struggles with the money-lender and land-lord on a Provincial basis.

Nothing good or great can be expected even from our prospective National Congress Legislators, through their legislative work, until and unless we either strengthen them or force their hands. Even when they form an absolute majority in the Assembly, which is possible only in a few provinces, and do not form the Ministry, they will find it extremely difficult to put up a determined fight on our behalf on all the numerous occasions when Peasants' Questions come up for discussion and decision

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unless we keep a raging Kisan campaign in the country. But where they form the ministry, with or without an absolute majority of their own, behind them, they will find it practically impossible to negotiate with the opposition of the Governor and his steel armoury of safeguards and special responsibilities and the almost invulnerable fortress of the opposition in the Lower and Upper Chambers, unless we create sanctions to strengthen our demands and the National Congress Legislators and force the reactionaries and the rich to yield at every stage. Therefore our first and foremost need is to devise, develop and strengthen our sanctions.

Peasants' Sanctions are their Sacrifices

The peasants and workers of Spain have come to arm themselves to develop their sanctions as against the Fascist rebels. The Chinese Youths and masses have taken to arms to maintain the independence of Communist Southern China. The British miners refused to transport coal either by rail or by streamer when the White Blockade of Red Russia was organized in 1919—21. Similarly our Kisans and workers have to forge their own sanctions to force the acceptance of their demands upon the vested interests, functioning in and outside the Legislatures. We neither can nor wish to use arms and ammunition to strengthen our struggle against our opponents. So our sacrifices alone can be our sanctions and our readiness and capacity to suffer can strengthen them. Non-violent and unarmed as we are bound to be, our sacrifices and sufferings have to be much more. Yet struggle and suffer we must and sacrifices are inevitable, if we are to live and advance towards the achievement of our objective.

Periodical Demands Backed by our Sanctions

The best and the most effective manner in which we can force the Legislatures and the Ministries to speedily give satisfaction to our demands, even by taking one at a time is to fix for ourselves a time-table according to which we can prepare ourselves for our fight for their achievement, if and when the Legislators and Ministers fail to give us satisfaction. We can, for instance,

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give six months' notice to the Provincial Legislatures and Ministries so soon as they are formed and request them to begin to alter the land revenue system or to redeem agricultural indebtedness or to develop certain irrigation facilities of specified famine-ridden areas or to place the Zamindari Ryots on the same footing as the Ryotwari Ryots in regard to their scale of assessment, right of remission, repairs to tanks, claims to forest produce, etc., or to constitute Village, Forest or Irrigation Panchayats, etc., and so on.

Technique of our Preliminary Campaign

To strengthen our demand, we have to organize a whirlwind propaganda campaign all over the respective provinces and march the peasants, in their thousands either to their own conferences or to the Revenue Offices of the Government. If the authorities refuse to recognize our demand and begin to give effect to it and if our friends in the Legislatures fail to force their point on a majority of the members, then we have to run another campaign of protest against their inactivity and hostility. Thus we shall be able to create sufficient propaganda among the public, generate good enough discontent among the masses and develop class-conscious determination in the peasantry to fight for the achievement of their demands.

The two Aspects of our final campaign

Once our six months' notice is over, we must try to be as good as our word and inaugurate our real fight to demonstrate the strength of our sanctions. But this fight has two aspects to it; one concerning the Kisans as a whole and the other pertaining to the comrades who have vowed Peasants' Protection.

Contribution of the Masses

We must never lose sight of the fact that until the final day comes when everyone of the Kisans must be expected to throw himself heart and soul, irrespective of the consequences, into the Fight no command shall be given to our Kisans at large to suffer the full consequences of a Satyagraha or Non-Cooperation campaign. The smaller and less frequent are our demands on

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their loyalty, sacrifices and sufferings, the more ready and universal and unfailing will be their response to our call and more effective will then be our sanctions borne out of such response.

Land Revenue

Let us wait and see the nature of the different campaigns we can and may undertake in order to generate sufficient strength to force the Ministry to yield to our demands.

To take, therefore, the Land Revenue Question, the Kisans in general can be expected and taught to take the fullest possible advantage of the Civil Procedure Code the Land Revenue Act or Board Standing Orders and bring pressure to bear upon Government and oblige it to place our ryots on the same footing as the income-tax payees. The payment of Land Revenue can easily and legitimately be delayed by two months at least, without running the risk of breaking the Law. In actual practice, the administration will be so much upset by such a procedure that Government will be hard put to it to finance itself with the much delayed and uncertain receipts of land revenue.

Zamindari Tanks

The majority of the tanks in Government areas and more especially in Zamindari areas are in such hopeless repairs and the legal right of our peasants to demand their improvement is so little exercised that when the time comes, our Kisans can flood the Courts and administration with their petitions for their repairs.

This campaign alone will be enough to put the administration and Zamindars in an awful predicament, since the payment of land revenue hangs on their readiness to repair the water-resources.

Forest Satyagraha

Similarly a Forest Privileges Campaign can be started to bring to book all those officials who receive bribes, harass peasants and destroy or alienate forest produce. Peasants can organize a

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Forest Satyagraha on such a wide scale that to suppress it, the administration has to spend very much more than the cost of the concessions demanded.

Irrigation and Police Departments

The Irrigation Department and the Police Department in particular depend so much for their success upon the active cooperation of our Kisans that if we carry on an active and conscious campaign of non-cooperation, we can bring the administration into very real trouble. We can go on devising such popular campaigns through which we can mobilize the small individual sacrifices and sufferings of the Kisans as a whole and generate enough strength and fight to bring to bay the Government of the day and oblige it to yield to our demands.

Our Comrades *versus* Government

It is natural, of course, to expect the Government not to stand still and allow us to devise and develop from time to time, such popular campaigns. Our comrades are bound to be pounced upon, put into jail and *lathi* charged, to say the least. For all such repression, our active workers must ever be ready. We must therefore get busy immediately to win for our cause an ever-increasing number of such dare-devil comrades, who can brave all sacrifices and sufferings and who will be in the vanguard of our periodical campaigns against our class enemies.

The more our comrades are harassed by Government and landlords, the greater will be the readiness of the public to sympathize with us and the stronger will be the response of the Kisans to our call. So the real function of our comrades in all such fights is to prepare the mind and heart of our peasantry to rush to their rescue, to stand by *their organization* and so strengthen their fight. To this end, many may have to go to jail, lose their properties, receive *lathi* blows and stand much inhuman treatment at the hands of the authorities. If we are prepared to take up this revolutionary task we can serve our Kisans.

Thus while the rank and file of the Kisans are expected to make the minimum sacrifice our comrades are demanded to

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put in their maximum sacrifice and suffering. As long as these two aspects of our campaigns are scrupulously developed and fully exploited, it becomes impossible for the Provincial Ministries and Legislatures to bend us and refuse to accede to our demands.

Help from Congress Parliamentarians

We can best utilize the presence of National Congress Parliamentary Parties in the Legislatures only if we continue to develop and run such campaigns, once every half year or year. Our peasants need rest; hence the decent intervals of six or twelve months between any two campaigns. Our Comrades ought not to expect too much to achieve during the next five years, as everything depends, upon the degree of persistent, fearless and faithful services rendered by our comrades to our cause. But if we do not and cannot generate such sanctions and express those sanctions in such tactically well planned and timed campaigns, it is foolish to expect any quarter from our enemies and any fight for us from the bourgeois-minded Congress Parliamentarians.

Enemy's Ally is in our own Midst

It is well for us to keep in mind that there are much too many allies of the powers that be in the midst of our own Kisans and that they are likely to do their worst to undermine or frustrate our campaigns. If this prospective Provincial Autonomy was conceded to us by the British Conservatives, it is because of their cock-sureness that it would divide us into more or less evenly balanced two sections, one for the Ministry of the day and the other opposed to it, so that no concerted action can be taken by all the people in any particular locality. Our appeal for a classwise campaign can alone check the degenerating effect of this Provincial Autonomy, the dissolvent of national life. It however takes time even for our movement to achieve this. We must, therefore, continually carry on our propaganda for the development of that degree of class consciousness which alone can overcome the Communalism, Parochialism and selfish Persian interests. I can say, from our Andhra experience, that wherever our appeal is rightly termed and timed and our comrades are pure, sincere and

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trustworthy, all the machinations of the Zamindars cannot be of much avail and our campaigns will succeed in spite of the powerful opposition of our enemies.

There is on the other hand one great difficulty for us to overcome, while our peasants and comrades need a respite, our enemies need it not, while we have to pause and take breath in between any two fights, our opponents are at it all the time. So though when the fight is at its highest, there are not many Kisans who are ready to betray us, our enemy tries at other times with much success to recover his lost ground and create schisms again in our midst.

Moreover the Government of the day and the landlords and sahuikars have large annual incomes whereas both our Kisans and our movement are always starved for funds. They can patronize and fatten their supporters but we can only pauperize our protagonists. Hence the need, for us to work with quiet and convinced optimism, invincible and undying faith in our movement and undaunted determination to win, in which our enemies can never be our match.

Our Biggest Strength is our Class Consciousness

The Zamindars and Capitalists, with all their outward signs of power and popularity seem to be immensely stronger than ourselves. On first thoughts, one is tempted to fear that our Kisans can never hope to succeed as against them. But when we think about it a little more carefully, with the help of the History of the French Revolutions and Russian Revolution, we realize that whereas the appeal of the upper classes is to the base selfishness of a timid few, ours is to the ennobling unselfishness of a growing number of courageous comrades and to the progressively growing class consciousness of the majority of our Kisans. It is perfectly true to say that the class interest can and does make a greater appeal to the masses than individual self-interest. Our movement, therefore, has the great advantage, over our enemies, of being able to generate and engender the class invincible and over-bearing consciousness of the masses which can and will triumph over the armed battalions of our enemies and the poison gas, being daily

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emitted by their Press, Platform and Legislature.

Is Class Consciousness Good?

Very few things are good or bad by themselves ; but everything is relatively good or bad. So is the class-consciousness of any one. The rich and the landed are highly class-conscious but it is not conducive to the progress of humanity and so it is bad. The class consciousness of our masses is yet in its early development but when fully developed, it will do a tremendous amount of good to the Society at large because it will succeed in putting an end to the present-day exploitation of our society by the religious and social, political and economic vested interests. Of course there need be no urge for the maintenance of class-consciousness when there are no longer any classes in a society.

Will it not create Class War?

Intellectuals like Mr. C. R. Reddi, Cooperators like Mr. V. Rama Doss, and Administrators like Lord Linlithgow and Sir Henry Craik are aghast at the eagerness and readiness of Socialists and Comrades of Kisans and Workers to welcome the class struggle coming to a head before the contending classes. They are either ignorant of the age-long class domination established and perpetuated with all their conscious or unconscious cooperation or they are one-sided and dishonest enough to wish for the continuation of the subjection of the masses to their merciless exploitation by the upper classes. The class war is unnoticed as long as the masses allow themselves to be exploited without any effective or visible effort to stop or minimize it. But once the masses refuse to be down-trodden and exploited, not to speak of wresting from others their ill-gotten possessions, class war comes to the surface in all its hideousness. But to-day that workers and peasants create it is to libel against them. It only speaks to the bankruptcy of honest thought on the part of some of our intellectuals and leaders to persist in saying that the class war is being fomented by our comrades as if it has not been going on and that our class-consciousness, once awakened, even if it may prove to be a solvent of communal differences, is likely to be a greater evil than communalism.

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Clear the Augean Tables

We are organizing ourselves in order to prepare ourselves for the final inauguration of a Socialist state of Society. We understand by a Socialist Society, that one in which every one is provided with a minimum amount of food, clothing, housing, culture and pleasure and all are made the beneficiaries of the fruits of all public utilities, property, and mineral resources, and in which no set of individuals are remunerated more than others without any good or valid ground, based on the contribution made to society. In such a society, preference will always be given to the essential and primary needs of humanity before superfluous demands of a few, however great and note that may be, can be sought to be satisfied. Such a society cannot be ushered in until and unless all those institutions and interests which to-day are exploiting the masses in every possible manner are abolished. So the Zamindari, Sahukari and Imperialist systems must go.

Peasants' Progress and Imperialism are Irreconcilable

We cannot think of any imperialist connection at all because we know that our progress is irreconcilable with the existence of the British Empire in India. The British imperialism means the exploitation of our masses through the Services, Defence Forces, and Exploitation of our mineral, Planting Resources and communications through the investment of foreign capital.

Peasants versus Zamindars

The Zamindari System takes a heavy annual toll of fifty-four crores of rupees from our Kisans. This Zamindari land revenue system is most inefficient, costly and cruel in its effects. The incidence of its rack-renting also is too heavy. All this vast annual drain from our peasants is simply wasted away on a few lakhs of demoralized and functionless individuals. The limitless and heartless persecution by the Zamindars and their lakhs of unscrupulous functionaries, to which our Kisans are being daily subjected cannot any longer be allowed. If for no other reason, at least to stop this gnawing persecution of one-third of our Kisans the Zamindari land revenue system ought to be abolished. This criminal drain and waste must be stopped if any beginning is

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really to be made at all in uplifting our masses and satisfying some at least of their minimum demands. Our National Congress legislators have at once set about the task of placing the Zamindari Ryots at least on the same footing as the Government Ryots.

Peasants vis-a-vis the Sahukars

The present money-lending system of our country, available for the peasants is the most cruel and wasteful in its effects. Thanks to the refusal of Government to take timely action either by declaring a moratorium and cancelling all accrued interest and scaling down of debts in proportion to the fall in prices or by raising the general level of prices coupled with the declaration of a five years' moratorium, our money-lenders have insisted and got their pound of flesh. The result has everywhere been most disastrous. Much land has passed into the hands of money-lenders and other absentee landlords. Millions of peasants have been degraded from landowners into tenants-at-will. Our National Congress Legislators have to make a determined effort to save us from the clutches of these brutal money-lenders.

Peasants and Industrialists

Till now the disastrous and Anti-Kisan policy of placing the national resources at the disposal of private capitalists and industrialists has been followed, in order to develop the industries of our land. This policy has benefited only a few of the upper classes but has cost much sacrifice both to the peasants and workers in their double capacity of producers and consumers. So it is our duty to see that the existing industries are brought either under the ownership and management of the State or under its control and that any further industrial development is allowed only on a cooperative or collective basis. Of course there is no harm to allow the creation and development of new and small industrial concerns, up to a limit, so long as they are regulated and controlled by the state.

Peasants and Officials

It is a notorious fact that our Government and quasi-public servants are hopelessly addicted to the vice of bribery. Their

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persecution of our Kisans, and their continuous and heartless depredations upon our slender finances are a veritable national evil. It is imperative that this evil must be rooted out immediately and unhesitatingly.

Peasants and Workers

It is a trite saying that the future lies with the Peasants and Workers, struggling and suffering, hand in hand, for the achievement of a Socialist State. It is the sacred duty of every one of our Kisans to fraternize with the workers in the village and in the town and to meet them more than half way in satisfying their demands. Particular care has to be taken by our Kisan comrades to minimize any possible conflicts between Kisans and agricultural workers by making our Kisans grant timely and humane conditions of employment to workers. To settle any possible disputes that may arise between peasants and agricultural workers, we have to create a joint conciliatory machinery. This can be better done, if we also take a hand in developing the organization of our companions in our villages, who are unfortunately much more depressed than ourselves.

Common Ground between Workers and Peasants

There is much to be achieved by both workers and peasants by common effort for their mutual benefit. Their most immediate common need is more and more employment to ward off the concomitant evils of unemployment and poverty. To this end, we need continuous and consistent efforts to be made on the part of both to harmoniously work together for the achievement of their common goal. So I sincerely hope that our Kisans will do all that lies in their power to uplift our agricultural workers, to treat them as comrades, to welcome them into their organizations and to win their hearts by sincere and ready response to all their calls for help.

Peasants and Social Evils

I will be failing in my duty to our Kisans if I do not muster my courage and abjure them not to indulge in their growing weaknesses. Internecine and almost fratricidal factions, culminating in litigation and bloodshed have always undermined

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us. The wretched Pardah system, the child-marriage custom and the compulsory widowhood of millions of our sisters and the unchecked profligacy and indulgence in sexual satisfaction, resulting in an inordinate growth of population and spread of diseases, have weakened us both economically and socially. Our blind adherence to old social and religious customs, our abundant faith in the lifeless temples and mosques and uninspiring priestcraft and our superstitious faith in the sinful untouchability and baleful Karma-theory, especially in regard to the so-called Godly-ordained high-castes and classes serve the dangerous purpose of keeping us down in perpetuity. Our unbounded faith in our religious formalities, castes and creeds is highly ill-placed and is being exploited by selfish people. So I sincerely appeal to all my Kisan Comrades to be untiring in their efforts to uproot all these and such other evils.

Mahatma Gandhi and Self-Help

I wish to pay my heartfelt homage, in your presence, to the glorious services rendered to our Kisans by Mahatma Gandhi, the first Kisan statesman of this century. It is true that several of us do not see eye to eye with him over some important Kisan problems. But that ought to be no bar to our comradeship with him. He has begun to show us the way and the necessity for self-help, in the absence of any Governmental or even Congress effort to save us from our degradation. His Khadi, A. I. V. I. A.* and his latest Anti-Malarial campaigns are but beacon lights to all those who have to work in the midst of our Kisans, with all their depressing environment of poverty and pestilence, disease and death. Too many of our Comrades have for too long a period thought and talked for our peasants in the language and through the experience of our towns and the urban civilization of the West. It is Mahatma Gandhi who has, for the first time, turned the attention of the Congress and National Workers to the village and its Kisans. Our Kisan Comrades are again given a comradely lead by the Grand Old Man of Kisan India by his latest move to live in a village, to think and talk in terms of our village life and needs and to suffer from and save the villagers from the growing diseases that infest so many of our villages. Let

*All-India Village Industries Association.

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us take a leaf from his voluminous book of suffering and sacrifice, daring and determination and rush along ever fresh and revolutionary paths of service to better serve our Kisans, whom he has loved for so long.

A costly but timely warning from Spain

Our heartfelt sympathy goes out for the heroic peasants and working classes of Spain who are fighting for their constitutionally established Government. The British Imperialism and Italo-German Fascism have conspired to help the Fascist Rebels in Spain to daily worst the Peasants and Workers' Government. I shudder to open my daily Newspapers lest they shall publish the news of any fresh defeat to the masses. Such is the plight of the masses even when they have captured the Ministry by popular vote. This Spanish Civil War, therefore, warns us as well as the peasants and workers of the rest of the World against the customary and facile optimism of evolutionary Socialists and Social-Democrats. The great sacrifices of our Spanish Comrades serve this timely and necessary lesson at least; that it is not enough for the masses to win a parliamentary majority and form the Ministry; that the upper classes will never part with their power without a determined struggle and that eventually, the masses can come to enjoy unquestioned real power only if they are prepared to worst the exploiters in an extra-parliamentary manner also, if and when such an occasion is forced upon them. Therefore our peasants have to be prepared for the final Satyagrah campaign, whenever it may come to be forced upon them in order not only to capture political and economic power but also to retain it.

Lesson from Russia

I wish to congratulate the Peasant-comrades of Russia upon their success in co-operating and collectivizing their holdings and mechanizing their agriculture. Let us all sincerely hope that with the completion of their second Five Year Plan, easier, better and happier times will dawn upon the Russian Peasant.

But the growing hostile attitude of Japan and Germany, Great Britain and Italy towards the U. S. S. R. and the recent

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Japano-German Agreement, and the secret machinations of Mussolini and Eden prove beyond all doubt that the militant world capitalism is determined to hurl its last desperate blow at the Socialist State of the Russian Peasants and Working classes. It is clear that the capitalists of this impoverished world are not satisfied with their last devilish World War and White Blockade of 1919-21 and are bent upon hurling another carnage upon the World, merely, to reinstate their slipping hold upon our economic life. Therefore neither before nor after the capture of the State by the masses and establishment of a Socialist State, can the position of the masses be safe and remain unassailable, as long as the capitalists are in their present mentality. So it is highly necessary for our workers and peasants to realize the World-unity of the capitalists on the one hand and the World-unity of our masses on the other and the constant action and reaction of their mutual struggle for power. We must be prepared to think and act in as much harmony with the peasants and workers of other revolutionary-minded countries as the capitalists of Japan and Germany, Britain and Italy are combining to defeat and destroy the masses of Spain and Russia. We must also vow never to lend a hand, directly or indirectly to any imperialist or capitalist power, if and when the next war comes.

Viceroy and Congress President

I welcome the new interest, evinced in our welfare and progress both by the new Viceroy and the Congress President. But there ends the similarity between these two high-placed potentates. The one wishes to increase and improve our productive capacity and other, our organizational and fighting power. While Lord Linlithgow waxes eloquent about his love for us, all his actions and those of his Governors tend only to strengthen the very Zamindars and Sahukars who are busy, with their preparations to destroy us through the new Legislatures. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, has, ever since he has come to occupy the National Congress Gaddi in last April, been sincerely and single-mindedly helping us to organize ourselves, to develop our own class consciousness and to fight our class enemies.

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These two personages have it in their power to do us great good, if only they wish it. Let the Viceroy, if he sincerely loves us, cease to help directly or indirectly our enemies to organize themselves and undertake an All-India Kisan tour to whip up the whole of the administration to help us to organize ourselves on our class basis. Let him establish close relations between our Kisans and his Government on an organizational and self-respecting basis. Let him also try to do for us, in addition, at least what Mahatma Gandhi is doing in his Vanaprasta Ashram, and thus organize an All-India Rural Reconstruction Board, with adequate funds, supplied every year by Central Government and carry on at least a national anti-malarial, anti-venereal and water-supply and housing campaigns. Then only he can be acclaimed as the Kisans' man. I extend hearty congratulations to Comrade Jawaharlal Nehru both on my behalf and on behalf of our Congress on his re-election to the Presidentship of the National Congress. I wish, however, to impress upon him the extreme need for him to go much further than he has done so far to help us. We want from the Indian National Congress proper and adequate recognition of our Kisan movement by providing for our full share of representation on all its Committees and Executives. We also want him to radicalize its constitution and ideals and to broaden its Election Manifesto. Surely it is in his power, as the President of our Premier National Organization, to undertake an All-India Kisan tour and help us to develop our organizations, collect funds and broadcast literature.

An Appeal to Intellectuals

Mahatma Gandhi has recently struck the right key when he advised the Guzarat Writers and Poets to live amidst our Kisans, to divine their thoughts, yearnings and ideals and to write, sing and compose only in terms of their life and its demands and in the medium of their 'live' and 'creative' rural language. We are badly in need of a real creative and lively literature for our villages and only our intellectuals can supply it to us. I appeal to our savants and singers, poets and writers to wield their pen to uplift and inspire us, to goad us to action and to make us heroes. I can assure them that by serving us, they will be placing themselves in the illustrious company of the

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Mahatma, Unnava (of the Andhra), Tolstoy, Gorki of Russia and Ibsen of Norway.

I wish to say that as a full-blooded son of a peasant, with many generations of peasants' blood, culture, fighting spirit and love of this sacred mother earth in me, I am filled with inexpressible happiness to be one of you, to-day, in this inspiring Congress of Kisans. May the day soon dawn on us, when we shall all assemble to capture and conduct the Government and will the progressive welfare of our masses, through the State of the Kisan and the Worker.

Our thanks are due to the untiring organizational work of Comrade Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and also to the excellent editorial work of Comrade Indulal Yagnik, which have helped us immensely during the last year. We are also deeply indebted to our growing ranks of Comrades who have through their great sacrifices contributed so largely to the present status and strength of our Kisan movement and Congress. Our heartfelt sympathy goes to all those millions of peasants all over the country who are putting up their heroic fight, in their daily life, against all the vested interests and who are contributing their mite to the present significance of our movement.

Let me conclude my communion with you by quoting to you a few lines out of the Andhra Peasants Songs :

" WHY do you do nothing ?

You, the Kisan king

Can't you publish your prowess with gusto ?

REALIZE this, the first thing

That the sharpened sabres of fearful armies,

The hungry machine-guns with all their ceaseless flames
cannot but succumb

To the fury of the peasants' phalanxes,

To the enraged fangs of the proletariat !

How do you bear this burden of taxes !

While failing to feed your beloved family ?

How long do you wear out your devoted dried up bones

With no food to feed them,

With no cloth to cover them.

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WADING through mud, walking through thorns
Crops you raise after untold sufferings
Yet, you don't find enough to eat !
Is there then no limit to your slavery ?

CAN'T you, Can't you raise
Your plough (like the Balram of old)
Emblem of your invincible and creative power and
Demand your Rights ?
Wrest your Rights ?
Raise your class, as you raise crops
Feed your kindred as you feed the markets !

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THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT SPEAKS*

COMRADES,

EIGHT and a half months ago I addressed you from this tribune and now, at your bidding, I am here again. I am grateful to you for this repeated expression of your confidence, deeply sensible of the love and affection that have accompanied it, somewhat overburdened by this position of high honour and authority that you would have me occupy again, and yet I am fearful of this responsibility. Men and women, who have to carry the burden of responsible positions in the world to-day, have a heavy and unenviable task and many are unable to cope with it. In India that task, is as heavy as anywhere else and if the present is full of difficulty, the veil of the future hides perhaps vaster and more intricate problems. Is it surprising then that I accept your gracious gift with hesitation ?

Before we consider the problems that face us, we must give thought to our comrades—those who have left us during these past few months and those who languish year after year, often with no end in prospect, in prison and detention camp. Two well-beloved colleagues have gone—Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abbas Tyabji, the bearers of names honoured in Congress history, dear to all of us as friends and comrades, brave and wise counsellors in times of difficulty.

To our comrades in prison or in detention we send greeting. Their travail continues and it grows, and only recently we have heard with horror of the suicide of three detainees who found life intolerable for them in the fair province of Bengal, whose young men and women in such large numbers live in internment without end. We have an analogy elsewhere, in Nazi Germany where concentration camps flourish and suicides are not uncommon.

* The Presidential Address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered at the 50th Annual Session of the All-India National Congress at Faizpur on the 27th December 1936.

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Soon after the last Congress I had to nominate the Working Committee and I included in this our comrade, Subhas Chandra Bose. But you know how he was snatched away from us on arrival at Bombay and ever since then he has been kept in internment despite failing health. Our Committee has been deprived of his counsel, and I have missed throughout the year this brave comrade on whom we all counted so much. Helplessly we watch this crushing of our men and women, but this helplessness in the present steels our resolve to end this intolerable condition of our people.

One who was not with us at Lucknow has come back to us after long internment and prison. We offer cordial welcome to Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan for his own brave self as well as for the sake of the people of the Frontier Province whom he has so effectively and gallantly led in India's struggle for freedom. But though he is with us, he may not, so the orders of the British Government in India run, go back home or enter his province or even the Punjab. And in that province of his the Congress organization is still illegal and most political activities prevented.

I must also offer on your behalf warm welcome to one who, though young, is an old and well-tried soldier in India's fight for freedom. Comrade M. N. Roy has just come to us after a long and most distressing period in prison, but, though shaken up in body, he comes with fresh mind and heart, eager to take his part in that old struggle that knows no end till it ends in success.

The elements have been unusually cruel to us during these past few months and famine and floods and droughts have afflicted many provinces and brought great suffering to millions of our people. Recently a great cyclone descended on Guntur district in the South causing tremendous damage and rendering large numbers homeless, with all their belongings destroyed. We may not complain of this because the elements are still largely beyond human control. But the wit of man can find a remedy for recurring floods due to known causes, and make provision for the consequences of droughts and the like, and organize adequate relief for the victims of natural catastrophes. But that wit is lacking among those who control our destinies, and our people, always

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living on the verge of utter destitution, can face no additional shock without going under.

We are all engrossed in India at present in the provincial elections that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties us up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world. Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war. We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see to-day the horror and tragedy of Spain.

How has this fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world? To understand this one must seek a clue in British foreign policy. This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to cooperate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of the League and in defence of collective security, but its actions belied its words and

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were meant to leave the field open to fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and even the British 'National' Government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here again while fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower to-day than it has ever been for many generations.

So in the world to-day these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labour for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle to-day is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, fascist domination or the scorching of fascism and imperialism. That struggle has many lessons for us, and perhaps the most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflicts and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it. For them democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interests. When it fails to do this, they have no further use for it and try to break it up. And in their attempt to break it, they do not scruple to use any and every method, to ally themselves with foreign and anti-national forces. Calling themselves nationalists

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and patriots, they employ mercenary armies of foreigners to kill their own kith and kin and enslave their own people.

In Spain to-day our battles are being fought and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. We have seen our hopes wither and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hope of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph. So many have died, men and women, boys and girls, that the Spanish Republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of the walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

So I would like to stress before you, as I did before, this organic connection between world events, this action and interaction between one and the other. Thus we shall understand a little this complicated picture of the world to-day, a unity in spite of its amazing diversity and conflicts. In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much part of this great world conflict as India's struggle for freedom. Democracy and fascism, nationalism, and imperialism, socialism and a decaying capitalism, combat each other in the world of ideas, and this conflict develops on the material plane and bayonets and bombs take the place of votes in the struggle for power. Changing conditions in the world demand a new political and economic orientation and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict. Gradually this leads to a revolution in the

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minds of men and this seeks to materialize, and every delay in this change-over leads to further conflict. The existing equilibrium having gone, giving place to no other, there is deterioration, reaction, and disaster. It is this disaster that faces us in the world to-day and war on a terrible scale is an ever-present possibility. Except for the fascist Powers every country and people dread this war and yet they all prepare for it feverishly, and in doing so they line up on this side or that. The middle groups fade out or, ghost-like, they flit about, unreal, disillusioned, self-tortured, ever-doubting. That has been the fate of the old liberalism everywhere, though in India perhaps those who call themselves Liberals, and others who think in their way, have yet to come out of the fog of complacency that envelops them. But we

" Move with new desires.
For where we used to build and love
Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
Between two fires."

What are these new desires? The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions; to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people and utilize them for the progress and betterment of humanity; to build where to-day we destroy. During the past eight months I have wandered a great deal in this vast land of ours and I have seen again the throbbing agony of India's masses, the call of their eyes for relief from the terrible burdens they carry. That is our problem; all others are secondary and merely lead up to it. To solve that problem we shall have to end the imperialistic control and exploitation of India. But what is this imperialism of to-day? It is not merely the physical possession of one country by another; its roots lie deeper. Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and cannot be separated from it.

It is because of this that we cannot understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy and that remedy is the socialist structure of society. We do not fight for socialism in India to-day for we have to go far

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before we can act in terms of socialism, but socialism comes in here and now to help us to understand our problem and point out the path to its solution, and to tell us the real content of the swaraj to come. With no proper understanding of the problem, our actions are likely to be erratic, purposeless and ineffective.

The Congress stands to-day for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic State, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us to-day is political independence and the establishment of a democratic State. And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must stand for world peace. Recently there has taken place in Europe a significant development in the peace movement. The World Peace Congress, held at Brussels in September last, brought together numerous mass organizations on a common platform and gave an effective lead for peace. Whether this lead will succeed in averting war, no one can say, but all lovers of peace will welcome it and wish it success. Our Congress was ably represented at Brussels by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon and the report that he has sent us is being placed before you. I trust that the Congress will associate itself fully with the permanent peace organization that is being built up and assist with all its strength in this great task. In doing so we must make our own position perfectly clear. For us, and we think for the world, the problem of peace cannot be separated from imperialism, and in order to remove the root causes of war, imperialism must go. We believe in the sanctity of treaties but we cannot consider ourselves bound by treaties in the making of which the people of India had no part, unless we accept them in due course. The problem of maintaining peace cannot be isolated by us, in our present condition, from war resistance. The Congress has already declared that we can be no parties to an imperialist war, and we will not allow the exploitation of India's man power and resources for such a war. Any such attempt will be resisted by us.

The League of Nations has fallen very low and there are few who take it seriously as an instrument for the preservation of peace.

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India has no enthusiasm for it whatever and the Indian membership of the League is a farce, for the selection of delegates is made by the British Government. We must work for a real League of Nations, democratically constructed, which would in effect be a League of Peoples. If even the present League, ineffective and powerless as it is, can be used in favour of peace, we shall welcome it.

With this international background in view, let us consider our national problems. The Government of India Act of 1935, the new Constitution, stares at us offensively, this new charter of bondage which has been imposed upon us despite our utter rejection of it, and we are preparing to fight elections under it. Why we have entered into this election contest and how we propose to follow it up has been fully stated in the Election Manifesto of the All-India Congress Committee, and I commend this manifesto for your adoption. We go to the legislatures not to cooperate with the apparatus of British imperialism, but to combat the Act and seek to end it, and to resist in every way British imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. That is the basic policy of the Congress and no Congressman, no candidate for election, must forget this. Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. We are not going to the legislatures to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism.

There is a certain tendency to compromise over these elections, to seek a majority at any cost. This is a dangerous drift and must be stopped. The elections must be used to rally the masses to the Congress standard, to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress.

With the effort to fight the Act, and as a corollary to it, we have to stress our positive demand for a Constituent Assembly elected under adult suffrage. That is the very corner-stone of Congress policy to-day and our election campaign must be based

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on it. This Assembly must not be conceived as something emanating from the British Government or as a compromise with British imperialism. If it is to have any reality, it must have the will of the people behind it and the organized strength of the masses to support it, and the power to draw up the constitution of a free India. We have to create that mass support for it through these elections and later through our other activities.

The Working Committee has recommended to this Congress that a Convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures, and such other persons as the Committee might wish to add to them, should meet soon after the election to put forward the demand for the Constituent Assembly, and determine how to oppose, by all feasible methods, the introduction of the Federal structure of the Act. Such a Convention, which must include the members of the All-India Congress Committee, should help us greatly in focussing our struggle and giving it proper direction in the legislatures and outside. It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all-India discipline, and it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale. The idea is full of big possibility and I trust that the Congress will approve of it.

Next to this demand for the Constituent Assembly, our most important task will be to oppose the Federal structure of the Act. Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so bad in it as this Federation and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole. To live not only under British imperialist exploitation but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate whatever the consequences. It is an interesting and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavour to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. We are not against the conception of a federation.

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It is likely that a free India may be a federal India, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country. The present Indian States took shape early in the nineteenth century in the unsettled conditions of British rule. The treaties with their autocratic rulers, which are held up to us so often now as sacred documents which may not be touched, date from that period.

It is worthwhile comparing the state of Europe then with that of India. In Europe then there were numerous tiny kingdoms and princedoms, kings were autocratic, holy alliances and royal prerogatives flourished. Slavery was legal. During these hundred years and more Europe has changed out of recognition. As a result of numerous revolutions and changes the princedoms have gone and very few kings remain. Slavery has gone. Modern industry has spread and democratic institutions have grown up with an ever-widening franchise. These in their turn have given place in some countries to fascist dictatorships. Backward Russia, with one mighty jump, has established a Soviet Socialist State and an economic order which has resulted in tremendous progress in all directions. The world has gone on changing and hovers on the brink of yet another vaste change. But not so the Indian States; they remain static in this ever-changing panorama, staring at us with the eyes of the early nineteenth century. The old treaties are sacrosanct, treaties made not with the people or their representatives but with their autocratic rulers.

This is a state of affairs which no nation, no people can tolerate. We cannot recognize these old settlements of more than a hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging. The Indian States will have to fit into the scheme of a free India and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.

Till recent years little was heard of the treaties of the States or of paramountcy. The rulers knew their proper places in the imperial scheme of things and the heavy hand of the

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British Government was always in evidence. But the growth of the national movement in India gave them a fictitious importance, for the British Government began to rely upon them more and more to help it in combating this nationalism. The rulers and their ministers were quick to notice the change in the angle of vision and to profit by it. They tried to play, not without success, the British Government and the Indian people against each other and to gain advantages from both. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have gained extraordinary power under the federal scheme. Having preserved themselves as autocratic units, which are wholly outside the control of the rest of India, they have gained power over other parts of India. To-day we find them talking as if they were independent and laying down conditions for their adherence to the Federation. There is talk even of the abolition of the viceregal paramountcy, so that these States may remain, alone in the whole world, naked and unchecked autocracies, which cannot be tampered with by any constitutional means. A sinister development is the building up of the armies of some of the bigger States on an efficient basis.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which effects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. We are told by people who can think only in terms of action taken in the legislatures, that it is not possible to wreck it, and there are ample provisions and safeguards to enable the Government to carry on despite a hostile majority. We are well aware of these safeguards; they are one of the principal reasons why we reject the Act. We know also that there are second chambers to obstruct us. We can create constitutional crises inside the legislatures, we can have deadlocks, we can obstruct the imperialist machine, but always there is a way out. The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organization and mass action.

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The policy of the Congress in regard to the legislatures is perfectly clear; only in one matter it still remains undecided—the question of acceptance or not of office. Probably the decision of this question will be postponed till after the elections. At Lucknow I ventured to tell you that, in my opinion, acceptance of office was a negation of our policy of rejection of the Act; it was further a reversal of the policy we had adopted in 1920 and followed since then. Since Lucknow the Congress has further clarified its position in the Election Manifesto and declared that we are not going to the legislatures to cooperate in any way with the Act but to combat it. That limits the field of our decision in regard to offices, and those who incline to acceptance of them must demonstrate that this is the way to non-cooperate with the Act, and to end it.

It seems to me that the only logical consequence of the Congress policy, as defined in our resolutions and in the Election Manifesto, is to have nothing to do with office and ministry. Any deviation from this would mean a reversal of that policy. It would inevitably mean a kind of partnership with British imperialism in the exploitation of the Indian people, an acquiescence, even though under protest and subject to reservations, in the basic ideas underlying the Act, an association to some extent with British imperialism in the hateful task of the repression of our advanced elements. Office accepted on any other basis is hardly possible, and if it is possible, it will lead almost immediately to deadlock and conflict. That deadlock and impasse does not frighten us; we welcome it. But then we must think in terms of deadlocks and not in terms of carrying on with the office.

There seems to be a fear that if we do not accept office, others will do so, and they will put obstacles in the way of our freedom movement. But if we are in a majority we can prevent others from misbehaving; we can even prevent the formation of any ministry. If our majority is a doubtful one then office for us depends on compromises with non-Congress elements, a policy full of danger for our cause, and one which would inevitably lead to our acting in direct opposition to the Congress mandate of rejection of the Act. Whether we are in a majority or in a

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minority, the real thing will always be the organized mass backing behind us. A majority without that backing can do little in the legislatures, even a militant minority with conscious and organized mass support can make the functioning of the Act very difficult.

We have put the Constituent Assembly in the forefront of our programme, as well as the fight against the federal structure. With what force can we press these two vital points and build up a mass agitation around them if we wobble over the question of office and get entangled in its web?

We have great tasks ahead, great problems to solve both in India and in the international sphere. Who can face and solve these problems in India but this great organization of ours, which has, through fifty years' effort and sacrifice, established its unchallengeable right to speak for the millions of India? Has it not become the mirror of their hopes and desires, their urge to freedom, and the strong arm that will wrest this freedom from unwilling and resisting hands? It started in a small way with a gallant band of pioneers, but even then it represented a historic force and it drew to itself the goodwill of the Indian people. From year to year it grew, faced inner conflicts whenever it wanted to advance and was held back by some of its members. But the urge to go ahead was too great, the push from below increased, and though a few left us, unable to adjust themselves to changing conditions, vast numbers of others joined the Congress. It became a great propaganda machine dominating the public platform of India. But it was an amorphous mass and its organizational side was weak, and effective action on a large scale was beyond its powers. The coming of Gandhiji brought the peasant masses to the Congress, and the new constitution that was adopted at his instance in Nagpur in 1920 tightened up the organization, limited the number of delegates according to population, and gave it strength and capacity for joint and effective action. That action followed soon after on a countrywide scale and was repeated in later years. But the very success and prestige of the Congress often drew undesirable elements to its fold and accentuated the defects of the constitution. The organization was becoming unwieldy and slow of movement and capable of being exploited in local areas by particular groups. Two years ago radical changes were made in the constitution

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again at Gandhiji's instance. One of these was the fixation of the number of delegates according to membership, a change which has given a greater reality to our elections and strengthened us organizationally. But still our organizational side lags far behind the great prestige of the Congress, and there is a tendency for our committees to function in the air, cut off from the rank and file.

It was partly to remedy this that the Mass Contacts resolution was passed by the Lucknow Congress, but unhappily the Committee that was in charge of this matter has not reported yet. The problem is a wider one than was comprised in that resolution for it includes an overhauling of the Congress constitution with the object of making it a closer knit body, capable of disciplined and effective action. That action to be effective must be mass action and the essence of the strength of the Congress has been this mass basis and mass response to its calls. But though that mass basis is there, it is not reflected in the organizational side, and hence an inherent weakness in our activities. We have seen the gradual transformation of the Congress from a small upper class body, to one representing the great body of the lower middle classes, and later the masses of this country. As this drift to the masses continued the political rôle of the organization changed and is changing, for this political rôle is largely determined by the economic roots of the organization.

We are already and inevitably committed to this mass basis for without it there is no power or strength in us. We have now to bring that into line with the organization, so as to give our primary members greater powers of initiative and control, and opportunities for day to day activities. We have, in other words, to democratize the Congress still further.

Another aspect of this problem that has been debated during the past year has been the desirability of affiliating other organizations, of peasants, workers and others, which also aim at the freedom of the Indian people, and thus to make the Congress the widest possible joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. As it is, the Congress has an extensive direct membership among these groups; probably 75% of its members come from the peasantry. But, it is argued, that functional representation will give far greater reality to the peasants and

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workers in the Congress. This proposal has been resisted because of a fear that the Congress might be swamped by new elements, sometimes even politically backward elements. As a matter of fact, although this question is an important one for us, any decision of it will make little difference at present; its chief significance will be as a gesture of good-will. For there are few well-organized workers' or peasants' unions in the country which are likely to profit by Congress affiliation. There is not the least possibility of any swamping, and, in any event, this can easily be avoided. I think that now or later some kind of functional representation in the Congress is inevitable and desirable. It is easy for the Congress to lay down conditions for such affiliation, so as to prevent bogus and mushroom growths or undesirable organizations from profiting by it. A limit might also be placed on the number of representatives that such affiliated organizations can send. Some such recommendation, I believe, has been made by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

The real object before us is to build up a powerful joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. The Congress has indeed been in the past, and is to-day, such a united popular front, and inevitably the Congress must be the basis and pivot of united action. The active participation of the organized workers and peasants in such a front would add to its strength and must be welcomed. Cooperation between them and the Congress organization has been growing and has been a marked feature of the past year. This tendency must be encouraged. The most urgent and vital need of India to-day is this united national front of all forces and elements that are ranged against imperialism. Within the Congress itself most of these forces are represented, and in spite of their diversity and difference in outlook, they have cooperated and worked together for the common good. That is a healthy sign both of the vitality of our great movement and the unity that binds it together. The basis of it is anti-imperialism and independence. Its immediate demand is for a Constituent Assembly leading to a democratic State where political power has been transferred to the mass of the people. An inevitable consequence of this is the withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

These are the objectives before us, but we cannot ignore

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the present-day realities and the day to day problems of our people. These ever-present realities are the poverty and unemployment of our millions, appalling poverty and an unemployment which has even the middle classes in its grip and grows like a creeping paralysis. The world is full of painful contrasts to-day, but surely nowhere else are these contrasts so astounding as in India. Imperial Delhi stands, visible symbol of British power, with all its pomp and circumstance and vulgar ostentation and wasteful extravagance; and within a few miles of it are the mud huts of India's starving peasantry, out of whose meagre earnings these great palaces have been built, huge salaries and allowances paid. The ruler of a State flaunts his palaces and his luxury before his wretched and miserable subjects, and talks of his treaties and his inherent right to autocracy. And the new Act and Constitution have come to us to preserve and perpetuate these contrasts, to make India safe for autocracy and imperialist exploitation.

As I write, a great railway strike is in progress. For long the world of railway workers has been in ferment because of retrenchment and reduction in wages and against them is the whole power of the State. Some time ago there was a heroic strike in the Ambernath Match Factory near Bombay, owned by a great foreign trust. But behind that trust and supporting it, we saw the apparatus of Government functioning in the most extraordinary way. The workers in our country have yet to gain elementary rights; they have yet to have an eight-hour day and unemployment insurance and a guaranteed living wage.

But a vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasants. In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here to-day at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city. The Lucknow Congress laid stress on this land problem and called on the Provincial Committees to frame agrarian programmes. This work is still incomplete for the vastness and intricacy of it has demanded full investigation. But the urgency of the problem calls for immediate solution. Demands for radical reforms in the rent and revenue and the abolition of feudal levies have been

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made from most of the provinces. The crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes has led to a wide-spread cry for a moratorium and a substantial liquidation of debt in the Punjab *Karsa* (Debt) Committees have grown up to protect the peasantry. All these and many other demands are insistently made and vast gatherings of peasants testify to their inability to carry their present burdens. Yet it is highly doubtful if this problem can be solved piecemeal and without changing completely the land system. That land system cannot endure and an obvious step is to remove the intermediaries between the cultivator and the State. Cooperative or collective farming must follow.

The reform of the land system is tied up with the development of Industry, both large-scale and cottage, in order to give work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raise the pitiful standards of our people. That again is connected with so many other things—education, housing, roads and transport, sanitation, medical relief, social services, etc. Industry cannot expand properly because of the economic and financial policy of the Government which, in the name of Imperial Preference, encourages British manufactures in India, and works for the profit of Big Finance in the City of London. The currency ratio continues in spite of persistent Indian protest, gold has been pouring out of India continuously now for five years at a prodigious rate, though all India vehemently opposes this outflow. And the new Act tells us that we may do nothing which the Viceroy or the Governor might consider as an unfair discrimination against British trade or commercial interests. The old order may yield place to the new but British interests are safe and secure.

And so one problem runs into another and all together form that vast complex that is India to day. Are we going to solve this by petty tinkering and patchwork with all manner of vested interests obstructing us and preventing advance? Only a great planned system for the whole land and dealing with all these various national activities, coordinating them, making each serve the larger whole and the interests of the mass of our people, only such a planned system with vision and courage to back it, can find a solution. But planned systems do not flourish under the

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shadow of monopolies and vested interests and imperialist exploitation. They require the air and soil of political and social freedom.

These are distant goals for us to-day though the rapid march of events may bring us face to face with them sooner than we imagine. The immediate goal—independence—is nearer and more definite, and that is why perhaps we escape, to a large extent, that tragic disillusion and hopelessness which effects so many in Europe

We are apparently weak, not really so. We grow in strength, the Empire of Britain fades away. Because we are politically and economically crushed, our civil liberties taken away, hundreds of our organizations made illegal, thousands of our young men and women always kept in prison or in detention camp, our movements continually watched by hordes of secret servicemen and informers, our spoken word taken down, lest it offend the law of sedition, because of all this and more we are not weaker but stronger, for all this intense repression is the measure of our growing national strength. War and revolution dominate the world and nations arm desperately. If war comes or other great crisis, India's attitude will make a difference. We hold the keys of success in our hands if we but turn them rightly. And it is the increasing realization of this that has swept away the defeatist mentality of our people.

Meanwhile the general election claims our attention and absorbs our energy. Here too we find official interference, in spite of denial, and significant attempts to prevent secrecy of voting in the case of illiterate voters. The United Provinces have been singled out for this purpose and the systems of coloured boxes, which will be used everywhere else has been ruled out for the U. P. But we shall win in these elections in spite of all the odds—State pressure, vested interest, money.

That will be but a little step in a long journey, and we shall march on, with danger and distress as companions. We have long had these for our fellow travellers and we have grown used to them. And when we have learnt how to dominate them, we shall also know how to dominate success.

CURRENT LITERATURE

HONORIA LAWRENCE*

[By " M "]

THE heroes of Anglo-Indian letters have often every quality but the attractiveness of Romanticism: the fugitive something that wins the hearts of readers. There is no lack of personality or character: the observant, kindly Sleeman: the adventurous Forsyth discovering unknown beauties in the tiger-haunted jungles of the Central Indian Highlands: in contrasting vein, the all too exuberant William Hickey at his early Calcutta orgies: the Hodson and Nicholson of legendary fame, and all Lawrence's young men carving British names on the map of India by feats of daring or tenacity. There are many of them, captivating figures to those intimate with their lives but little known to the 'general reader'. Something in the officialese of the pen even though wielded by the kindly tolerance of a Sleeman or the incisive soldierly precision of a Roberts repels the reader, and has blinded the general reading public to the mine of material for romance that lies in the history of 'Anglo-Indian' relations. Maud Diver as a novelist has mined this ore before: but now at a step she comes into the fore-front of Anglo-Indian writers with a biography that is as delicately handled as a psychological novel, and with a heroine whose story has all the attributes of high romance. The trained novelist and conscientious historian in the author have made a book that should help to remove the stigma that makes Anglo-Indian biographies dead stock on the book-sellers' hands.

Honoria Lawrence, devoted, sensitive creature emerges from the pages of this book, struggling against the adversities of an uncongenial climate, as one of the greatest lovers of all time: human and vital as any woman in literature. The single-minded

* *Honoria Lawrence*, by Maud Diver, John Murray, London, 16s.

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devotion of this Irishwoman to her husband and to all his interests, makes a story that will live. A new star has swum into the firmament of Anglo-Indian letters, worthy of that new-forming constellation where the discerning have described Morrison's "Lawrence of Lucknow" with the brilliant cluster of Spiers' 'Nabobs'.

"History is character" says our author: and the clash of character that made the history of British India is illustrated in the sympathetic antipathy of John and Henry Lawrence—sympathetic, because the bond of blood never yielded to the strain of official bickerings. John is the painstaking, methodical civil servant, careful of his revenue: Henry is the intuitively brilliant soldier turned administrator, lamentably lacking in method and thoughtful only for the welfare of 'his people'. The contrast is emphasized in the Governor-General who had so large a say in ruling Henry Lawrence's destiny, Dalhousie, the Imperialist confident of the gain and glory from a policy of annexation, 'grand seigneuring' it over the indefatigable peace-maker Lawrence anxious only for a contented people and jealously resentful of interference with the rights of their natural leaders. The humanitarian seemed to be fighting against the stream of inexorable circumstance. It is left for the weaver of political dreams to imagine the history of the Punjab under a Sikh Maharajah, and its repercussions on the political development of this far-flung sub-continent. Henry Lawrence would have seen that, at least for his beloved Punjab, despotism was tempered with beneficence.

This conflict and diversity of character in the very sinews, as it were, of the British administration has made the objects of the British occupation of India a tantalizingly difficult subject for the analysis of the historical critic. What would have been the outcome of British rule in India if during these formative years of the fifth and sixth decades of last century it had not seemed "as if even India was hardly big enough to hold these three personalities, Dalhousie, John and Henry Lawrence, at once so gifted, so individual and so masterful"? Something less humanistic, one feels, had the autocratic Dalhousie not been held in check by John Lawrence's realism and made to concede to Henry Lawrence's uncanny understanding of the needs and feelings of

princes and peasantry.

And now in this battle-ground of strong characters the gentle but none the less resolute character of Honoria Lawrence is given its true place. The picture is of one of the most intensely living women that India or any country can ever have known: and of one of the most devoted wives. Again in the British women no less than the men whom India attracts we have strange contrasts. Emily Eden, sister of a Governor-General is, our author discerns, "the foil and counterpart of Honoria Lawrence." The discomforts of Indian travel produce in her letters the modernish adjective "woe-is-me-ish" of tents that lack the amenities of a Mayfair boudoir. Honoria, her counterpart, revels in the bustling caravan life in her fascinatingly new country and is eager to help in the problems whose solution laid the foundations of the modern Punjab. While Miss Eden thought Simla picnics with salmon from Scotland and sardines from the Mediterranean, beginning at ten in the morning and lasting till half past nine at night "entertaining", and held that most of her female companions were 'very devoted wives' but tending to become very dull women. Honoria went on with her hundred domestic tasks and kept tight the bonds of her comradeship with her husband while he was organizing resources of peace or war in the plains or leading desperate ventures through the Khyber to Afghanistan, with letters that must have been his support and inspiration.

The contrast runs through all phases of British Indian contact—the social butterfly and the devoted wife (often a devoted servant of India). To-day Honoria would have had the sympathy and friendship of women from cultured Indian homes, something that was denied her, for all her intense interest in the people, in the circumscribed social environment of the 1840's. The British were yet scattered and full of strangers in a still inhospitable land. The Lawrences' tradition of open house and unstinking hospitality contributed much to that spirit of friendly camaraderie which is the cement that has given modern India her political unity. Henry Lawrence generous to a fault towards his fellow countrymen who had chosen service in India, and thoughtful of the English children destined to be reared in the

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still difficult environment of India, never the less always realized that his right to live in the country was the friendship of the people.

They did much these two—for the jointness of their effort cannot escape the reader—in shaping or rather tempering the administrative machine that has gradually made non-autocratic government in India possible. But how much more in a less harrassed age these two rare spirits might have achieved towards (in Lord Irwin's phrase) 'sweetening the intercourse' between two peoples? The reader of this charmingly written book will be able to hazard an answer. The book leaves one with the thought that had not the British in their administrative capacity been so busy doing so much good to so many people, there might have been more time to weave the bond of friendship that comes from easy intimacy with the chosen few. Henry Lawrence had in a surpassing degree this gift for winning warm personal affection: and in none of his friendships was he more fortunate than in that of his wife in whose companionship he truly admitted he had been "blessed as few men have been".

THE SOCIALIST BOOKSHELF

The following are the most outstanding books which we have received during the quarter. It has not been deemed necessary of to give long reviews because *these are the books which the Editors of "Contemporary India" recommend as necessary for all to read*, who are concerned with the socioeconomic phenomena of the world to-day, and are interested in finding out the way out of the morass into which the capitalist world has sunk and is threatening to choke civilization itself.

Franz Mehring—Karl Marx (The story of his life). *John Lane, the Bodley Head, London, 1936, pp. 575, Price 15s.*

NOT only the story of his life as the authors call it with reserve, but a survey of the development of Marxism in the mind of Marx himself.

With characteristic brilliance Mehring has used his great powers of narrative in telling the story of Marx.

He has succeeded in making Marx live in our imagination. We see him in his fiery youth, breaking his father's heart and we become acquainted with him as an incorrigible idealist. As an exile a much hunted man, we see Marx suffering from the bitterest pangs of poverty with his wife Jenny, nursing in a dark unhealthy room, a child who is gradually dying of starvation. Mehring presents a most intimate pen-picture of a man the shadows of whose greatness will grow with time.

In this book we find a thread of argument which puts us on the way towards a better understanding of Marxism. A number of controversies, in which Marx had to indulge in his lifetime have been recounted. The reading of those arguments acts as a stimulant towards a firmer grasp of what Marx really meant.

Mehring has his own differences with the ideology of Marx. But despite the hesitations of a revisionist in agreeing with the

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Revolutionary outlook, the book on the whole ranks among the first-rate Marxist publications of our times.

Bodleyhead are the publishers. This work definitely adds to the reputation they already enjoy for the production of excellent biographies.

John Strachey—The Theory and Practice of Socialism.

Gollancz, London, 1936, pp. 488, Price 10s. 6d.

THE recommendation of the book is twofold. It is a Gollancz publication and it comes from John Strachey the author of *The Coming Struggle for Power*.

This book fills a long-standing gap in the library of Marxism. Strachey has done his job exceedingly well. He starts off in the first part of the book with an analysis of the economic system, and as the argument proceeds he links it up with the political system. He successfully brings out the vast and violent movement on foot towards determining the future of politico-economic conflicts.

In relation to that he has closely examined in the third part of the book the rôle of the working class—the spear-head of socialist revolution. "The Science of Social change" is the subject of the last section in which he examines the scientific foundations of Marxist ideology.

Strachey has done great service to the cause of socialism by providing a handbook for those who always clamour to get one book to unfold for them the 'mysteries' of Marxism.

Everyone who wants to know something about Marxism will find it his best guide and those who are already initiated to Marxist thought would find it invaluable for the clarification of various fundamental issues.

Palme Dutt—World Politics, Gollancz, 1936, Price 5s.

Palme Dutt is known to our readers as the Editor of the *Labour Monthly*.

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A socialist looks at the mad world around him—a world of Capitalist hypocrisy, a world whose heart is being eaten away by the Cancer of Imperialism, a world which is faced with a most menacing challenge to survival itself.

Palme Dutt has analyzed the factors at work and has tried to gauge the depth of that flood which is beating at the walls of a house which man built with the blood and fire of capitalist exploitation.

World Politics is a very well-documented book. Original sources used in the support of conclusions furnish very valuable materials to writers and journalists for ready reference.

Spain in Revolt—Harry Gannes and Theodore Repard—
Gollancz, 1936, Price 5s.

GOLLANCZ again!

This book is a very searching analysis of the forces at work in Spain.

"To those who died that Spanish democracy might live" thus runs the dedication and it is illustrative enough of the spirit in which the Book is written.

The authors have gone to illumine the dark background of the barbaric challenge of Fascism and have successfully tried to show how on the other side the forces of Democracy have been ranging themselves so far. In very forceful language, we are told, the tragic story of Spain.

What the Taj is to India Alhambra was to Spain. Fascist Bombs as the reports go, have earned the undying contempt of the civilized world by destroying that marvellous building. Alhambra—the symbol of Spanish culture has already fallen and now the fascist forces are on their way to storm the Citadel of Social Revolution."

The authors have succeeded in their task exceedingly well and those who want to know about Spain and we believe everyone who takes an intelligent interest in the world around him, must want to know, can do nothing better than read this book.

INDIA AND SOCIALISM

Brij Narain—Indian Socialism.—*Atma Ram & Sons, Lahore, 1936, Price India Rs. 2, Foreign 3s. 6d.*

INTELLECTUALLY, the author belongs to the "Upper ten" among the students of Indian economic problems in this country.

This book is an attempt to challenge the validity of applying Marxism to Indian conditions.

"The genesis of Indian Socialism" says the author "does not lie in the Labour theory, which is dead; in the theory of Surplus value, which is equally dead; in the theory of the class struggle, which is worse than useless, since it ignores the struggle for existence or in the economic ideal of a classless Society, which can never be realized." It is in these words that he sums up his challenge to scientific Socialism.

Every Socialist is bound to take exception to the Professor's conclusions, and we are mentioning this book specially to invite a reply to the argument on which the thesis is built. CONTEMPORARY INDIA will publish any replies received.

This book needs attention from the students of Marx because of the dangers involved in letting a publication of this character bearing the stamp of Professor Brij Narain's authority go unchallenged.

Karl Marx's Letters on India—*Edited by B. P. L. and Freda Bedi*—*India Edition, As. 12, Foreign Edition 1s. 6d.*

A CONTEMPORARY INDIA publication. Karl Marx wrote a series of letters on India which appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1853

Curiously enough a complete collection had not been published so far in book form in English. Only four of those letters were used by various authors for quotations. This edition has eight letters with an appendix on Burma. The importance

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of these letters to the students of Socialism in its application to India can hardly be stressed enough.

The editors have also added a prefatory note on the life of Marx.

Prof. N. G. Ranga—*The Modern Indian Peasant*—*India Re. 1, Foreign 2s 6d, Kisan Publications Madras.*

PROF. RANGA is the President of the All-India Kisan Sabha (Peasant Organization) and is also the founder of the Peasants' Group among the members of the Legislative Assembly. He has devoted his life to the cause of the Peasant movement and as such his writings are based on authority and command attention.

The modern Indian Peasant is a valuable survey of the condition of the peasantry, a clear statement of their grievances and an exposition of the aims and ideals of the Peasants' movement, which stands for the Abolition of Landlordism and for the achievement of freedom from the yoke of vested interests. It is an equally brilliant analysis of the forces at work inside the Peasant movement and takes account of the factors which are going to count in moulding the future of the movement among the Indian Peasants. None interested in feeling the pulse of the Indian Peasant can afford to ignore this book.

S. M. Tagore—*Tragic Wails from Bengal*.—*Published by the Civil Liberties Union, Bombay*

A PAMPHLET of 12 pages. But contains tragedies of life which might take 12 volumes to write about. It is a collection of statements of prisoners from the Bengal Jails.

It is a heart-rending document. Reading through 12 pathetic pages of inhuman treatment and inexpressibly woeful tales of the sufferings of political prisoners our eyes open to the realization that it is in the jails of Bengal where the real sorrows of an enslaved people get reflected.

Those who want to get a painful experience through reading are recommended to look through the pages of *Tragic Wails from Bengal*.

MORE BOOKS

World Economic Survey, 1935-36.—*League of Nations, Geneva, Price 6s.*

"THE WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY is primarily a record of economic fact. Year by year an attempt is made to describe and measure the changing organization of Industry and Commerce in the world as a whole. The present Volume is the fifth of the Series". It is in these words that Mr. Condliffe of the Economic Intelligence Department of the League of Nations who has compiled this book introduces his work.

In an age when the life of nations revolves round the pivot of economic phenomena, the value of a standard work like this is self evident. It is full of authentic information and well-digested data. And as such indispensable to students of economic life and condition.

International Survey of Social Services.—

Vol. I, Price 15s. pp. 710, 1933.

Vol. II, Price 10s. 6d. pp. 530, published by International Labour Office, 1936.

It has been said that the International Labour Office distinguishes itself by the usefulness of the literature that it produces. The survey under review is an excellent instance which illustrates and justifies the claim.

International Survey of Social Services, a stupendous work in two Volumes is a successful effort, keeping in view the lukewarm attitude usual to many national governments in supplying information.

It is an account of the Social Services operating in 38

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countries of the world. The information appears in the form of independent Monographs on different countries.

It deals with various fields of activity. Let us take India, for instance. The section on India starts off with the statistics of population classified under occupational groups. Then it contains facts about Social Insurance and Workmen's Compensation. In another section it deals with Social Assistance, covering famine relief, medical assistance, lunacy service, maternity aid, etc. Then there is a section about Holidays with Pay. This survey is of the greatest value for the study of comparative facilities provided in different countries.

Looking at the figures of medical assistance (Vol I, p. 408.) one cannot resist the temptation of quoting them :

" Free medical treatment is provided for poor people " says the report. Further we read " Taking British India as a whole, at the end of 1933 there were 6,548 hospitals and dispensaries at work serving a population of nearly 271 millions."

Working out the figure we find that one hospital serves nearly 41,400 people. In the light of these facts is to be judged the claim that " free medical treatment is provided for poor people ". Could there be a more sad commentary on the consequences of foreign rule.

There is something interesting in the details about " Holidays with Pay ". The regulations and figures are both given. In India nearly 3,000 people got holidays with pay in 1933 out of more than 150 million " gainfully occupied " workers. On the other hand, what happens in Russia is stated in (Vol. I, p. 659). " The right to holidays with pay is based on the Labour Code of 1922 ". This Code grants holidays with pay to " all persons employed for remuneration ". After this when we look at our own figures the picture looks a sorry one indeed !

This Survey is a very valuable work indeed. It is of vital importance to students of social conditions.

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Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—Freedom and Culture. *Natesan, Madras, 1936, Price Rs. 1.*

COLLECTION of writings, speeches and addresses. Covers a fairly wide field touching upon educational and cultural topics. Radha Krishnan is brilliant and the collection is worth while.

International Education Review.—*Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin.*

EDITED by Alfred Baeumler and Paul Monroe. Published six times a year.

Articles appear in three languages, German, French and English. This Journal maintains a high standard of contributions on various educational topics of different countries. It deserves attention from those interested in Pedagogic problems.

